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A
VINDICATION
OF
Anglo-Catholic
PRINCIPLES

EDITED

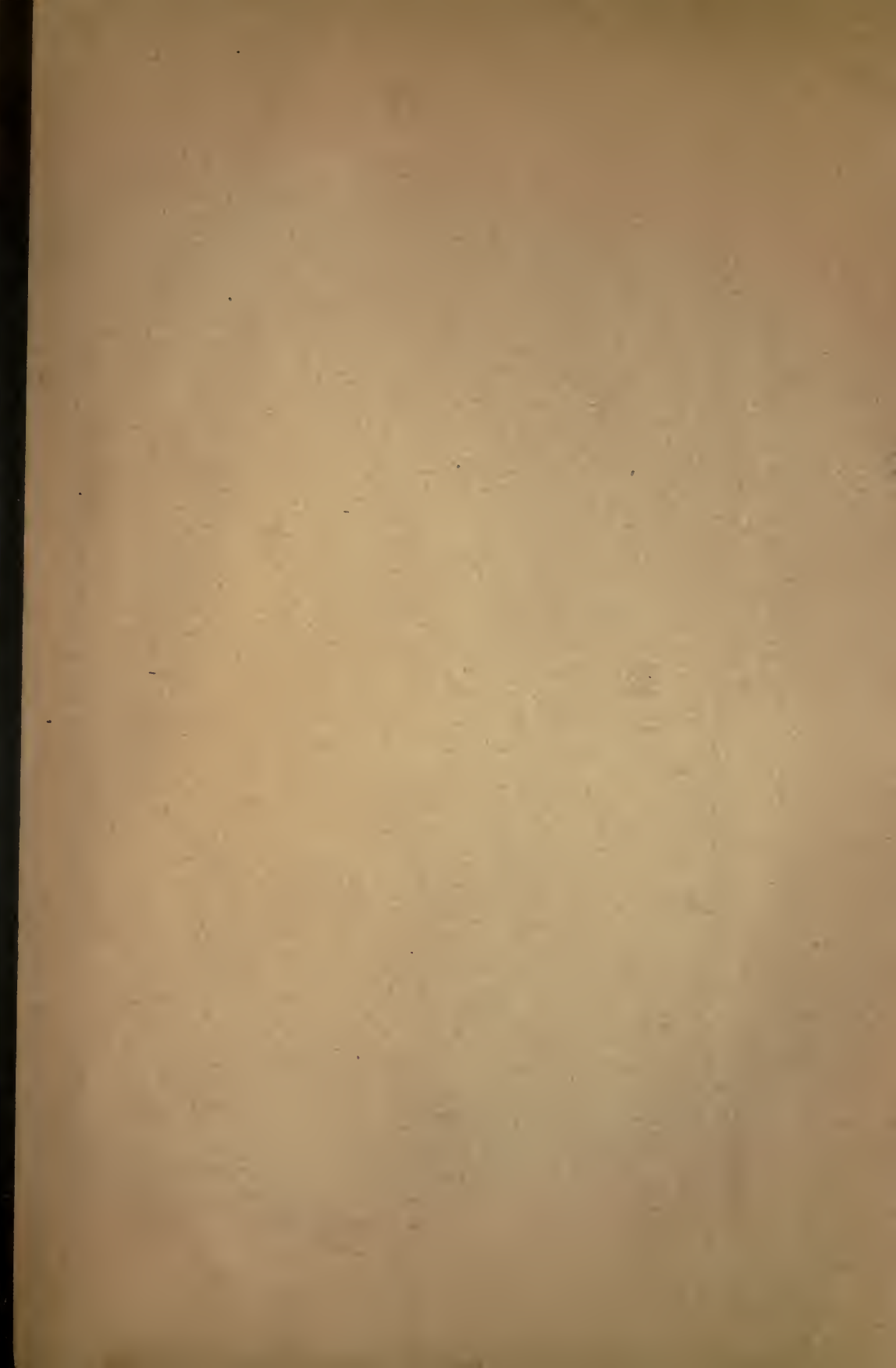


BY J.C.S.



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A. A. Ferguson,

A
VINDICATION
OF
Anglo-Catholic
PRINCIPLES.

CLERICAL UNFAITHFULNESS.

IN REGARD TO RITUALISTIC OBSERVANCES.—THERE IS A GROWING DESIRE TO INTRODUCE NOVELTIES, SUCH AS INCENSE, A MULTITUDE OF LIGHTS IN THE CHANCEL, AND SO ON. NOW THESE AND SUCH THINGS ARE HONESTLY AND TRULY ALIEN TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. DO NOT HESITATE TO TREAT THEM AS SUCH. THERE IS A GROWING FEELING, WHICH I CAN ONLY DESCRIBE AS AN 'ASHAMEDNESS' OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH, AS IF OUR GRAND OLD ANGLICAN COMMUNION CONTRASTED UNFAVOURABLY WITH THE CHURCH OF ROME! THE HABITUAL LANGUAGE HELD BY MANY MEN SOUNDS AS IF THEY WERE ASHAMED OF OUR CHURCH AND ITS POSITION; IT IS A SORT OF APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS COMPARED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME. WHY, I WOULD AS SOON THINK OF APOLOGIZING FOR THE VIRTUE OF MY MOTHER TO A HARLOT! I HAVE NO SYMPATHY IN THE WORLD WITH SUCH A FEELING. I ABHOR THIS FIDGETTY DESIRE TO MAKE EVERYTHING UN-ANGLICAN. THIS IS NOT A GRAND DEVELOPMENT, AS SOME SEEM TO THINK. IT IS A DECREPITUDE. IT IS NOT SOMETHING VERY SUBLIME AND IMPRESSIVE, BUT SOMETHING VERY FEEBLE AND CONTEMPTIBLE.

From the last Address of the late Bishop Wilberforce to his Clergy, a few days before his sudden death. (See Part III. 2nd Edition.)

ROMEWARD REACTION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

OUR OWN TIME HAS SEEN A REVOLT IN ENGLAND ALIKE AGAINST REASON AND HOLY SCRIPTURE AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD. MEN WHO OWE ALL THAT GIVES THEM WEIGHT AND INFLUENCE WITH CONTEMPORARIES TO THEIR TRAINING IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND TO THE MORAL NUTRIMENT THEY DREW FROM HER MATERNAL BREASTS, HAVE UNGRATEFULLY "LIFTED UP THEIR HEEL AGAINST HER." IT IS THE GREATEST SCANDAL OF AN ENLIGHTENED AGE; IT IS AN INDICTMENT OF HUMAN NATURE ITSELF IN ITS BETTER ESTATE. IN THE NAME OF COMMON SENSE, WHAT IS IT THEY WOULD HAVE, WHEN THEY REGRET THE ANGLICAN RESTORATION? DO THEY REGRET THE DEATH OF MARY. AND WISH THE SPANISH ARMADA HAD RESTORED HER REIGN OF BLOOD, SET UP THE INQUISITION, AND DONE FOR ENGLAND WHAT ALVA DID IN THE NETHERLANDS? DO THEY GRIEVE IN THEIR HEARTS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE LAST STUART TO RESTORE THE PAPARCHY? AGAIN I ASK, WHAT WOULD THEY HAVE INSTEAD OF THE BLESSINGS OUR RACE HAS INHERITED FROM THE MARIAN MARTYRS, AND WHICH HAVE MADE US THE ENVY OF THE WORLD? . . . LOOK AT THE SPAIN OF TO DAY, AND THE FRANCE OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. IS THERE MORE OF THE GOSPEL IN THESE COUNTRIES OR IN ITALY, FAST BY THE PAPAL THRONE, THAN IN ENGLAND, WITH ALL HER FAULTS? . . . BUT ENOUGH! "LET THEM ALONE!"—AS SCRIPTURE SAID OF ONE JOINED TO HIS IDOLS. LET us GO ON TO SECURE TO CHILDREN'S CHILDREN THE INESTIMABLE BLESSINGS THEY ARE TOO BESOTTED TO UNDERSTAND—TOO UNGRATEFUL TO ENJOY!

By the late Dr. A. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York.

A
VINDICATION
OF
Anglo-Catholic
PRINCIPLES,

By EMINENT PRELATES and LEADING CLERGY

OF THE

Anglican Church :

BEING A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL AND SELECTED TREATISES
WITH SPECIAL REVIEWS AND COMMENTS,—
FORMING A UNITED TESTIMONY TO THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE
AUTHORITY OF HER DOCTRINE AND RITUAL
AND IN DEFENCE FROM PERVERSION BY THE REVIVAL
OF MEDÆVAL AND PAPAL CORRUPTIONS OF THE TRUTH—
RENOUNCED BY OUR CHURCH AT THE REFORMATION.

EDITED BY J. C. SHARPE.

(Retired London Banker.)

" Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.

" Let all your thin, s be done with charity."—1 Cor. xvi. 13, 14.

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

(Prefixed to the separate Numbers, explanatory of the Parts.)

UNDER the title of "ANGLO-CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES VINDICATED," this Work, first published as Special Supplements to the ENGLISH CHURCHMAN, is now being re-issued in a series of Numbers. It will contain select portions and extracts from the works of cotemporary authors, (having their permission), with special reviews of recent doctrinal works, and other contributions, forming a *Catena* of concurrent testimony to those great Principles of the English Reformation—alike Scriptural and Catholic,—of which, by God's blessing, there has been such an earnest revival in the Church of England during the last thirty years.

The selections are chosen with the desire to give full expression to the Divine Truths of the Sacraments, and other essential truths, (on which there are still such lamentable differences among sincere Churchmen,) in the *bond fide* spirit of the English Prayer-book,—neither shrinking from the full recognition of the Catholic doctrines of our Church, as had been too generally the case before the revival of Church principles, nor subverting them, in effect, by a disloyal attempt (which is now being made by some among us) to strain them beyond their true meaning and intent.

The Parts of this Series from the 1st to the 6th are now completed. A short review of the Revival of Church Principles of late years in the Anglican Church, by the Bishop of Western New York, was selected for the first Part, as forming an introduction to the entire Series; and we are much indebted to him for the means of giving to our fellow Churchmen in England such an earnest and grateful acknowledgment of the results for good to the Church, for which we cannot be too thankful, and also for his friendly warning against the errors and excesses that have grown up with its progress.

In the second Part we have endeavoured to set forth, in the impressive and eloquent language of the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Western New York, and the Dean of Chichester, the great Principles of the English Reformation,—reminding us of our best Inheritance and only true Bond of Union, and as unfurling before the Churches and the Sects our rallying Standard in these "latter days," when we have to deplore so many signs around us of perverse self-will in teaching and practice, producing so much discord and distrust. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

We have devoted Parts III., IV., V., and VI. to the consideration of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, in regard to its doctrine, its rites, and its most important conditions. As the highest Mystery of the Christian Church, and the richest blessing to the human race, we have endeavoured to approach so holy a subject in no spirit of mere controversy, but with the sole and earnest desire to bear witness to and vindicate the Truth, revealed to us in God's Holy Word. Our best acknowledgments are due to those Authors who have given us their free permission to republish portions of their works, and have thus enabled us to fulfil one of the chief objects for which this Series has been undertaken.

Having set forth and maintained in the three previous Parts the true Catholic Faith concerning the Mystery of the Holy Communion, as held and taught by our Church, it became our duty,—in fulfilment of the purpose we desire to accomplish, with God's blessing, for His glory, and for the defence of the Truth committed in an especial manner to the keeping of the Anglican Church,—to point out and protest against the attempted revival of Mediaeval and Romish theories, the pernicious tendency of which is abundantly attested by the corruptions, both of doctrine and of practice, to which they have given rise, and which are once more thrust forward with the bold assumption of being "Catholic Verities," to the destruction of the peace of our Church, and causing a grievous hindrance to the progress of that great work unto which she has been called in God's providence,—the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world.

Since in the performance of this duty we have been compelled to raise our voice in condemnation of particular notions propounded by authors of eminence with whose general views and aims we have much in common, we feel that we should be wanting both to ourselves and to them,—most especially to the late Dr. Hamilton and to the justly revered name of JOHN KEBLE,—if we failed to give expression to the extreme reluctance and deep regret with which, under an imperative sense of what—far above all personal considerations—is due to the cause of Truth, we have spoken out plainly (but, we trust, neither uncharitably nor disrespectfully) in vindication of those sacred Principles which are our Church's most cherished Inheritance.

NEW ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PARTS FOR THE THIRD EDITION.

NOTE.—The Second Edition of this work, published in one volume in the year 1878, having been long out of print, and copies of which have been frequently asked for, this Third Edition is now issued in monthly numbers, consisting of seven separate Parts, to form One Volume. Each Part, containing one or more of the special subjects treated, will be complete in itself.

Some important contributions in testimony of those distinctive principles of our Church, which it is the purpose of this work to vindicate from misrepresentation, have come into the possession of the Editor since the last edition was published,—one especially, that of the late Dean Bargon's "Letters from Rome"—a very scarce work, long out of print, of which he has obtained the copyright. In order to include them in this edition, it is found necessary to exclude some of the former treatises so as to avoid increasing the size of the volume. Part VIII., on "Eucharistic Adoration," by the late Archdeacon Freeman, will be omitted, the subject being ably treated in Part IV., on "The Materialistic Theory of the Holy Communion," &c., by the late Dr. Biber, (forming Part VII. of the Second Edition). Part III., on "Eucharistic Restoration," is also now omitted. The other alterations will chiefly be the omission of a portion of the fifth part, on "The Holy Communion," by Dr. Goulburn, the remaining portion of which will be included in the present Part V., in which the question of "Eucharistic Sacrifice" will be specially treated. Also the sixth and seventh part in the Second Edition will (with the exception of some of the notes,) be combined and form Part IV.,—the subjects treated in each of those parts being of the same general purpose. In like manner the former Parts IX., X., and XI. will now be included in one part (Part VI.), but will be issued in two numbers. The several subjects included in the Twelfth Part and Supplement to the Second Edition will now form additions chiefly to those parts in which the same subjects are specially treated. A Supplementary Index, showing the several changes, will be included in the last monthly number.

LIST OF BISHOPS AND CLERGY WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS SERIAL VOLUME, BY PORTIONS OF THEIR PUBLISHED WORKS (SEVERAL HAVING BEEN OUT OF PRINT), OR BY ORIGINAL TREATISES, COMMENTARIES, AND NOTES.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Longley. (By permission of his Son, *his Exor.*)

The late Bishop of Winchester,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Wilberforce.

The present Bishop of Winchester,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Harold Browne. (Extracts from “Exposition of the 39 Articles,” and from his Charge to the Diocese, &c.)

The Bishop of Lincoln,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Wordsworth.

The Bishop of Western New York,—the Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe.

The late Dean of Chichester,—the Very Rev. Dr. Hook.

The Dean of Norwich,—the Very Rev. Dr. Goulburn.

The late Archdeacon of Exeter,—the Ven. Philip Freeman.

The late Rev. Dr. Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Founder of St. Peter's College, Radley.

The late Rev. Dr. Monsell, Rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford, and Rural Dean.

The Rev. Dr. Trevor, Canon of York, and Rector of Beeford, Hull.

The late Rev. Dr. Biber, Vicar of West Allington.

The late Rev. Dr. Jelf, Principal of King's College, London. (Chief portion of one of his Bampton Lectures; Part VII. Appendix.)*

The Rev. J. Le Mesurier, Vicar of Bembridge, Isle of Wight, and Rural Dean.

The Rev. W. E. Scudamore, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham.

The Rev. William Milton, M.A.

The Rev. C. F. Isaacson, Canon of Winchester, and Rector of Freshwater, Isle of Wight :—
(A contributor of two critical notes, and from whom the Editor has received valuable advice in the execution of important parts of the work).

AUTHORS FROM WHOSE WRITINGS EXTRACTS ARE TAKEN.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Ellicott. (Extract from his Charges, 1873 and 1877.)

The Bishop of Salisbury,—the Rt. Rev. Dr. Moberly. (Extract from his Bampton Lectures.)

The late Rev. Dr. Vogan.—The Rev. H. J. Kingdon.—The late Rev. J. Keble.

Correspondence between Archdeacons Freeman and Denison. (Part VIII. Appendix.)

Pastoral Letter from the Synod of Scottish Bishops.

Pastoral Letter from the Archbishops and Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the English Church.

* Note.—Dr. Jelf being known to the Editor, his friendly consent would have been asked for the insertion of this lecture when so arranged, had not his death occurred at the time to prevent it.

From Standard English Divines.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor,—Extracts from his treatise on the Real Spiritual Presence of Christ. (Part VIII. Appendix).

Bishop Beveridge,—Reprint of his Discourse on the XXVII. Article. (Do.)

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* The 3rd verse slightly altered with the author's permission.

** Only inserted in the 1st edition.

The following lines were sent to the Editor for insertion by Dr. Biber in the last letter he wrote, three days before his death.

Where'er, this ball of earth around,
The Ocean with its mighty waves
Or Continent or Island laves,
England, thy tongue is heard to sound ;
And there, on world-wide commerce bound,
Thy flag, that storm and peril braves
As on the breeze it floats, to slaves
Proclaiming liberty is found.
A better freedom still, to all
In bondage held through Adam's fall,
Thy saintly Priests and Bishops bring ;
As those whom Satan did enthral,
They to the Holy Banquet call
Of Christ, the Everlasting King !

SUMMARY OF THE TWELVE PARTS AND SUPPLEMENT,

As published in 20 Numbers, forming the first Edition.

Part I. On the Revival of Catholic Principles in the English Church:—"An expression of true sympathy, with some words of friendly warning, from an American Bishop to the English Church. Concluding with Remarks on Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon,—condemnatory of his overtures to Rome. By the Right Rev. A. Cleveland Cox, Bishop of Western New York.

Part II. On the Principles of the English Reformation. By the late Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester; and the late Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester. With "A Letter to the Pope," by the Bishop of W. New York; and an Appendix on Baptismal Regeneration, &c., by the late Dr. Hook. (In Two Numbers.)

Part III. Appeal for "Eucharistic Restoration," as the highest Act of Christian Worship. By the late Rev. Dr. Biber. (Also his address to the "Old Catholics" urging the same, since added in 2nd Edition, p. 87-8.)

Part IV. Anglo-Catholic Doctrine of Holy Communion:—the Memorial Sacrifice inseparable from the Participation. A Review, with full extracts, of a Treatise by the Rev. Canon Trevor, D.D. Also the Synodal Letter of the Scottish Bishops, condemning the erroneous Sacramental doctrine taught by the late Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin. (Extracts from Dr. Trevor's new edition on "Sacrifice in Holy Scripture" have been since added.)

Part V. The Sacrament of Holy Communion:—its essential Principles considered and explained in connection with the Ritual of our Church. By the Very Rev. E. M. Goulburn, D.D., Dean of Norwich. (In Two Numbers.)

Part VI. The Anglican Doctrine of the Holy Communion vindicated from Romanizing Errors. Sect. 1.—By the late Dr. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury. (The chief portion of his last Charge.) Sects. 2—6. The subject continued, with special reference to the extreme views on Eucharistic sacrifice, Absolution, &c., advanced by the late Dr. Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury. Sects. 7, 8. Reflections on the Spiritual Sacrifice of Christ, in reference to the Last Supper of Our Lord:—By the Rev. William Milton. (In Two Numbers.)

Part VII. The Materialistic Theory of the Holy Communion tested by the Word of God. With an Appendix, containing Notes on important questions relative to the subject, by Dr. Biber, Dr. Trevor, Archdeacon Freeman, and others. (In Two Numbers.)

Part VIII. The True "Eucharistic Adoration" of the Catholic Church. By the late Archdeacon Freeman. Also an enlarged Appendix, including Bishop Beveridge's Discourse on the Twenty-seventh Article; extracts from Bishop Jeremy Taylor; a correspondence between the Author and Archdeacon Denison; a contribution from the late Dr. Monsell; the chief portion of one of the late Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, and Notes by other Authors. (In Two Numbers.)

Part IX. On Non-Communicant Attendance. "Holy Communion: not an Ordinance or Service for Non-Communicants:"—The Rule of the Primitive Church.

Part X. The same continued,—treating of the Rule and Practice of the Reformed Church of England. By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore, and the late Rev. Dr. Biber. With Appendix, containing extracts from the late Bishop Wilberforce's parting Charge at Oxford, and from Bishop Moberly's Bampton Lectures. (In Two Numbers.)

Part XI. On the revived Practices of Non-Communicant Attendance and Fasting Communion. With an answer to the pretensions and claims put forth in a Memorial to Convocation in favour of the former practice, by "the Council of the English Church Union." Mr. Scudamore's "Remarks" on the Memorial, and his "Exposure" of their "Authorized Reply" to him. The Appendix contains two Addresses on the above subjects by the Bishop of Lincoln.

Part XII. "Eucharistic sacrifice," and Spiritual Communion.—The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper regarded in its twofold aspect:—God-ward, our Eucharistic worship offered through the Mediation of Christ; and Man-ward, our spiritual life and communion in Christ, by the power of His Resurrection. Three concluding Treatises, by the Rev. J. Le Mesurier, and the late Rev. Dr. Biber. With Appendix, containing Notes by several Authors.

Supplement to Parts X., XI., and XII. 1.—The question of Non-communicant attendance, of Fasting Communion, and of Auricular Confession; and the doctrine of Sacrifice, considered in a treatise by Dr. Goulburn: (chief portions, with general review). 2.—The One-All-sufficient Sacrifice of Christ:—a commentary on a treatise by the Rev. M. F. Sadler. (Supplementary to Part XII.) 3.—Conclusion. A letter from the late Dr. Sewell to the Editor on the Revolutionary spirit manifested in our Church.

Appendix I. On Eucharistic Sacrifice, by Dr. H. Browne, Bishop of Winchester, and by the late Dr. Vogan—On "the Counter Reformation," by the Bishop of Gloucester.—The Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the English Church. Appendix II. Correspondence with the Editor on Sacrificial Worship, and the High-Priestly office of Christ in Heaven, by Dr. Goulburn and the Rev. J. Le Mesurier.—"In Memoriam:—A tribute of friendship and respect to deceased Contributors to this work, by the Editor.—Bishop Wilberforce's last Address of solemn warning to his Clergy,—(a "legacy of inestimable value" to the whole Anglican Church!)

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The Preface by the Editor for the 2nd edition, with title pages, &c., was issued separately, and cloth covers may be obtained for binding up the work in one Volume.

Price of the Numbers Sixpence each.

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ADDITIONS TO APPENDIX.

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Extract I. Remarks on the Petition of "the English Church Union" to Convocation in favour of Non-Communicant attendance, by *the Rev. W. E. Seudamore* (with a prefatory note in explanation by the Editor). This was recently published by him in the form of a pamphlet, a portion of which is here reprinted, pointing out the historical mistakes and errors of statement on which the arguments of the Petition &c. are founded. (These "Remarks" called forth the elaborate "Authorized Reply" of the "E. C. U." to Mr. Seudamore, the unsoundness and sophistry of which is reviewed and "exposed" in the 1st and 2nd Sections of Part XI. next following.)

Extract II. A portion of the last Charge of Dr. Wilberforce (late Bishop of Winchester) to the Diocese of Oxford, condemning in strong terms the revived practice of Non-Communicant attendance, as being "intimately connected with the greatest practical corruption of the Papacy," as "a dishonour to Christ's Institution, an injury to the soul of the worshipper, and as a practice which threatens to destroy our whole religious system."

Extract III. The third extract is taken from one of the Bampton Lectures of Dr. Mohely (now Bishop of Salisbury), also strongly condemning the revival of this practice in our Church.

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* This subject has been already treated at length by the Author in Part IV.

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"IN MEMORIAM."

In Memoriam. A tribute of respect and friendship to the memory of deceased Contributors to this volume:—viz., The late Bishop of Winchester, the Dean of Chichester, the Arch-deacon of Exeter, Dr. Biber, Dr. Monsell and Dr. Sewell -

Bishop Wilberforce's last words of solemn

warning to the Church -

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A CAREFUL study of the history of the Christian Church, from the first promulgation of the Gospel to the present day, and an attentive examination of the indications contained in the word of prophecy of what that history will be from this day to the day of "the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ," cannot fail to leave upon the mind the impression that it must be from first to last the record of a continuous warfare. What history and prophecy thus alike teach us to expect, the experience of every successive age of the Church abundantly confirms. The Church of the Prince of Peace, must, to the end of time, be a Church militant in a world of strife.

To us—to each generation of the Church involved in the strife, this may be an unwelcome truth. We would rather, if we had the option, enjoy the rich blessings and cherish the glorious hopes of the Gospel in a state of peace and quietness. But it is not so appointed in the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own Will; and the more we learn to familiarize ourselves with the thought that so it must be, the better shall we be fitted to do our part in that inevitable warfare of Truth against error in which we are called upon to approve ourselves as "good soldiers of Jesus Christ."

It was under the influence of such thoughts as these that the serial work, now brought to completion in the present volume, originated. If we look back on past years and take a review of the spiritual growth and rapid extension of the English Church and her branches during the present generation,—in which many of us have taken a deeply interested and active part,—we cannot but see that these glad tokens of revived life have brought with them manifold trials to our Church in maintaining the Primitive Truth committed to her trust, and that grievous errors have arisen, causing strife and divisions within the fold, to mar the great work that has been given her to do. It has become therefore the urgent duty of all true sons of the Church to join in stemming this returning tide of error, and in raising a barrier against

the surging waves of superstition that are gathering around her. To endeavour to fulfil this duty, has been the sincere desire of the Editor, and those friends to whom he is greatly indebted for the contribution of these collected writings, in vindication of Anglo-Catholic Principles.

After long years of coldness and neglect had passed over the Church of England in the last and earlier part of the present century,—when the general tone of her services had become lifeless and formal, and many an old parish Church was falling into decay,—by the blessing of God the hearts of His people in this land were stirred with zeal to "repair the waste places of Zion,"—"to lengthen her cords, and to strengthen her stakes."

The first religious movement tending to arouse the Church from her state of lethargy was the so-called "Evangelical revival."

It was chiefly distinguished by greater earnestness on the part of the clergy in preaching the primary truths of the Gospel, especially its promises of free Grace and Forgiveness, and by appealing individually to the heart, it became effectual in awakening a deeper sense of personal and spiritual religion.

From this Revival may be traced the continued growth of that party, retaining the title of "Evangelical," who now form one of the great schools of thought in the Church of England, and whose zeal and devotion have long been manifested in their many efforts to win souls to Christ, especially in the missionary work of our Church. But regarded as a doctrinal movement, it was an indefinite rather than a complete enunciation of religious truth, and failed to embrace the full sacramental teaching of the prayer-book. The Evangelical Revival thus obtained but a partial influence in the Church, and was instrumental rather in leading to a more true appreciation of the priceless gifts of spiritual new-birth and sustenance assured to us through the inward grace of the sacraments. Political questions too arose involving the discussion of the relations of the Nationa

Church to the State, and to the Universal Church; and thus all things tended to prepare the way for a clearer recognition, on the one hand, of the *corporate* life of the Church, and, on the other, of her *Sacramental* teaching.

With this growing want of a more definite recognition of Church principles, and with the increasing sense of our responsibilities as Churchmen, there arose an earnest desire to regain that high standard of Anglican theology and practical religion which we have inherited from our forefathers, the martyred Reformers, and the great Divines of the 17th century, and which has been preserved to us in the teaching of the prayer-book. Such a craving, as it gathered strength, found a natural home for its development in the University of Oxford (which has ever proved loyal to the principles of the English Church, and had not, like Cambridge, felt the personal influence of the Evangelical leaders), and this gave rise to the well-known "Oxford movement." The "Tracts for the Times" were undertaken for the avowed purpose of reviving and maintaining these Catholic principles of our prayer-book, by learned men conversant with Patristic literature and the works of our standard Divines; and well would it have been for the integrity and peace of the Church if the original intention of the writers had been faithfully adhered to! But it was evident to calm and dispassionate observers, even from the first, that there was in this new movement an element that would carry it far beyond its original aim, and, as the series advanced, the cordial welcome with which the tracts were received by the High Church party was changed to sad mistrust and disappointment. At length the bold attempt in Tract XC. to turn the very edge of the weapons which our Church, in her 39 Articles, had framed to combat Roman doctrine, by suggesting their interpretation in "a *non-natural* sense," to be followed soon after by the grievous defection of its gifted author—combined to arouse in the breast of many a loyal Churchman a feeling of profound sorrow, shame, and indignation; and the spontaneous expression of this general feeling brought the work to a summary termination.

Yet withal, after the sad trials and discouragements of those eventful years in the progressive life of our Church, the distinctive principles of the English Reformation—opposed alike to Romish corruption and Puritan negation—have continued to take root in the

hearts of Churchmen; notwithstanding the treachery and desertion of false brethren, the factious spirit of party strife, and the contentions of open foes. And not the least of the many tokens of their inward growth, is the loving care that has been bestowed on the preservation and adornment of God's house of prayer, and the efforts to render it more worthy its sacred purpose. While the building up of the *spiritual* temple was the great object at heart with sincere Churchmen, the *material* temple has not been neglected or allowed to fall into decay. With exemplary perseverance, as "a labour of love," the restoration of our ancient churches and cathedrals, and the important work of church building, has made such amazing progress throughout England during the last forty years, as largely to contribute to the efficiency of the Church in ministering to the spiritual needs of our vast population, and in regaining the lost sheep to her fold.

In thus rising to a sense of our high calling and responsibilities as English Churchmen, the desire so earnestly felt to return to the "Old Paths" of Primitive Truth, has led, with God's blessing, to the great revival in our generation of **ANGLO-CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES**:—those "principles of the doctrine of Christ" which our Church, by her appeal to the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and the testimony of the Primitive Apostolic Church, reclaimed from the enervated errors of the Middle Ages at the Reformation. These principles have proved her unfailing guide in preserving the true *Via media* amidst the strifes and schisms of Christendom; and their steadfast maintenance still forms the basis of her strength in "contending for the Faith which was once delivered unto the saints."

So must the Church of the Prince of Peace, as before observed, ever be a Church militant in a world of strife, and all her true members be ready "to fight manfully under Christ's banner as faithful soldiers" of the Cross. And our own beloved Church of England, obedient to her Master's call, has not failed, in this day of trial and rebuke, to gird her armour on for the defence of His Truth committed to her trust. While rejoicing in the many tokens of Divine blessing on her labours for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, whereby many lost sheep have been gathered into the Fold, she yet cherishes above all that one true mark of Christ's love for His Church—His chas-

tening hand, teaching her to bear trials and sufferings for His name's sake!

In the earlier years of revived zeal in the Church, it was her sad trial to mourn the frequent loss of "children whom she had nourished and brought up," who were once the foremost in devotion to her cause, and in professed love for her communion. These grievous instances of defection first appeared among her commissioned teachers, the clergy, who, beguiled by the claims to sacerdotal power of Rome, or captivated by the pageantry of her elaborate ritual, renounced the Church of their baptism, and the faith they had professed—regardless of their ordination vows—to join the ranks of an implacable foe!

And of those among the laity who followed their lead, how many an English home has been saddened and its peace and unity destroyed, when one of its members who "walked with their brethren in the house of God as friends" have been secretly beguiled from their allegiance to their Mother Church, and have taken the fatal step, which, instead of bringing the delusive peace vainly sought for, has proved to many the enthrallment of their minds and the shipwreck of their faith!

But far worse than open desertion to the enemy is treachery within the citadel! The real danger to the Church of England at the present time is the disloyalty to her principles, and the contempt of her authority which exists among a portion of her professed members. The time has passed for being deceived by plausible pretensions or arrogant assumptions,—

"When round our walls the battle lowers,
And mines are hid beneath our towers,"—

and England's Church, which has occupied the brightest page in her history for ages past, is now in danger of being rent asunder by treachery and faction within her fold!

A comparatively small, though well-organized party have gained a firm position in our Church, owing to the misplaced trust and generous forbearance of their brethren, who have too long been misled by their assumed identity with the "old historic High Church" school, from the traditional principles of which they have widely diverged. By the powerful agency of secret societies, "confraternities," and numerous guilds, this "ultra-Ritualist party are reviving rites and practices which have a direct tendency to the most serious errors of the Church of Rome, and in the undue exaltation of Mediæval traditions and customs to an equal

authority with the Word of God, they "teach for doctrines the commandments of men."¹ Thus by the gradual, though sure process of working unauthorized changes 'with a doctrinal significance' in the Church's ritual (however regarded by many with indifference, or as merely giving more life to our services), her whole system of faith and teaching is being undermined; and, unless the insidious evil is firmly resisted, and by God's mercy averted, it must eventually end in inevitable loss to us as a Church of those Catholic principles of the Primitive Faith which it has been the high privilege and glory of Protestant England to maintain before Christendom during the last three centuries, and to propagate throughout her vast empire.

It is under a deep conviction of the gravity of the crisis through which the Church of England is now passing, and with a full sense of responsibility in bringing charges against those who are still our brethren in the Church, that these words of serious warning are written. But there must be no wavering or compromise where the essential principles of our common Faith are at stake. And it could be no ordinary cause for anxiety and alarm which so recently called forth the united remonstrance of the Archbishops and Bishops of the English Church against "the dissemination of doctrines and encouragement of practices repugnant to the teaching of Holy Scripture and to the principles of the Church," in their pastoral letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity.² Or the yet stronger warning a few years previously from our sister Church in Scotland, in the condemnation, by the Synod of Bishops, of the same dangerous errors maintained by one of their brethren, a record of which is included in this work.³

Only within the last twelve months public feeling has received a shock by the exposure in the House of Lords of a secret manual of instruction for the Confessional, called "The Priest in Absolution,"⁴ borrowed from Romish sources, and adopted by "The Society of the Holy Cross;" which called forth such an expression of reprobation and alarm both

¹ See Mr. Oxenham's Sermon, Part XI., page 378. Also Note E, page 446.

² See Supplement, Note D, page 444.

³ See Part IV., page 101.

⁴ The compiler of this ill-famed book was the late Mr. Chambers, Vicar of St. Mary's, Soho, who is referred to in Dr. Sewell's letter to the Editor. See page 438.

in Parliament and in the public press, that several prominent members of the Society were compelled at once to withdraw from further connection with it.¹ And what could be a more deliberate act of rebellion against all lawful authority, both in Church and State, than the shameful resolution of "The English Church Union" to support any clergyman who would continue to set the law at defiance, after the recent judgment of the highest Court of Appeal, deciding the ritual questions so long in dispute? Or lastly, as a crowning act,—the formation, by the leaders of this party, of a "Church League," (by way of satisfaction for their legal discomfiture), making common cause with that most factious union of political dissent, "The Liberation

Society," to "dis-establish" and spoliage the National Church!¹

It has become, therefore, an all-important and anxious question, pressing on the minds of those who are responsible for the order and government of our Church—as of all her true members,—how this "counter-Reformation movement," so regardless of ecclesiastical authority, is to be resisted, without necessitating strong measures of repression, which, judging from the self-willed and party spirit that prevails, would probably end in another lasting schism.² And the question is urgently asked, by what means shall we best counteract the baneful effect of those Romish corruptions of the Truth—reproduced in an Anglican dress—which, under deceptive forms, or with a bold assumption, are grievously in-

¹ "No modest person could read the book without regret, and it is a disgrace to the community that such a work should be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church. It would be the duty of any father of a family to warn such clergymen never to approach his house again."—*Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

... "My objections to the Society are founded on a careful study both of the book which it adopted and circulated ('The Priest in Absolution,') and also of the rules imposed upon its members. As regards the former, 'The Priest in Absolution,' its teaching respecting confession, as well as on other points, appears to me to be definitively and unequivocally that of the Church of Rome as distinguished from that of our Church. It distinctly asserts in more than one passage,* and evidently assumes throughout, the necessity of private and sacramental confession, and of the enumeration by the penitent of all his mortal sins at least, and consequently the necessity of that minute and detailed examination of the penitent in which this book aims at instructing the confessor. As regards the rules of this society, the least strict of these, which is obligatory on all its members, binds them to say mass and to practise sacramental confession at least once a year. This is Roman language and the Roman rule; it is not the language nor the rule of the Church of England. . . . It seems to me clear that those who do disapprove either of these rules or of 'The Priest in Absolution' ought publicly to sever themselves from a society which continues to impose these rules, and which has publicly refused to condemn this book. Certainly until they do this they cannot complain if they are regarded as approving of both. . . . I must plainly say that so long as any institution claiming to be conducted on the principles of the Church of England is connected in the person of any one of its officials with the Society of the Holy Cross, I cannot, as a Bishop of that Church, give it my public recognition or support."—*Letter to Canon Lowe, from the Bishop of Peterborough, Sept. 15th, 1877.*

[* e.g. "There is no resource for the spiritually sick but private confession and absolution, and the Priest is Judge in the place of God."—*From a published quotation.*—Ed.]

¹ . . . "I by no means think that disestablishment is the greatest of the evils which threaten us, though the evil will prove much greater than most men think, bringing utter ruin on all the present constitution in state, in property, and in society. Yet, if it should come to us from the action of our enemies, I am prepared to accept it; and, if my life and life powers are spared me, to act hopefully under it. Indeed, I believe that in that case it would be far more fatal to those who should have effected it, than to those whom they hope to ruin. But I do most earnestly deprecate disestablishment from within. Coming from without it will unite us into a closer and more compact phalanx. Coming from within it will intallibly disintegrate us. Even so, I believe that dissent would be no gainer. In the course of time it would fade away before two greater powers. Romanism and Infidelity will be the residuary legatees of every thing left by the Church.

"Again, I do not deny that in some respects the relations of Church and State, or more properly of the spirituality and temporality, are imperfect. They never in the history of any Church have been perfect. They are in many respects better than they were 30 years ago, much better than they were 300 years ago. But then, the unity of Church and Realm, the existence of "a Church-state" (I use Dr. Arnold's favourite phrase, though I may not adopt all his theory of it) gives such a power of good to the Church, produces such a salutary influence on the state, sends the Gospel so freely to the poor, that he who rends the union must indeed be a bold or a reckless man. If the mistake, irreparable as death, shall prove to be a mistake indeed, then it will be also a sin too terrible to think about. Surely it is wise, right, Christian, to act cautiously, constitutionally, patiently, hopefully, when impatience may destroy at one stroke a fabric which has had 1200 years of growth, and quench a flame which has warmed and lighted England since it first became a nation."—*Extract from the Bishop of Winchester's answer to a Memorial similar to that addressed by members of the Ritualistic party to the Archbishops and Bishops, dated 2 May, 1877.*

² See Supplement, Note C, p. 444.

fecting our religious literature, especially the many devotional guides for the young, and are thus undermining the faith of our Church?

Hence, the design which the Editor aimed to accomplish, was to form an antidote to these dangerous errors, by collecting together such a body of testimony to the true Catholic principles of the English Reformation, by eminent living Divines, as might afford to minds still wavering or harrassed by doubt, an effectual safeguard against their deceitful influence, and a means of gaining a firmer conviction of the truth.

Having obtained free permission from authors of learning and distinction, among the Prelates and leading Clergy of the Church, to republish portions of their works in defence or exposition of her doctrines, with promises also of special contributions, and with hearty expressions of sympathy, the Editor undertook the whole responsibility of the work in its collective form: resolved to adhere faithfully to the teaching of our Church in the spirit and plain meaning of the Prayer-book, and humbly trusting to the Divine blessing on his efforts in defence of the purity of her Faith and the Catholicity of her doctrine.

As a proper introduction to the doctrinal questions to be examined in this work of vindication, the first Part is appropriated to a review of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, the rise and progress of which have been briefly sketched above. For this purpose the Editor made choice of a treatise which sets forth with great ability and clearness the distinction between Primitive Catholicity and its Mediæval or Romish counterfeit, and in which is contrasted the high standard of doctrine maintained in the revival of our Church principles, with the errors in doctrine and practice that have sprung up with their growth. An American Bishop, well known for his brotherly feeling towards England, and hearty attachment to her Church, had long watched with deep interest the religious movements and course of events in this country affecting her spiritual life and progress. An ardent lover of the Mother Church, he saw and deplored the danger that threatened her from the false direction that had been given to her truly Catholic Revival, under the influence of leading men at Oxford, whose *Anti-Catholic* tendencies, scarcely more than suspected in the first instance, were at last glaringly manifested by open defections

to Rome. The opposition of a mere negative Protestantism by which they were at first encountered, soon proved unequal to the contest with writers so learned in the theories and speculations of Mediæval schoolmen, and consequently there was manifest danger of the Truth suffering from the conflict of opposite errors. Against this danger, clearly discerned by him from the vantage-ground on which he stood as a distant spectator, Bishop Cleveland Coxe (Bishop of Western New York), had, in the spirit of loyalty to the Mother Church which has ever characterized her American daughter, lifted up the voice of warning. His treatise, "*The Criterion*," was therefore admirably fitted to lead the phalanx of authors whose aid was invoked for the vindication of Anglo-Catholic principles; and the publication of it (for the first time in this country), followed by two letters from his pen on the subject of Dr. Pusey's "*Eirenicon*," constituted PART I. of the collection of co-temporaneous testimony.

In PART II., the voices of Dr. Hook, late Dean of Chichester, and Dr. Wilberforce, the late Bishop of Winchester, (formerly of Oxford,) are blended together in solemn warning against the unfaithfulness of those sons of the English Church, who—some overtly and some covertly—labour "to undo the work of the English Reformation," and to assimilate the Reformed Church of England to the un-reformed and corrupt Church of Rome.

The first section consists of a short treatise, by the late Dr. Hook,¹ originally written as a lecture for the Leeds Church Institution, in which the English Reformation is shown to have been based and conducted on primitive principles, in contradistinction to the works of the less-favourably circumstanced foreign Reformers, who, under the influence of the powerful minds of Luther and Calvin, were more intent to establish an entirely new, than to restore to its purity the old, system of religion. The contrast between the Catholic doctrines of the Church, re-affirmed by the Reformation in England on the one hand, and the deviations from primitive Truth on the other,—whether towards Romanism or ultra-Protestantism—is clearly defined and enforced with much ability by the Dean. In the second section, the Bishop, drawing a parallel between the Reformation

¹ Long out of print, and now re-published with a few omissions.

of the older Church by King Josiah, and the Anglican Reformation, urges resort to the Word of God—the fountain and standard of revealed Truth—as the only means, at once safe and effectual, for purifying the Church from the errors engrafted upon her system during the Middle ages, by the tendency to corruption inherent in the human mind.

After vindicating the soundness of the principles on which, and the legitimacy of the measures by which, under the guidance of God's good providence—overruling for good “the irregular appetites and haughty temper of a profligate king”—the Reformation was accomplished, the Bishop enforces the duty, and points out the reason of maintaining that precious inheritance so regained: guarding it alike from the superstitions and errors of the past, and from the unbelief which has resulted from a reaction against those errors. As an appropriate conclusion to this Part, it is followed by a reprint of the letter addressed to Pius IX., in reply to the summons to attend the Vatican Council, by Bishop Cleveland Coxe, as his “colleague in that Episcopate to which the Holy Ghost has committed the government of the Catholic Church,”—warning him that if a truly Ecumenical Council should be convened, its first duty would be to institute a process against him, in view of the false doctrines taught from his episcopal chair.

By “an appeal for the Restoration of the Holy Eucharist to its rightful position in the Service of the Church,” by the late Dr. Biber, PART III. concentrates the discussion upon the Eucharistic question, as the cardinal point of the argument by which Anglo-Catholic principles are to be defended against the attempted revival of mediæval traditions and practices opposed to the primitive Truth.

In the form of a Review of Canon Trevor's treatise on the subject, PART IV. sets forth the Catholic doctrine of Holy Communion; maintaining the Memorial Sacrifice to be inseparable from the participation of the sacrament by the faithful. After vindicating the Scriptural and Catholic teaching of our Church concerning this Sacrament, the Roman dogma of the sacrifice of the Mass, and the Lutheran theory of Consubstantiation, are severally considered. The doctrine of the Real Spiritual Presence to the faithful communicant, as held in the English Church, is then specially treated; followed by an examination of the fallacy of

the new “Objective” theory. The concluding portion of the review bears testimony to the Catholicity and beauty of the Anglican Liturgy. Supplementary to this review is subjoined a reprint of the Pastoral Letter above referred to, of the Scottish Bishops, in Provincial Synod assembled, condemning the teaching of the late Bishop of Brechin as erroneous, on the doctrine of the Holy Communion. The aversion to the doctrine of Sacramental grace, prevalent in many quarters since the time of the Reformation, is traced by the Bishops to the natural reaction from errors and excesses with which the primitive teaching had been overlaid; and they express their fear lest such aversion should be increased and aggravated by the recent attempts to restore those errors.

In Part V., the essential principles of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are set forth and explained with special reference to the Liturgy and Ritual of the English Church. The Part is extended to ten sections, (in two divisions,) in order to give a full consideration to the subject, being one of primary importance in the due fulfilment of this work. It comprehends a large portion of Dr. Goulburn's valuable treatise on “The Office of the Holy Communion,” in which the purpose of the several parts of the Service are very clearly explained, and includes extracts from his “Farewell Counsels.”

After “having thus fully maintained and set forth the true Catholic Faith concerning the Mystery of the Holy Communion, as held and taught by our Church,” (to repeat the announcement in the Introductory Statement,) “it became a necessary duty to point out and protest against the attempted revival of Mediæval and Romish theories, to the perversion of Primitive Truth, which are once more thrust forward with the bold assumption of being ‘Catholic Verities,’ to the destruction of the peace of our Church.” The two following enlarged Parts are appropriated to this purpose, the materials for which, in Part VI., are furnished (1) by the last Charge of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, reprinted by permission of his son; and (2) by a short treatise by the Rev. William Milton on the doctrine of the Holy Communion, written with special reference to some statements in the last Charge of the late Dr. Hamilton, which caused much alarm and anxiety, as tending to give encouragement to these revived errors. The real question at issue relates chiefly to “Eucharistic Sacrifice,”

and the subject is ably treated by Mr. Milton in answer to the Bishop. In the 4th section, the Manifesto to the late Archbishop from leading members of the Ritualistic party, advocating the same unsound doctrines, is carefully examined and answered. The two last sections, by the same author, contain a narrative of the last Paschal Supper of our Lord, with concluding reflections on His true SPIRITUAL SACRIFICE.

Carrying on the discussion in the same direction, the Seventh Part proceeds to a critical examination (from the pen of the late Dr. Biber,) of several of the most prominent writings lately put forth in support of the doctrine of a quasi-material Presence in the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood; viz., Mr. Keble's treatise on "Eucharistic Adoration;" Mr. Carter's "Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," and his "Spiritual Instructions;" Mr. Blunt's "Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances of the Church;" and Dr. Pusey's sermon, "This is MY BODY." The materialistic theory of the Holy Communion which underlies them all, is subjected to the test of the Word of God,—its fallacy demonstrated, and its pernicious tendency laid bare.

In Part VIII., "the true Eucharistic Adoration of the Catholic Church—ever addressed to Christ enthroned in Heaven," is set forth in a very able historical treatise by the late Archdeacon Freeman, (reprinted with slight abridgement), being the second part of Vol. II. of his "Principles of Divine Service," and forms a complete refutation of the materialistic views contained in Mr. Keble's treatise above named.

The principles maintained in this Part are further illustrated by a copious Appendix, containing extracts selected both from cotemporary authors, and from the standard works of two of our great Divines, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and Bishop Beveridge.

Thus far the Editor had endeavoured, by the aid of the materials placed at his disposal, to set forth, in their purity and integrity, the great principles of the English Reformation; that is to say, the Scriptural and uncorrupted doctrines of the primitive Church, happily recovered by our branch of the Church at her Reformation. Among these, the doctrine of the Holy Communion forms the central point, the means of spiritual life, and true bond of union of the Christian Church; and to its rightful establishment and clearance from the accretions of error, the greater part of this work of

"Vindication" has accordingly been devoted.

But that done, there remained a further duty beside, to which he felt he could not be wanting. Among the attempts that are made to disseminate doctrines opposed to the teaching of our Church, there are none so much to be reprehended as the introduction of obsolete and unauthorized practices, under the mask of superior piety and devotion, which are closely connected with those doctrines, and so made the means of indirectly preparing the way for their reception, and insidiously teaching them. An obvious instance of this is the encouragement of the laity to be present at the administration of the Holy Communion as a proper act of devotion, when not intending to partake of the Sacrament. It has now become the general rule at those churches where excessive ritual is adopted, for the non-communicant congregation to remain at the mid-day Communion service, or at a funeral service in which the "high celebration" is introduced, to witness, but *not partake*, of the Holy Communion. This is a mere counterpart of the ordinary custom in the Church of Rome (as with ourselves before the Reformation), to go to "hear Mass," supposing thereby to aid the priest in "offering a sacrifice for the quick and the dead;" so emphatically condemned by our Church as "a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit." With Romanists it is notoriously made a *substitute* for receiving the Sacrament; and for English Churchmen to return back to such an indefensible practice, is a wilful disregard of the essential purpose of Christ's ordinance, and incompatible with a real apprehension of the mystery of godliness, in the faithful reception of the Lord's Supper.

To refute these errors seemed, under the circumstances, an imperative duty. And it is with a view to that object that the latter parts of the volume contain a republication, with important additions, of Mr. Scudamore's treatise on the Communion of the Laity, and of Dr. Biber's essay, entitled, "The Communion of the Faithful, essential to the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist." In both of these, the practice of "Non-communicant attendance" is shown to be utterly inconsistent with the rule and constant practice of the Primitive Church, as also with the Order of the Holy Communion, according to the rule and (until a very recent period) the invariable custom of the Church

of England. The persistent efforts of the Ritualist party to establish the practice of non-communicating attendance at the celebration of the Holy Communion, made it desirable to examine the soundness of the principle upon which it affects to rest. Part IX., accordingly, is devoted to an historical investigation of the question, whether or not such a custom was sanctioned by, or is consistent with, the rule of the Primitive Church; and Part X., whether it has ever been that of the Reformed Church of England. The overwhelming testimony produced is a conclusive answer in *the negative* to this question; and the lessons of history are a warning to us, as Mr. Scudamore shows, of what the inevitable result would be, should this practice again prevail in our Church.

The 1st and 2nd sections of the Eleventh Part contain a review of the "Reply of the Council of the English Church Union" to Mr. Scudamore on this subject; giving a digest of the controversy that was occasioned by their petition and memorial to Convocation against the final passing of the new rubric, requiring a pause to be made in the service to allow non-communicants to retire. The inaccurate mastery of facts displayed by these self-elected champions of the faith, is fearlessly exposed by the sounder scholarship and deeper acquaintance with ecclesiastical history of their opponent. As an appendix to this part, will be found some valuable liturgical notes, and two important

addresses by the Bishop of Lincoln, to his diocese, on "Non-communicant Attendance," and "Fasting Communion," forming part of his last charge, and republished with his permission.

In Part XII., and the Supplement following it, the Series is brought to a close, as the culminating point of this and every other discussion respecting the Holy Communion is reached in the all-important question of "Eucharistic Sacrifice." What this is, as taught in Holy Scripture and believed by the faithful in primitive ages, is set forth in a treatise by the Rev. J. Le Mesurier. It is followed by two treatises, which will be received with all the greater reverence now that their learned and devout Author, Dr. Biber, rests from his labours, and awaits in peace the coming of the Lord, Whom he served so long and faithfully. In the former of the two, the sacrificial character of the worship of the Church on earth, by virtue of its union with the ever-pleading of the One Sacrifice, once offered, by the Great High Priest within the veil, is ably maintained by copious references to Holy Scripture; in the latter, the Holy Communion, as a means by which Christians are made one in Christ, and therefore one with each other, is proved to be the true *Eirenicon* of the Church militant here on earth, while waiting for the coming of the kingdom of her Redeemer, the PRINCE OF PEACE.

Christmas, 1877.

J. C. S.

TO ENGLAND.

Fair Albion, thy Church is mine!
 And every hallowed day,
 I bend where England's anthems swell,
 And hear old England pray:
 And England's old adoring rites,
 And old liturgic words,
 Are mine—but not for England's sake;
 I love them as the Lord's!
 Oh well thy banner-folds may bear
 In Red—the Holy Rod,
 Thy priests have princes been to men;
 Thy princes,—priests to GOD!
 And bold to win a crown in heaven
 The royal Martyr bled:
 The Martyr's noble host is full
 Of England's noblest dead!

From "Christian Ballads," by the same Author.

TO THE MEMORY OF DECEASED CONTRIBUTORS.—FROM THE EDITOR.

"To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in His throne.

"He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."—Rev. iii. 21, 22.

IN MEMORIAM.

When the Editor undertook, in the year 1871, the construction of a bulwark against the encroachments of an erroneous school of teaching, which he believed—in common with a deep-felt conviction throughout the English Church—to be endangering the very foundations of her Catholic principles, he resolved to build it with materials drawn chiefly from the writings of living Divines, whose acknowledged learning and position in the Church would justly claim that attention and respect for their united testimony which no one writer would probably command.

Now that the work is finished, and, with all its imperfections, dedicated to the Ascended, yet Ever-present, Head of the Church, he laments to see, on looking back to the past five years, how many of those who were manfully contending for the faith when this defensive bulwark was undertaken, and who so heartily aided in its erection, have, during that short space of time, been called to their Rest. In each case the Church has had to mourn the loss of one of her most faithful and devoted sons; to him the loss of such valued friends has been personally severe.

But while he laments these irreparable vacancies in the circle of his friends, he cannot but feel that their testimony will now be received with a reverence and a solemnity which might not have been accorded to them while in the flesh, speaking to us, as they now do, from within the Veil.

The first to hear the Master's call was Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester.¹ In July, 1873, he was suddenly taken to his rest, leaving behind him the enduring name and fame of a Bishop of marvellous energy, of a Preacher of unequalled fervour and impressiveness, of an Orator first among the foremost, of a man greatly beloved. Although he did not produce any single book of sufficient magnitude to gain for him the title of a great author, yet the accumulation of the stream of sermon, charge, and speech which was ever flowing from those eloquent lips, has enriched the Church with an invaluable legacy of matured thought and practical

counsel, upon well-nigh every one of the great topics which had stirred men's hearts during the years of his prolonged Episcopate.

Only a few months had passed, when the Editor had again to mourn the loss of a valued friend, and one who had proved a very able assistant—the late Dr. Biber.² From the first he entered heartily into the Editor's design and object in this serial work, being convinced of the great need of such a combined testimony against the errors of an extreme school of teaching, which was undermining the faith of so many, and had of late assumed an attitude of such bold defiance of all warning and authority. The active part he had taken as an author and a preacher, in the doctrinal controversies which have engaged the attention of our Church for some years past, gave him a perfect mastery of the real points at issue, and rendered him specially qualified to undertake a large share of the contributions to this volume. The hand of God guiding his earlier life led him by many a strange and mysterious path, until he—German by birth, Lutheran by education—became a naturalized British subject, and a clergyman of the Church of England. After coming to this country, he applied himself earnestly to the study of our Church's doctrine and principles, and from a full conviction of her just claim to be a living branch of Christ's Church, and a Teacher of the Truth, he joined her communion, and proceeded to take holy Orders. He was intimately associated with the late Henry Hoare (the Banker) in promoting the revival of Convocation, and to their persevering labours in the cause, the English Church is chiefly indebted for the renewed life of her Provincial legislature. He was also an active member of the "English Church Union" in its earlier years, when it formed a means of combination among Churchmen for the general defence of the Church. But when its purpose began to be perverted into the mere organ of a party—and that, a very factious and disloyal one,—he protested earnestly against its altered character, although his wholesome warning proved in vain. The influence of his friend Dr. Pusey and other leading members prevailed in the council of the

¹ Died July 19, 1873. See Note, page 456.

² Died Jan., 1874.

Association, and he had no alternative but to retire from further connection with it. In his later days he threw himself with characteristic energy into the great ecclesiastical movement through which he looked for the religious liberty of his Fatherland, and acted as Secretary to the Old-Catholic Correspondence Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society,—a post for which his familiarity with the language and literature of Germany and of England made him specially fitted. Like many other earnest thinkers, he felt that the real bonds of Christian unity, the only ones to stand the strain of multiplied divergences in lesser matters, are the two blessed Sacraments which Christ has ordained in His Church. How ably this idea is worked out with regard to the Holy Communion the concluding part of this work is witness.

The next of these Vindicators of Anglo-Catholic doctrine to pass away was the Venerable Philip Freeman, Archdeacon of Exeter,³ whose lamented death occurred from the effect of an accidental fall. His fine scholarship, sound churchmanship, and masterly style made him an able champion in the arena of theological discussion. His greatest work, “*The Principles of Divine Service*,” will long be a standard authority on the subjects of which it treats. On the most solemn and exalted questions relative to the Holy Eucharist the words of his ripened judgment have an especial value, and the materials which have been drawn from this source form no inconsiderable portion of the defence which it is hoped this present compilation will provide against the advancing errors of the time.

The career of another eminent Divine of our Church was soon to terminate in the midst of active life from a similar cause, (an accidental fall),—the fervent sacred poet, the earnest Churchman, Dr. Monsell,⁴—who though less of a contributor, heartily sympathised with the Editor in the purpose of this work. It was not so much his mission to engage in the actual defence of the faith himself, as to encourage those who were so engaged with his “*Spiritual Songs*.” Nevertheless, in the much-admired and most useful tale, “*Our New Vicar*,”⁵ he

showed with what interest he regarded the great religious awakening of the age, and how accurately he could distinguish between the true and the false, the primitive and the mediæval, in matters in which it was easy to overpass the limits which wisdom and sound churchmanship would prescribe. He was inspecting the progress of his new church at Guildford when the accident occurred from the effect of which he shortly afterwards sank to rest, leaving many an endeared friend to mourn his loss. He seemed to have had an inward impression that “the time of his departure was at hand,” and when it drew near, he welcomed with joyful hope his Master’s Call to “go Home.”

It was with a mournful feeling that the Editor found himself compelled, when his work was nearly completed, to add to the list of his departed friends the honored name of Dr. Hook, late Dean of Chichester,⁶ who will doubtless long be remembered as “Vicar of Leeds.” He lived to see the completion of two great works of his life: the subdivision of his immense parish of Leeds into fully organized separate parishes; and the rebuilding the central tower and spire of his Cathedral after its ruinous fall. Besides which, his literary labours as an author and editor bear witness to his zeal and industry in the work of the Church. More exclusively, perhaps, than was the case with any of those already mentioned, did he regard it as his life-work to maintain against gainsayers of every persuasion the Catholicity and Apostolic authority of the English Church. The whole tone of his preaching and writings showed how fully he comprehended the need of an uncompromising assertion of this great truth. The closing years of his long active life were spent under the peaceful shade of his Cathedral, awaiting his final Call, when at last the Church of England was saddened by the news that one of her bravest and most able defenders had passed away.

To the above named eminent Divines who had taken part with him in this work, the Editor cannot omit to add the name of his beloved friend, Dr. Sewell. Although not a direct contributor to the volume, as his letter on “*The Revolutionary spirit in our Church*” was inserted after his decease, the warm interest he took in the progress of the work, his

³ Died Feb. 24, 1874.

⁴ Died March, 1875. He had but just completed his beautiful little poem, “*Near Home at last*.” (See page 457.)

⁵ The extracts from this work form Note O in the Appendix to Part VIII., pp. 273—5.

⁶ Died October, 1875.

Victory of its great value at the present time, the aid of his matured judgment—having spent his whole life in the service of the Church, and in the defence of her truly Catholic principles,—gave the Editor encouragement to persevere in this, his “labour of love” amidst many claims of professional duties; and withal, as a consequence of its faithful fulfilment, having to bear opposition and estrangement from some of his brother Churchmen, who once joined with him heartily in the profession of the same Principles, and in the defence of the same Truths.

These champions of England's Church are gone to their Eternal Rest! They fought the good fight, and witnessed a good confession,—they have finished their course—they have kept the faith. The blessedness of the dead which die in the Lord is theirs, they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

* * Since the second edition of this work was published containing the above tribute to the memory of some valued friends and fellow-helpers of the Editor—whose loss he deeply lamented,—two other intimate friends who took a personal interest in his work of Vindication, and much encouraged him by their wise counsel and co-operation, have been called to their final Rest. In Dr. Goulburn (late Dean of Norwich), whose rather sudden death occurred last year, the English Church has to mourn the loss of an eminent Divine, and one of her most devoted and faithful sons. His well-known devotional and liturgical works, written in her cause and defence, have been long valued by many a Churchman for their sound teaching and instructive exposition of her doctrines and principles.

Dr. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York, was called to his Rest at a ripe old age, after a long life of earnest devotion to his Master's work,—to the great grief of his many friends. He was one in whom the Church in America has to mourn the loss of a most zealous and learned Prelate,—a Champion for the Truth, foremost against all opposers, in defence of the Reformed Anglican Church and the Catholic Faith! The memory of Bishop Coxe's friendly visits and social intercourse on the occasions of his attendance at the Lambeth Conferences, and the hearty interest he took in all the progressive work of the Church in England, will ever be cherished by his sincere friend, the

“And they who with their Leader
Have conquered in the fight,
For ever and for ever
Are clad in robes of white.”

The Crown of righteousness which the Lord, the Righteous Judge, will give unto all them that love Him, is now their sure Reward!

To us the solemn call is made to gird our armour on, and follow in that path of duty which they so faithfully trod. If but true to ourselves, and faithful to our Lord, He will never forsake us, and the Victory, in His own time, will be ours—for THE BATTLE IS HIS! May Christ of His mercy raise up many like to those whose loss we mourn, so that His Church may never lack holy and learned men, mighty in word, and filled with the Spirit of Truth, to “contend earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered unto the saints.”

Editor, as also the very interesting letters occasionally received from him from America,—the cessation of which is felt by his friend as a personal loss.

An eloquent and just tribute to the memory of this eminent Prelate appeared in the “Churchman” (a leading journal of the American Church,) shortly after his decease, and the Editor gladly re-produces it as truly expressing the sentiment of esteem and reverence shared alike by himself, and by the Bishop's many sincere friends in England.

Easter, 1898.

BISHOP CLEVELAND COXE.¹

“THE sudden death of the Bishop of Western New York brings deepest grief to the many who loved him as a personal friend, and a keen feeling of regret to the vast number who admired his character and work as a representative American bishop. Bishop Coxe has been a very conspicuous figure in the most important events which make up the history, for nearly a generation, of the Church in this country and in Europe. The whole Western Church of Christ recognized the influence of this American prelate, whether we speak of the American, the Anglican, the Roman, or the Old Catholic branches. His bold and judicious championship of opinions, held by such men as Döllinger and Reinkens, led to the raising up of the Old

¹ From the (American) “Churchman.”

Catholic episcopate. In the reformed movement in Italy and France he was foremost with his sympathy and advocacy. It was to a suggestion of his that the powerful and useful Lambeth Conferences are due. If Bishop Coxe was not exactly *malleus hæreticorum*, he was *malleus papalistarum*, the protagonist who rushed full armed into the controversy with Roman pretensions, and, as Ajax was ‘the bulwark of the tide of war,’ this redoubtable warrior of the Cross stood up and faced every incoming flood of Roman aggression which he thought was threatening the citadel of truth and liberty in his beloved country. Wendell Holmes has said that the man of genius is the man who keeps fresh the enthusiasm of his youth. The youthful religious ardour of Arthur Cleveland Coxe was expressed in his earliest literary production, the ‘Christian Ballads.’ These ballads were known by heart among half the members of the Anglo-Saxon Church. They indicated a deep and intelligent devotion to the Church and the Prayer-book of the English-speaking nations. The spirit of the Christian Ballads remained to his last moment the spirit of the Bishop’s life and work. After many years of pastoral labour, principally in Baltimore and New York, Dr. Coxe found in the episcopate a more enlarged sphere for the exercise of his great spiritual and intellectual gifts. His wide learning, his varied accomplishments, his unfaltering enthusiasm, have, since his election to the diocese of Western New York, made him one of the most powerful and influential bishops of the English succession on either side of the Atlantic.

“It was not merely his eloquence, which was admittedly great, or his profound acquaintance

with ancient Church history, and with all the details and literature of Roman controversy, that placed Dr. Coxe in the foremost rank of modern ecclesiastical orators, debaters, and writers. His personal dignity impressed men, his winning tenderness won their hearts. But under all there was the strong foundation of an unwavering faith in Christ and in the Church of Christ. ‘For Christ and His Church’ was the motto that supported him in the untiring toils of his life, and the battle-cry that led him into controversy with what he considered ‘the army of the aliens.’ Above all, Bishop Coxe was one whose prayers and utterances have done much to clear the ground for some future reorganization of Nonconformist Christians upon the foundation of one historic episcopate. The old man eloquent looked eagerly for the return to the Church of that unity for which his Master had prayed. Nor was the work of the devoted Bishop in vain. While he contributed much to the knowledge of what a Church,—what the Church, is; while he did his part in vindicating the unalterable element in the constitution of the Church as Christ left it, and threw the light of history upon many essential points in its settled order and usage, he also did his best, by tolerance and sympathy, to make the way plain and clear to those who stand outside the walls of this city of God. Whatever charity and wisdom and study could do has been contributed by Bishop Coxe to the efforts of others, in bringing about a re-united Christendom. The man is gone, his works remain, and his example is one of the most inspiring and stimulating which the American Church has ever welcomed as her heritage.”

TO THE MEMORY OF BISHOP COXE. BY THE BISHOP OF ALBANY.¹

“Friday, July 22nd, 1896, in Trinity Church, Geneva, I took part in the services for the burial of the Bishop of Western New York. I officiated at the celebration in the morning; and afterward, the other Bishops present saying the rest of the burial office in the church, I committed to the grave all that was mortal of Arthur Cleveland Coxe.

“There were present and officiating the Bishops of Maine, Kentucky, Pittsburg, Springfield, North Dakota, and Ohio. We had all come from afar, and really from the four quarters of the Continent, drawn by the common instinct of a desire to prove our most reverent affection for our brother. The Standing

Committee very courteously assigned to the Bishops the privilege of conducting the services, and, as the only Bishop of the Province of New York who was present, I was able to

‘Christen his body with dust to dust.’

“The Bishop of Pittsburg took the opening sentences, the Bishop of Springfield read the lesson, the Bishop of Kentucky said the Creed and prayers, and the Bishop of Maine the concluding prayers and benediction.

“The grave in which the buried Bishop lies is immediately to the east of the altar, before which he knelt thirty-one years ago to take the vows which he has, with such unsparring devotion, such entire consecration of rich gifts, and such masterly ability, dis-

¹ From the Journal attached to the Bishop’s Address for 1896.

charged, not only as a diocesan overseer, but still more as a Bishop in the Church of God. No Bishop among us all has been so widely known as he, as poet, scholar, polemic writer; and no man I ever knew had given to him by nature, and then consecrated by grace, more varied gifts; nor have I ever known any one who had more absolutely and accurately, more promptly and instinctively, at his command, not only all the gifts and graces of thought and speech, but all the resources of a very wide, rich, rare learning, in things both sacred and profane. His personality was dignified, impressive, attractive. The simple reality of his own religious life, his true and earnest piety, was as fresh and clear and natural as the shining of the sun or the fragrance of a flower. It is, I think, only fair to say that many of us have regretted the persistent utterances of the Bishop against the innovations upon the doctrine and order of the Catholic Church by the Bishop of Rome. But it is right also to say that they were the almost irresistible utterance of a man who knew primitive theology so well that every intellectual and spiritual faculty in his nature was galled by the modern assumptions and contentions, which so far destroyed, that in some cases they almost denied, the faith; and more than that, of a man in whom a consciousness of his own episcopate, with the fulness of its gifts and the freedom of its exercise, as an independent Bishop in an independent National Church of God, revolted against the claim of one who degraded the Apostolic office by assuming to himself to be the *only* Bishop, the rest being either vicars, if they were subordinate to him; or not Bishops at all, if they declined to submit themselves to his arbitrary demands.

“The two-sidedness of Bishop Coxe’s position in this matter may be thus simply stated, that he was the most ‘Protestant of Catholics in his detestation of

everything Roman, and the most Catholic of Protestants in his devotion to the primitive Church.’ His service, outside of and apart from his diocesan duty, has been very large and very valuable. His keen interest in the work of the Reformed Church in Mexico; his energetic services in the founding of the Church in Hayti; his eloquent and earnest energy in the support of our Mission in Greece; his service to the Church in the matter of the old Hymnal and his own contributions to our hymnology; his persistence, partially rewarded, I am glad to say, before he died, in the revision of our system of Constitution and Canons; his warm interest in the inception and the carrying on of the Lambeth Conference; and the important work he did toward reunion, as chairman of our Commission on Ecclesiastical Relations—these are the outside things which made intense demands upon a nature that never worked except at the very highest nervous pitch, throwing his whole power, spiritual and intellectual, into every duty that he undertook. And so, in the rich maturity of his almost eighty years, still young in every purpose and power, he has passed from labour to Reward. And I am quite sure that all of us who gathered in Geneva on that summer day and entered into the beauty of the simple service, rendered exactly as the Prayer-Book orders, had ringing in our ears that most familiar and most beautiful of ‘The Christian Ballads,’—

“The Bishop goes down to his narrow bed
As the ploughman’s child is laid,
And alike she blesteth the dark-browed serf
And the chief in his robe arrayed.
She sprinkles the drops of the bright new birth,
The same on the low and high,
And christens their bodies with dust to dust,
When earth with its earth must lie.”

Oh, not like kingdoms of the world—
The holy Church of GOD!
Though earthquake shocks be rocking it,
And tempest is abroad;
Unshaken as eternal hills,
Unmoveable it stands,
A mountain that shall fill the earth,
A fane unbuilt by hands.

Though years fling ivy over it,
Its Cross peers high in air,
And reverend with majestic age,
Eternal youth is there!
Oh, mark her holy battlements,
And her foundations strong;
And hear, *within*, her ceaseless voice,
And her unending song!

Oh, ye that in these latter days
The Citadel defend,
Perchance *for you*, the Saviour said,
I’m with you to the end;
Stand therefore girt about, and hold
Your burning lamps in hand,
And standing, listen for your LORD,
And till He cometh—stand!

The gates of hell shall ne’er prevail
Against our holy home,
But oh be wakeful, Sentinel,
Until the Master come!
The night is spent—but listen ye;
For on its deepest calm
What marvel if the cry be heard,—
“The Marriage of the LAMB!”

"GONE HOME!"

THEN, when beneath the church's shade
My lifeless body hath been laid,
With such sweet words of Prayer and Praise
As men round Christian death-beds raise;
Let none, as for some lost one, weep—
"He giveth His Beloved sleep!"
Let no one think of me with pain,
"To live is Christ, to die is gain!"

He wants not pity—nor is poor,
Nor dead, whose life and joy are sure!
Say, rather, "Thank God, he at last
Is safe, all sins and sorrow past,
Gone Home!"—that is the only word
That should from Christian lips be heard—
"No more with weary steps to roam
Earth's wilderness—Gone Home! gone Home!"
Dr. Monsell's last poem.

"FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT OF FAITH—LAY HOLD ON ETERNAL LIFE."

O RISE with Christ!—"Gone up on High"
To His Eternal Majesty!
The Grave He burst, and Death is dead!
"Captivity is captive led!"

Seek after Christ!—take up His Cross,
And bear with Him the shame and loss;
Who drank the bitter cup of woe
That *we* might to His glory go!

He seeks for us! then raise above
Our hearts, to meet His Heart of Love!
O Love, too deep for us to scan!—
The Sacrifice of GOD for Man!

His Death—our life! Bless'd heavenly food,
To eat and drink His Flesh and Blood!
By Faith receiv'd, in heart ador'd:—
Embrace, my Soul, thy Present Lord!

But heav'n-ward breathe thy fervent prayer,
For Christ is ever pleading *there*;
With heav'nly choirs joyful raise
Thy life-long offering of praise!

Sustain, O Lord, my drooping soul
With Thy Bless'd SPIRIT's full control,
Give power to bear and brave the strife,
And win the Crown—"Eternal Life!"

To dwell in Christ, and Christ in me—
'Tis heaven's sublimest mystery!
O come that day when hence I fly,
And dwell with Christ in Realms on High!

To dwell with Christ, in His one Fold—
Both Christian Church, and Church of old,—
'Mid countless Souls Redeem'd from sin;
His Church Triumphant gather'd in!

To see our Saviour's Form Divine
At GOD's right hand in Glory shine!
That Human Form—His Earthly Veil—
No more His Deity conceal!

O bliss supreme!—when Christ shall own
His fold, before our FATHER's Throne!—
His priceless Ransom paid for me,
To live with Him eternally!

To reign with Christ enthron'd above—
With Angels sing His wondrous Love!
While Seraph Harpers sound their chords,
To glorify the LORD OF LORDS!

J. C. S.

ASCENSION DAY, 1893.

"TO NEW JERUSALEM,"

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART I.

DENUNCIATION OF PAPAL PRESUMPTION.

"Around our walls the battle lowers,
And mines are hid beneath our towers,
And watchful Foes are stealing round
To search and spoil the holy ground."

O England, rise! Thy Day of Grace
Bids thee for *Truth to fight!*
Then come the Battle when it may—
GOD will defend the Right!

THE RESPONSE FROM BISHOPS OF THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CHURCH TO THE INVITATION OF POPE PIUS IXTH TO THE VATICAN COUNCIL AT ROME, 1869.

LETTER I.—FROM THE LATE RT. REV. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

POPE PIUS IXTH has lately addressed a Letter* from Rome 'to all Protestants.' Writing to all Protestants, he writes to us who are members of the Church of England. For, while we affirm ourselves to be Catholics, we do not deny ourselves to be Protestants; inasmuch as we protest against errors contrary to the Catholic Faith. We are Protestants, in order to be truly Catholic.

It could not be otherwise than very agreeable to us, that the Bishop of Rome should have not disdained to dictate a Letter to us, and to express his paternal solicitude for the salvation of our souls.

How many and how great blessings have flowed to England from Italy, can hardly be conceived in thought, much less be expressed in words. Not to mention the rich fruits which we gather from the writings of illustrious men, whose names adorn the ancient and modern

annals of Italy; not to enumerate the splendid monuments of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, which attract us to the cities of Italy, especially to Rome, in order to admire and to imitate; there are other benefits still more substantial, which associate us with Italy and with Rome, in most delightful communion, and combine and unite us with them in the holiest bonds of religion.

The truly Apostolic Letters of St. Peter, who was joined with St. Paul in founding the Church of Rome, are continually sounding in our Churches, and are in the hands of us all. St. Clement, the Bishop of Rome, the friend of St. Paul, wrote a truly Apostolic Letter; and the most ancient, indeed, the unique Manuscript of that Letter, is preserved by us in London with religious reverence; and has not only been printed in the original, and also been translated into English, that it may be familiar to all, but has been represented, even to its minutest points, by photographic art, in order that the memory of St. Clement may never fade away through time, and that his voice may sound for ever among us. We pay a special homage to the name and to the writings of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; we venerate the Sermons and Epistles of St. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome; we cherish with grateful remembrance the memory of St. Gregory I., the Roman Prelate,

* This Apostolic Letter bears the following title, "Apostolic Letter of our most holy Lord Pius IXth, by Divine Providence, Pope, to all Protestants and other non-Catholics."

The Letter of Pius the IXth is written in Latin, and was published at Rome on the 30th of Sept., 1868, and translated into the languages of the principal Nations, and disseminated through Europe and America and other parts of the world,

not only on account of his truly Apostolic writings, but because he was animated with an Apostolic affection towards us, and displayed Apostolic love, and discharged an Apostolic office, in sending to us St. Augustine as a Preacher of the Gospel; to whom our Archbishops of Canterbury succeed in a continuous and never interrupted line; at the same time that it is known to all, that a Christian Church flourished in Britain many years before the coming of Augustine, even from the times of the Apostles themselves, and that British Bishops were present in the primitive Councils of the Church.

Not to dwell on other facts, the Apostles' Creed, which coincides for the most part with the ancient Creed of Rome, is daily recited in our Churches, and we are baptized into that profession of Faith. In the form of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which is always recited by us at the celebration of the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, we agree so minutely with the Church of Rome, that principally by this agreement we have incurred the obloquy of the Eastern Church. The Athanasian Creed, which has been shown by our Theologians to derive its origin from the Latin Church, is sung in our Churches.

Inasmuch as these things are clear as noon-day, it is evident that we, as in duty bound, regard the name of Italy with pious reverence, and that we should be disposed to greet with the greatest veneration truly Apostolic Letters conveyed to us from Rome; and that we most earnestly desire, and yearn with the most ardent longing, and pray with devout supplications to Almighty God, that we may be united with the Nation and Church of Italy in a closer bond, in Jesus Christ our Lord, the Supreme Head of the Church, and the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

Wherefore, to confess the truth, we were affected with no small sorrow, and were agitated with no little perturbation of mind, when we had received into our hands, and had scrutinized with our eyes, the Apostolic Letter lately addressed to us by Pope Pius IXth, and now disseminated through the world.

An Apostolic Letter, we imagined, would be animated with an Apostolic spirit. In an Apostolic Letter, Christian charity, equity, and humility will shine forth brightly. Such were our hopes. But they were disappointed. With how great bitterness Pius, the Roman Pontiff, vituperates us and ours: how unjust a sentence he pronounces against us; with what asperity

and contumely he attacks, impugns, and insults us, let God be witness. We would gladly commit our cause to His Infallible verdict, and we should prefer to pass over in silence the calumnies which have been hurled against us, if, when men are accused of Heresy, to neglect what is said of them in public, however calumniously, were not the part of reckless persons, and of such as connive with impious cupineness at wrongs done to the Name of God.

But to proceed.

In this Apostolic Letter, Pope Pius asserts that he has summoned 'all the Bishops of the whole world to the General Council which is to meet next year at Rome.' In saying that he has convoked *all* the Bishops, he clearly implies that those who are not convoked by him are *not* Bishops. He pronounces this judgment on our Bishops. How benevolently, how mildly, how justly let himself be judge.

But, says he, you are heretics and schismatics. Be it so. But if he is truly Apostolic, he ought to confute heresy with truth, and to heal schism with love. The great Athanasius deemed it right that the heretical Bishops of the Arians—the great Augustine judged it fit that the schismatical Bishops of the Donatists—should be called to a Council. Those were truly Apostolic Bishops; and what they did was noble and wise. And why? Because it was done that, by God's help, an end would be put to heresy and schism. And the God of Truth and Love heard their prayers. But 'our most holy Lord Pope Pius the Ninth' (such is the magnificent and almost divine title which he assumes to himself) pursues a very different course. In his Apostolic Letter, he supposes that he will conciliate the Bishops of the English Church, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and all the Bishops who communicate with us in America and in the British Colonies diffused throughout the world, and that he will draw them to himself by this device, if he denies them to be Bishops at all.

But to pass on.

The Church of England, disseminated throughout the world, is depicted in the following colours, by Pius, the Bishop of Rome, in his Apostolic Letter:—'We cannot do otherwise than address them all, on the occasion of the approaching Council, with our Apostolic and paternal words, who, although they own the same Christ Jesus as a Redeemer, and glory in the Christian name, yet *do not profess the true faith of Christ, nor follow the Communion of the Catholic Church.*'

Truly these are Apostolic and paternal words, and admirably fitted to promote the cause of Love and Peace! Is it so, then, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, and that we are to be counted as heathens and publicans,—we, who maintain and propagate, to adopt the language of St. Jude. ‘the faith once for all delivered to the Saints?’* Is it so, then, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who (to borrow the words of more than seventy of our Bishops lately assembled at London) ‘embrace and venerate all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the sure Word of God,’ and who deliver and commend them to be read by all, with devout prayer to Him? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who recite in our Churches the three Creeds—the Apostles’ Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian—and propose them to our Preachers as the best rule for the interpretation of Scripture in matters which pertain to the Faith? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who are regenerated and refreshed by His life-giving Sacraments? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we, in whose land new Churches are being daily built, and old Churches are restored and enlarged, in which the pure Word of God is publicly read and preached, and the Sacraments of Christ are duly administered, and Prayers, Psalms and Hymns, and spiritual songs are ever ascending unto God in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ? We will say nothing of Schools, which of late years have risen among us in countless numbers, where our children are trained in the discipline of Christ. We will not speak of our Evangelical Missions to heathen Nations, and of the many Episcopal Sees founded by the English Church in our Colonies. Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who embrace and venerate whatsoever has been established and promulgated in matters of Christian Doctrine, by truly Œcumenical and General Councils, and received by the Catholic Church? If to communicate with Christ and His Apostles, and with Apostolical men, who flourished in the earliest and purest ages of the Church, and fell asleep peacefully in Christ, is not to profess the true faith of Christ, then we should be glad to know what is that ‘true faith of Christ’ which Pope Pius the IXth would now set before us to learn? Is it some faith of Christ that has sprung forth into the world in recent days, long after the time of

Christ? Is it some faith of Christ which has been devised by the imagination of man? Is it some faith of Christ which has been brought forth into light by the Roman Pontiff out of the cabinet of his own breast?

St. Paul, in his truly Apostolic Letter, writes to the Galatians, and to all the faithful of every place and time, and he thus speaks: ‘Although an Angel from heaven should preach to you anything other than what we preach to you, and than what ye have received from us, let him be accursed.’* Therefore, whatsoever was unknown to the Primitive Church, in matters of faith, although an Angel should preach it, is to be rejected by us, unless we are willing to be smitten by the Apostolic Anathema. All things that St. Paul and the other Apostles preached, we receive. But whatever in matters of faith was not preached by St. Paul and the other Apostles, and received by the Apostolic Churches, we reject. In both respects we assent to St. Paul. But Pope Pius the IXth says that we do ‘not profess the true faith of Christ.’ Whether of the two will ye believe, Pius the Pope, or Paul the Apostle? Whether of the two will ye believe, Pius the Pope, or the Holy Ghost who spake by St. Paul? We have not been called to the Council at Rome, but we invoke the judgment of God.

But Pius the Roman Pontiff says, ‘Ye do not follow the Communion of the Catholic Church.’ A very heavy charge. We confess that schism is a heinous sin, yea, a great sacrilege. Holy Bishops, Ignatius and Cyprian, said that the sin of schism could not be washed away by Martyrdom. The Church of England denies that she is guilty of this crime. We have never seceded from the Catholic Church, and we did not separate willingly even from the Church of Rome. The schism which has arisen between Rome and us did not proceed from us, but it was due to this cause, that Rome would not communicate with us unless we would communicate with her in her errors, to which we were not able to consent, unless we had been willing to separate ourselves from Christ, Who is the Truth, and from His Apostles, who were appointed by Him to be Teachers of the Truth, and who were inspired by the Holy Ghost. Therefore the matter was brought to this issue, that we were forced to make a choice between the Roman Pontiff and Jesus Christ. We preferred Christ.

That blemishes may be found in the English

* Jude 3,

* Gal. i. 8, 9.

Church we do not deny. We freely own that there are things among us, not a few, for which we deprecate the wrath of God, and pray humbly, and with tears, for His mercy through the merits of Christ. We do not disguise the errors and schisms of some who hold not the lowest place in the English Church. Among the Apostles was a Judas. Christ Himself declared that Tares are sown upon the good Seed in the Field of the Lord; and that chaff is mixed up with the wheat in His Threshing-floor; and that bad fish are gathered together with the good into the Net of the Gospel. This is the condition of the Church, as long as she is a pilgrim in this world. She is compelled with grief and sorrow to tolerate many things which exercise her patience, her hope, and her charity. Not, therefore, what is done by some in the English Church, but what the Church of England herself has done and is doing, this is the point to be examined by candid inquirers, and to be weighed by impartial judges.

The Reformers of the Church of England had no intention to found any new Church, as is calumniously alleged by ignorant and malignant persons; but their purpose was to restore that which had been corrupted by lapse of time, to the best form, namely, the primitive. By what right, therefore, does Pope Pius charge us with schism? Who are his witnesses? What are his arguments? Ye are separated, he says, from Catholic Communion, because ye are not convinced that Pius, the Pope of Rome, is the successor of St. Peter, and is sole heir, to the full, of St. Peter's prerogatives, and because ye do not acknowledge the Roman Pontiff to be the sole Arbiter of the Christian Faith, and to be the Universal Priest, and to be the supreme Lord upon earth of the Universal Church of Christ. In the opinion of Pius the IXth we are separated from Catholic Communion, because, while we willingly confess, and openly declare, that the Apostle St. Peter was a lively stone of the Church,* we confidently assert that not Peter, but CHRIST, is the Rock of the Church; He is her immovable and unshaken foundation.

If we are deceived in this opinion, we are deceived with Apostolic men, we are deceived with Apostles, and (with reverence be it said) with Christ Himself, Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.† For Christ expressly charged His Apostles that no one of their

number should raise himself above the rest.* And whoever will carefully attend to the words which Christ uttered when addressing St. Peter, and which the Roman Pontiffs are continually repeating and dinning into our ears, 'Upon this Rock I will build My Church;' and whoever examines the design of Christ in these words, eliciting from the mouth of the Apostles an answer, not concerning St. Peter, but concerning His own Person and Office; and whosoever compares those words of Our Lord with other passages of Scripture illustrative of them, he will feel convinced, we are persuaded, that these words do not refer to St. Peter, but to CHRIST: 'Upon this Rock,' that is, upon Myself, whom thou, O Peter, hast confessed, 'I will build My Church.' As Christ, in another passage, calls Himself *this* Stone; † and, as in another place, He calls Himself *this* Temple; ‡ and, in another, names Himself *this* Bread; § so, in the present passage, He calls Himself *this* Rock; and therefore we do not hesitate to affirm with St. Augustine, 'Christ Whom Peter confessed is the Rock.' ||

But why should we dwell on St. Augustine? Let us listen to the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of St. Paul, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ; '** and again, he says that the Church is built, not upon any one Apostle, but 'upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner-Stone.' †† The Holy Spirit also declares by the mouth of St. John that the Church of Christ has *Twelve* foundation stones, and that these *Twelve* foundation stones have the names of the *Twelve* Apostles of the Lamb. ‡‡ What can be more clear than this? What more fit to prove the point in question? If you remove the name of the Apostle St. Peter from among the names of the other eleven Apostles, and if you take St. Peter, a single Apostle, and make him to be the one foundation, the result is, that Peter falls from his own place, and the number of foundation stones is disturbed, and the building collapses to the ground. See what confusion is

* Matt. xix. 28; xx. 25, 26; xxiii. 8, 11.

† Matt. xxi. 41.

‡ John ii. 19.

§ John vi. 51, 58.

|| S. Aug. Sermon. lxxvi. 119. Tractat. on St. John, 118, 124. See also his Retract. i. 21.

** 1 Cor. iii. 11.

†† Eples. ii. 20.

‡‡ Rev. xxi. 14.

* John i. 42.

† John xiv. 6.

introduced into the Church by those who assert that St. Peter is the one foundation !

The Apostle St. Paul 'withstood St. Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed,'* and because 'the other Jews dissembled with him,' and because 'he walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel.' Did the Universal Church of Christ totter when Peter stumbled ? Did St. Paul withstand the Church of Christ to the face, when he withstood Peter ? Did the Universal Church err, when Peter walked not uprightly ? No. Christ Himself promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against her, because she is founded upon Himself, the True Rock.

You see, therefore, what a wrong is done by Pius the IXth, Bishop of Rome, to the mystical Body of Christ : yea, what a wrong he is doing to Christ Himself, and to the Holy Ghost, when he makes the Universal Church to depend upon one man, even though he be an Apostle, and much more when he makes it to depend on the Bishop of Rome. Any one man in the Church is liable to error, any particular Church may err and fail. For Christ Himself, in the Apocalypse, threatens that He will remove the Candlesticks, even of Apostolic Churches, from their place, except they repent.† But the Universal Church of Christ cannot err and fail so that the Truth of Christ should altogether vanish from her, although Christ Himself predicts that she will be clouded over with the darkness of error, especially in these latter days, so that when He shall come again the faith will be hard to find.‡ St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, withstood Pope Victor ; St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Pontus, withstood Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus ; St. Cyprian withstood Pope Stephen ; St. Augustine withstood Pope Zosimus. In our own days, in the year 1848, all the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church, and about thirty Bishops, withstood Pope Pius IX. as a patron of heretical dogmas, and as assuming a tyranny over the Church. Pope Gregory the First himself uttered the following words, 'I confidently assert that whosoever calls himself Universal Priest, or desires to be so-called, that man is by his pride a precursor of Antichrist.'|| The Popes of Rome themselves execrated and anathematized the heresy of Pope Honorius, in the solemn

formula which they subscribed when they were raised to the Papal chair. Was it then necessary to communicate with Pope Honorius in order to everlasting salvation ? Rather did not they who communicated with him incur the peril of perdition ? The Holy Spirit in the Apocalypse commands His People to come out of Babylon, and not to be partakers of her sins, that they may not receive of her plagues.* The Fathers, with a remarkable consent, affirm Babylon to be the City of Rome. Romanists themselves, Cardinals and Bishops, such as Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bossuet, do not venture to deny it ; they freely confess it. Many persons, who carefully study the Apocalypse, are persuaded that Babylon is a degenerate, corrupt, and unfaithful Church. Babylon is the Church in the Roman City ; and the Holy Spirit commands men to come out of her. Therefore, let not Pius the IXth allege that we 'do not follow the communion of the Catholic Church,' because we have deservedly and deliberately repudiated the errors of the Roman Babylon. Let him not allure and mock us with empty promises that we shall return to the 'one Fold of Christ,' if we forsake the healthful fields of Christ and the rivers of living waters, and resort to the noxious pastures of the Papal Church. Let him rather return to Christ. Let him conform himself to the pattern of the Apostles of St. Peter and St. Paul. Let him represent in his own Church the venerable form and picture of Apostolical Churches, then he will have us joyfully communicating with himself, in true Evangelical Faith, in true Apostolical Discipline, and in true Catholic Love.

Let us therefore be permitted to address Pope Pius himself : Thou, most illustrious Prelate, hast charged us with fickleness, temerity and inconstancy, in matters of faith ; and this charge has been disseminated throughout Europe, to be read by all : Thou, most reverend Bishop, hast openly accused us of error, folly and ignorance, as if we were enveloped in Cimmerian gloom, while thou art walking in noonday splendour, and art supplying Light to the Universe. Let us be allowed to quote thine own words from thine Apostolic Letter to us. The Church of Rome, in thy judgment, is that very 'Church in which the truth ever stable, and liable to no change, ought to remain, and in which alone the entire doctrine of Christ is preserved.'

* Gal. ii. 11, 13.

† Rev. ii. 5.

‡ Luke xviii. 8.

|| S. Greg. Epist. vii. 33.

* Rev. xviii. 4.

Magnificent words ! But let us look at facts.

The Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost came down upon the Apostles, and sat upon each of them in the form of parted Tongues,* and gave them utterance in the various Languages of different nations, and by this sign He manifestly declared that when this extraordinary gift had ceased, the Word of God was to be diffused into all Languages by means of vernacular Translations. St. Paul, writing to Timothy, proclaims him to be happy, because, from his infancy, he knew the Holy Scriptures ; † and thus the Apostle teaches us that the Scriptures are to be read and learnt even by children. Christ Himself, in the Apocalypse, displays to us the Churches under the figure of Candlesticks, and shows by this symbol that it is the principal duty of the Church to hold in her hand the Light of God's Word, and to make it manifest to all.

We leave it to others to tell what the Church of England has done, and is daily doing, in the discharge of this duty, by reading the Holy Scriptures to the People in their mother-tongue, and by disseminating copies of the Holy Scriptures throughout the world, not only in the English Language (to say nothing of Editions of the Hebrew and Greek Originals printed among us), but also in the dialects of almost all Nations.

But since the Roman Pontiff brings an accusation against us, and since he boasts of himself and of his own Church, let him not take it ill, if we venture to inquire a little, what he himself has done, and is doing, in this respect.

Thou, our most holy Lord, Thou, the Vicar of Christ, the Bishop of Bishops, the Supreme Judge of the Faith, and Arbiter of all controversies, Thou, the Head of the Church, the light of the nations ; let us humbly ask thee, Canst thou show us even a single copy of the original Hebrew Old Testament printed in thine own city, Rome, 'the Mother and Mistress of all Churches' ? No, not one. One edition of the New Testament in Greek printed there the other day—about 400 years after the invention of Printing—from the celebrated Vatican MS, we have now gratefully hailed, after long and anxious delay. But we apprehend that the Flock committed to thy pastoral care has still to wait for an edition from the Roman Press, in their own tongue, of the Old or New Testament.

Thou boastest that all the Nations of the World are committed by Christ to thy pastoral care, to receive the Gospel from thee. But what single copy of the Scriptures, what Book of the Scriptures, translated into their own language, have any of them, as yet, received from thee ? Is not the Divine Light of the Scriptures, which ought to be placed on a Candlestick, hidden by thee under a bushel ? The fountain of living waters ought to flow freely, that all may drink of it. Has it not been stopped up by thee ?

But we, who hold the Scriptures in our hands, we who do what we can to communicate them to others, we, forsooth, are wretched wanderers in the darkness of Egypt, while Thou dwellest in the land of Goshen, and enjoyest the noonday sun, and ministerest Light to the World !

Another accusation, urged against us, in thy Apostolic Letter, demands our attention. We, thou sayest, are ever changing, thou art ever the same. We are ever ebbing and flowing in an Euripus of varying dogmas ; thou art firmly moored, as it were, by a sacred anchor in the tranquil haven of Truth.

We need not say much here : a single example may suffice.

The Council, which has been announced by thee, and is to be held at Rome next year in St. Peter's Church, is appointed to begin (as we learn from the Bull published by thee) 'on the 8th day of December, the day dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary Mother of God.'

This mention of that day reminds us at once of the constancy by which the Roman Church maintains the Faith of Christ.

The dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was promulgated by thee in St. Peter's Church at Rome about fourteen years ago, on the 8th day of December, in the year 1854.

If this dogma is true, and necessary to salvation, why was not it before published by the Church of Rome ? Was it fit, that she, who boasts herself to be the fountain of Divine Light, should grudge this ray of Truth to the world, and should rob the nations of the faith for 1850 years ?

But thou wilt reply that this dogma was known before, but not as yet defined by the Bishop of Rome.

Was it so ? With thy leave, the matter was far otherwise. St. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, who flourished at the end of the sixth

* Acts ii. 3, 4.

† 2 Tim. iii. 15.

century after Christ, openly contradicted this dogma. Recollect, we humbly entreat thee, for a moment, O most illustrious Prelate, the words of thy most learned predecessor. St. Gregory openly taught, that Christ, and Christ alone, was exempt from the taint of Original Sin. Hear, we pray thee, his words, 'There was no one else' (therefore, not the blessed Virgin Mary) 'who stood forth free from sin to intercede with God for sinners, because the like guilt had involved all equally, all having sprung from the same mass of sin. Therefore the Only-begotten of the Father came to us, and took our nature without our sin.' And again, he says, 'Inasmuch as there was no one by whose merits God could be propitiated, the Only-begotten of the Father, taking Himself the form of our weakness, appeared among us, the only Righteous One, in order that He might intercede for sinners.'* Which of the two shall we believe? Pope Gregory the First, or Pope Pius the Ninth? Is it not clearly manifest, that Rome has varied from herself?

But we may proceed further.

If this decree of the Immaculate Conception had been known to the Church, and had been received by her, even in the sixteenth century after Christ, why did the Bishops in the Council of Trent disagree on this very Doctrine? How are we to account for the bitter wranglings of the Dominicans and Franciscans concerning it? One of the most learned men of that age, Melchior Canus, a distinguished Bishop and Doctor of the Church of Rome, thus writes concerning that dogma: '*All the Saints, who have mentioned the subject at all, assert with one voice that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin.*'† He cites as his witnesses, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and others, 'who,' he adds, 'were never contradicted by any one of the Saints.' And in another passage he says,† 'we nowhere read in Scripture, according to its true sense, that the Blessed Virgin was wholly free from original sin. On the contrary, Scripture declares a general Law, which comprehends all the descendants of Adam, who are created by carnal propagation, without any exception. Nor can it be said that this dogma has come down to the Church by Apostolic

tradition. Therefore it cannot be a part of the Faith.'

Such are the words of Canus.

Hence it is clear, that this dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not received by the Church of Rome in the sixteenth century after Christ. But now a new order of things has arisen. Now, since Thou hast defined it, to quote thine own words,* All men must believe 'that the most blessed Virgin Mary was preserved from all taint of original sin; and whoever shall presume to think otherwise in their hearts, let them know, and henceforth be convinced, that they have made shipwreck of the faith, and have fallen away from the unity of the faith.'

Consequently, a dogma which the Apostles never preached, and which the Apostolic Churches never recognized, and which for more than 1800 years was not received by the Catholic Church of Christ, and is repugnant to the Faith of the Church Universal, which taught that Christ alone is free from the taint of original sin, now suddenly, because Thou hast defined it, is to be received and held by all as necessary to everlasting salvation; and whoever entertains a contrary opinion, has made shipwreck of the faith, and has fallen away from its unity!

Dost Thou suppose that Thou hast excommunicated us by these words? No, rather Thou hast excommunicated Thyself. We, on our side, have Christ; we have the Apostles; we have the Apostolic and Universal Church of Christ. Thou hast cut Thyself off from the Catholic Church; Thou hast separated Thyself from the communion of past ages; Thou hast severed Thyself from Thy predecessors, from the Apostolic Churches, from the Apostles, Thou hast severed Thyself from Christ. Dost Thou charge us with fickleness, dost Thou scoff at us for inconstancy in the Faith, and for defection from the Church? Take heed that the celebrated Proverb be not applied to Thee,

"Healer of others, full of sores Thyself."

May it please the Great, Good, and Glorious God, 'with Whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning,'† that the darkness of error being dispelled and dispersed, and human traditions being laid aside, and all novel and corrupt dogmas being repudiated, we all, who profess the Name of Christ, may preserve 'the Faith

* S. Gregory the Great on the Book of Job, cap. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 762, Ed. Paris, 1702.

† Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canaries, Principal Professor in the University of Salamanca, Works, 1. 348, Ed. Cologne, 1605.

‡ Ibid. p. 356.

* "Apostolic Letter of Pope Pius IXth on the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God," dated at Rome, 8th December, 1854.

† James i. 17.

once for all delivered to the saints,' entire and unsullied, and may walk together in the path of Truth and in the fellowship of Peace!

May it please the Only-begotten, Co-eternal Son of the Eternal Father, Who alone has been born in our nature without the taint of sin, and has suffered in our flesh, and Who has redeemed us with His Immaculate Blood, and Who is the Only Mediator between God and men, that we may be joined together with brotherly Love in His mystical Body, which is the Church of the Living God.

May it please the Holy Ghost, Who spake in the Holy Scriptures by the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, and by Whose power we are

regenerated, and daily nourished and renewed, that we, being fed by the same Divine Word, and refreshed by the same Sacraments, may forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace; that as there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, 'Who is above all and through all, and in us all,' so there may be in very deed, one Flock and one Shepherd, our most Holy Lord Christ Jesus, Very God and Very Man, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, praise, and dominion, for evermore. Amen."

*Dated at London on the Festival of
St. Simon and St. Jude, Apostles, 1868.*

NOTE.—This letter was re-published in the *Foreign Church Chronicle* for June, 1896, No. 73, with the following remarks as a preface to it:—"Pope Pius IX. invited us to submission thirty years ago, addressing us under the title of 'Protestants and non-Catholics,' Pope Leo XIII., invited us last year, under the title of 'Englishmen,'—both one and the other ignoring the English Church and not recognizing its

very existence. Pope Pius' invitation was answered by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth in 1868, and we reproduce his answer, which emanated from a man thoroughly representative of the Anglican Church in this generation now passing away.—'He being dead yet speaketh.' The "Answer" was written by the Bishop in Latin, and translated into English by himself.

The Letter of the late Bishop A. C. Coxe here following—addressed to Pope Pius IX. in 1869—is removed from Part II. in the Second Edition of this work.

SEC. 4.—A LETTER TO PIUS THE NINTH, BISHOP OF ROME, &c., &c., IN ANSWER TO HIS INVITATION TO THE LATE VATICAN COUNCIL. BY THE RIGHT REVEREND A. CLEVELAND COXE, BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

(PREFACE.)

THE following Letter aims to revive the spirit of the Primitive Age, and to suggest the true solution of the great problem of this age, *i.e.*, how to get rid of the Papacy and its entire system of demonstrated Imposture.

Since the Letter was published in Italy, the mind and conscience of Europe have been startled by the Essays of "Janus," in which the cleverest men in the Roman Communion establish every position I have taken, and others not less essential to a revival of genuine Catholicity. These able and candid men have demonstrated the facts, but they stop short of proposing the remedy. I have suggested the only possible remedy in these pages. Let every Christian who understands the facts begin at once to act upon them. Treat fictions as fictions, realities as realities. Recur, at once, to the Organic Law of the Great Councils; restoring at the same time, by the study of Holy Scripture, and the ancient authors, the spirit and purity of the Primitive Faith. The HOLY GHOST will do the rest, and the ERA OF RENOVATION will begin the positive work, to which Protestant centuries have been an important but too essentially a negative preface.

I.—To the Most Reverend Pius, Bishop of the Elder Rome and Metropolitan, and also, by favour of the Œcumenical Councils, Patriarch primate, with jurisdiction in the Suburbicarian provinces of Southern Italy:¹ Grace and Peace be multiplied to you.

II.—VENERABLE BROTHER:—In addressing you without employing those titles of dip-

¹ (1.) "Let 'the Catholic Church' be always spoken of according to its meaning in the Creed, as the historic Church of Christ, recognising no other supremacy than that of Christ Himself, and owning no other Organic Law than those of Scripture and the Great Councils.

(2.) Let the Bishop of Rome be reduced to the Canonical position assigned him by the Council of Nice.

(3.) Let "the Papal System" of Nicholas I., and "the Roman Catholic Church" of Pius the Fourth, be treated as the creations of imposture and delusion; and let the *Latin Churches*, which have too long borne the yoke of the pseudo-Council of Trent, return to their Canonical position as Western Churches in Communion with the East, and under the Constitutions of the Great Synods of Antiquity.

These suggestions are but the practical results of the historic facts and principles demonstrated by the Abbe Guettee, in his work on the Papacy, [Published by Carleton, New York] and by the writers of "Janus." If these facts be facts, "why stand we all the day idle?" To begin to act on them is the only wisdom.

The foregoing Letter is addressed to Pius the Ninth by the only titles to which he has any claim, according to the Constitutions and Canons of the Catholic Church.

lomey which your temporal Sovereignty has made usual, I do not mean to be wanting in respect.

My position as an American bishop, of the Anglican Rite, does not entitle me to open communication with you as a king; and I am even less concerned with any privileges which certain Latin Churches have been led to concede to you as their Spiritual Chief.

I recognise you only in your Canonical rights, as the Bishop of Rome, the lawful successor of Linus and Clement and the first Gregory: but by no means as acquiring any other rights, as a successor of the Nicolases and the Hildebrands of a darker age. With this understanding, I give full value to your just claims on my regard. I address you with entire respect to the dignities conceded to you by the Canons; while, in the primitive style, I speak to you as my colleague in that Episcopate to which the Holy Ghost has committed the government of the Catholic Church.¹

III.—The occasion which moves me to write to you is this: You have issued certain Letters, under date of June the twenty-ninth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, in which, overstepping the limits of your local and provincial affairs, you address yourself, in part, at least, to all the human family. Your object, as set forth in the said letters, is to gather “the prelates of the whole Catholic world,” in a reunion which you wish to be considered as an Ecumenical Council.

Now, as I cannot disjoin myself from a share in that human race which you threaten, nor in that Universal Episcopate of which you make more special mention, I offer no further apology for answering you as a bishop and as a man.

IV.—Had you addressed yourself, indeed, to the bishops of the Trentine Confession only; or had you confined your speech to the, so-called, “Roman Catholic Church,” which has no other origin than that of a creation of the Council of Trent,² you would have given no

occasion for any reply from me. But you adopt the language of the primitive day: you employ the very words of the Nicene Symbol, the sense of which is very precise, and to that I must hold you, accordingly. Now, “the Catholic Church,” in that Creed, signifies, as history must have informed you, a Church in which no bishop has any supremacy whatever over his brethren. No Synod or Council of the whole Catholic Church was ever convened by any bishop of Rome; and the ancient Symbols of that Church are immutable. So then, if you consider yourself a Catholic, you have no right to use the expressions of those Symbols, in any sense, diverse from their primitive value and their original intention.¹

V.—Let me, therefore, first of all, inquire of you, by what authority you have cited “the bishops of the whole Catholic world” to assemble, with you in council. The ancient Canons have limited your Province to the Suburbicarian region of Italy and the adjacent isles. Moreover, according to St. Cyprian,² “the Episcopate is one, in which every bishop holds an undivided part.” It does not appear that this Catholic Episcopate has ever conferred on you the authority of calling it together: and it would seem that you have even failed to obtain the consent of the Bishop of New Rome,³ and of the ancient Apostolic Sees of the East. In fact, the very reverse is true: already these bishops have objected to your conduct, as I do, also, in my humble degree.

VI.—The Fathers of Chalcedon, it is true, recognised a certain primacy of honour as belonging to your see, “because it was the Imperial City;” but they granted equal privileges to the bishopric of Constantinople, “because it was the New Rome.” Such is the ruling of all the Canons made, in this matter, in the Four Great Councils. Remember that it was of these Councils that St. Gregory said, that he “revered them as he did the Four Gospels;” and this Gregory was your predecessor, not indeed in the Papacy, but in your legitimate Suburbi-

¹ This admission is unguardedly made in the Pontifical Letter.

² The Council of Trent was a mere Convention of Italians, with a few of the bishops of other Western Churches, guided and entirely mastered by the Jesuits, who had then just entered upon their nefarious career. It created the so-called “Roman Catholic Church,” which superseded the less definite “Papal System” created by Nicolas I., and shattered by the Reformation. The Church of England was, for six centuries, subjected to “the Papal System,” but was never part of the Roman Catholic Church.” The Church so-called is therefore a modern creation, having a new Constitution, a new Creed,

a new Canon of Scripture, new Dogmas, and a new Supremacy, i.e., the Society of Jesuits, to which the Pope himself has generally been a slave, ever since the Trent Council. See “Janus,” chapter III., sec. xxxiii.

¹ See the pages of “Janus,” for the demonstration of what is affirmed in this paragraph. More especially consult chapter III., sec. v.

² S. Cypr. de Unitate, § v.

³ New Rome is an Ecclesiastical name of Constantinople.

carian Patriarchate.¹ Are you then greater than he, that you disregard what the same Synods have ordained, in order to treat your brethren in the Episcopate in a manner so entirely contrary to the Catholic Constitutions?

VII.—In place of obtaining the concurrence, at least, of the ancient and Apostolic Sees of the Orient, you have presumed to dictate to your colleagues in the Universal Episcopate, by the advice and consent, as you tell us, of certain courtiers of your own palace, whom you call “cardinals.” Such a title is entirely unknown to the Canons of the Catholic Church.² Never was any Œcumenical Synod summoned by counsel of such persons. Who are they, and what?

It is said that some of these “cardinals” are not yet bishops; nay, not even presbyters, but deacons only. Was it ever heard before that such subordinates were allowed to countersign a summons to the whole Episcopate of the Catholic Church: to those whom you, yourself, at least in words, acknowledge to be “set by the Holy Ghost for the government of the Church?” Who then are these gentlemen of your Court, whom you entitle “cardinals,” that you permit them to usurp the functions of the entire Episcopate, and associate them with yourself in the place of those Apostolic Patriarchs who have always been acknowledged as of primary consideration in the Church?

¹ The following references will show the changes in the Episcopate of Rome:—

A.D. 60. Linus, bishop.

A.D. 325. Sylvester, recognised by the Council of Nice as primate of Southern Italy.

A.D. 410. Innocent I. Exaggerated ideas of his See as “Apostolic,” to counterbalance the claims of Constantinople, which were only “Imperial.”

A.D. 460. Leo I. bears with very ill grace the decisions of the Fourth Œcumenical Council, which declined to recognise anything but a primacy of honour in the Roman See, and decreed equal honours to Constantinople; in both cases, assigning their Imperial character as the only reason.

A.D. 600. Gregory the Great denounces the Bishop of Constantinople, for assuming the title of “Universal Bishop,” on the ground of its Antichristian assumption.

A.D. 606. Boniface III., his all but immediate successor, accepts this same Antichristian title from the Greek usurper Phocas.

A.D. 800. Leo III., now a temporal prince, crowns Charlemagne Emperor of the West.

A.D. 860. Nicholas I. founds the Papal System by means of the forged Decretals. See “Janus,” chapter III. section vii.

A.D. 1080. Gregory VII. carries the Papal System to its culminating point.

A.D. 1560. Pius IV., author of the new Creed and practical founder of “the Roman Catholic Church,” so-called.

² The “college of cardinals” was created by Nicolas II. A.D. 1060, and the election of the Pope was fraudulently transferred to these gentry—who have never had any Canonical place or name in Catholic Christendom.

Long since, indeed, were the deacons of Rome accused by St. Jerome¹ as, even in his day, insufferable for their arrogance and impudence; but was it ever seen before that such a people should take to themselves the essential functions of the successors of the Apostles?

VIII.—Still more painful it is, Venerable Brother, to observe that you give to your Letters not only the name of an *Intimation* or *Announcement*, but also those of a *Convocation*, a *Statute*, a *Decree*, a *Command*, a *Precept*. Such words, addressed to your brethren, find no support in the Holy Scriptures, nor does the Catholic Church permit any bishop whatsoever to make use of language like this to the others. For no Catholic recognises any other laws, in such cases, than the Canons made and established by the whole Church in Synod.

But as to the word *Decree*, you seem to forget that the *Decretals* from which you borrow your style, have been given up, absolutely, by your own doctors as forged documents.² It is unfortunate that your manner of expressing yourself lacks any example save that of a fraud long since exploded.

Too long has that imposture sustained your predecessors in a supremacy over the Western Churches which was usurped by Nicolas the First,³ and which was strengthened by alliance with the feudal institutions of Charlemagne. Fortunately, this fraud never imposed upon the Greeks; and we Anglicans, as soon as the delusion was dissipated, have joined the Greeks in this, and returned to the ancient Discipline.⁴

¹ Speaking of Rome, St. Jerome says: “I have seen a deacon sitting in the same rank with priests, in the absence of the bishop, and giving the blessing in the presence of the bishop. Such is now the corruption of manners;” with much more to the same purpose. (Epistle lxxxv.) What would he say of the “corruption of manners” now to be seen in Rome, in this present council?

² Rome herself no longer pretends to deny the forgery of these Decretals: but see the history of the persistent efforts made by Rome to support these forgeries, in “Janus,” chap. III., sec. xxxi., page 401, Rivington’s edition. The able writers of “Janus” fail to note that, by their own shewing, “the Catholic Church” is not the Church of Western Europe. When will men who see clearly the frauds give up the fictions which fraud has originated?

³ The words “Primacy” and “Supremacy” are too often confounded: the primate is merely a presiding bishop among equals; the “supreme pontiff” claims to be the lord and master of all bishops and of all Christendom. Nicolas I. caused the great division between East and West, and imposed the Decretals on Western Europe. He, therefore, was the first Pope, in the modern sense of the word. See “Janus,” chap. III., sec. vii., p. 98, London edition.

⁴ The Anglican Reformation rejecting the Papal imposture, retained the Canonical discipline of bishops, under their own primate, and asserted the insular rights of Great Britain,

According to that Discipline your see has been, for many centuries, disjoined from the Catholic Communion, of which the Churches of the East are the chief stem and the historic root. For, with respect to the venerable East, we must confess this as regards all the Churches of Europe, your own Rome not excepted;¹ so that we may literally apply to you, as a historic fact, the words of St. Paul:—"Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee."

That you should venture, therefore, to address yourself to the Christian World in the style of those Decretals, which even the Jesuits admit to have been a "premeditated lie," and which, nevertheless, they allow to be the base of your modern system,² is so much the more inexcusable in you, because you know the cheat, as many of your predecessors certainly did not.

IX.—In consideration of such ignorance we may freely forgive even Gregory the Seventh, as we ought to do many holy men of the Middle Ages. They were but victims of that stupendous counterfeit, that nightmare of the West.³ You, however, have no such excuse. Why, then, do you imitate the Seventh Gregory instead of the First? Why forget the example of him who abjured all Supremacy over his brother bishops, and who regarded the profane title of "Universal Bishop" as a token of the Antichrist? Hear him, then, when he says, "To allow that nefarious word is nothing less than to deny the faith." And in another place he says to a bishop who had been disposed to yield him such a title: "You take away from yourself whatever, beyond reasonable claims, you attribute to another. . . for if your reverence ascribes to me the universal Paternity, you deprive yourself of your own part in that

universality which you attribute alone to me." And again, for he can never say enough on this point, he adds: "I confidently assert that whoever calls himself, or desires to be called, *Universal Bishop* in his self-exaltation, seeing that he arrogantly prefers himself to the others, is a forerunner of the Antichrist."¹

To whom, then, shall we give ear? To you or to your saintly predecessor? What he holds to be accursed, that, in your Letters, you arrogate to yourself, not merely in words, but by deeds. You pretend to that which, according to St. Gregory, no other bishop can concede to you without making shipwreck of the faith, without deposing himself from the Episcopate, without making himself a party to the rise of the Antichrist.

X.—Even your own doctors have denied you that sort of supremacy which would empower you to do the Church so proud a wrong.² That grand light of the Latin Churches, the sage Bossuet, has demonstrated that you are, yourself, subject to the Ecumenical Councils; yes, and that you might be justly anathematized by such a council, as he shows that some of your predecessors were, more particularly the heretic Honorius.

Therefore, the Universal Episcopate is your lawgiver and judge. So far from having any Supremacy therein, you are, in fact, liable to be summoned before it, to give an account for those heresies of which you are openly accused by the great patriarchs of the East.

XI.—Moreover, Venerable Brother, it is a melancholy thing, that you seem to imagine that the words which were spoken by our Lord to St. Peter were addressed to you personally, or at least to the successive bishops of Rome. Such is not the interpretation which the Fathers have fixed to those words. They were never so understood in the Primitive Church.³

Besides, had they been addressed to yourself, immediately, it is manifest that they could not

under the law of the Council of Ephesus, known as the Cypriote Canon.

¹ Dean Milman notes this important fact, but entirely fails, as usual with him, to give it the place and character in his History which such a fact demands. He seems greatly deficient in penetration, in analysis, and in the philosophy of his own details. Thus he says: "The Church of Rome and most, if not all the Churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, *Greek religious colonies*." Yet, though he admirably supports this truth, in the same paragraph, he fails to see that this fact is of fundamental importance, and reduces Western Christendom to the position of a mere branch of the Greek stem. So far from being "the mother and mistress of Churches," then, Rome, under Nicolas I., severed herself from the great historic trunk of Catholicity and became essentially *A Catholic*.

² See Ffonlkes, "Church's Creed or Crown's Creed," p. 37.

³ Happily, the pages of "Janus" make it unnecessary for me to justify this assertion by more than a simple reference to them Chap. III., sec. vii.

¹ S. Greg., Epist. I. xxv., &c.

² All the great French doctors called "Gallican," to distinguish them from the Jesuits and other writers—"beyond the mountains," Ultramontanes or Italians and their school—have steadfastly rejected the claims of supremacy, in theory; but, in practice, they have had to choose between accepting it or being excommunicated.

The case of Honorius, so powerfully urged by Bossuet, in his "Defence" of the Gallican Declaration of 1632, is sufficiently expounded by "Janus," chap. III., sec. iv., p. 74.

³ Touching St. Matt. xvi. 18, the writers of "Janus" say:—"Of all the Fathers who interpret this passage in the Gospel—not a single one applies them to the Roman bishops as Peter's successors." "Janus," chap. III., sec. vi., p. 91.

confer on you powers which were never claimed even by the apostle St. Peter, who exercised no authority over his brother apostles; but, on the contrary, forbade all lordship among the clergy, and pointed them to Christ only as their Supreme Shepherd.¹

To St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles and hence of the Romans, he never gave any instructions. On the contrary, he was himself reproved by St. Paul, and submitted himself to his teaching, recognising the voice of the HOLY SPIRIT, who, in a memorable instance, spake by the mouth of St. Paul, and not by that of St. Peter.² In short, St. Peter acknowledged the authority of St. Paul over all the Gentile Churches, limiting his own ministry and apostleship to the Circumcised. And, what is of still greater applicability to the present case, he did not stretch his mission in the Jewish Church so far as to claim the chief seat even in the Council of Jerusalem, where he sat at the feet of St. James, and gave his adhesion to the definitive sentence which St. James pronounced as president of the Synod.³

So then, if you were St. Peter himself, you would have no pretext for that authority over your brethren which you so proudly assert. And yet, Venerable Brother, if you would only be pleased to follow St. Peter's example a little more closely; if you would but keep the Faith as he kept it, without adding anything to it, or diminishing aught from it; if you would but strip yourself of that worldly crown which you wear, and send away the zouaves who encompass your temporal throne; if you would content yourself with imitating St. Peter as nearly as possible, and would make yourself like him, the first among many brethren not in arrogancy, but in humility; in such a case, it would perhaps be less impossible, in spite of the historical facts, to recognise you as a veritable successor of St. Peter. For it is our duty "in honour, to prefer one another;" and if you would only take pains to return to the Ancient Faith and to the Primitive Discipline, every Christian would delight to render you all the precedence which St. Peter himself ever possessed; and so would end, for ever, those divisions of Christendom, which you profess so profoundly to deplore.

If, on the contrary, you disdain to "hear the Church," as our Lord commands, you know

what He makes the penalty. "If authority be inquired for, greater is the authority of the Universe than that of one City," says St. Jerome; wherefore, if you turn a deaf ear to the truth to which he thus bears witness, understand, brother, that you are yourself responsible for these divisions.

XII.—Know this, moreover, that should a council truly Ecumenical be convened, its first duty would be to institute a process against you, in view of the accusations which your equals, the Patriarchs of the East, have published to the whole Christian world. They accuse you of grave heresies; that you have taught from your episcopal chair, and have imposed upon your followers as an article of the Faith, a fable about the blessed *Theotokos*, which seems to have no other author than Mohammed.

To her, you attribute the special prerogative of her Divine Son, that of an Immaculate Conception; and in so doing you shake the foundations of the Christian Faith. That such a dogma is contrary to the faith of St. Peter, and of his colleagues in the Apostleship, and of the whole Catholic Church, is sufficiently asserted by one of your own doctors, the great St. Bernard.² For when, in his day, there began to be the intimation only of such a novelty, he stamped it as such immediately, calling it "the nonsense of a few idiots; a new-fangled absurdity set up against the order of the Church, the mother of temerity, the sister of superstition, the daughter of levity, of which the Church's ritual knows nothing, which reason does not sustain, and which finds no warrant from primitive tradition." Now, your dogmatists are accustomed to speak of St. Bernard as "the last of the Fathers." If he be such, indeed, seeing he knew nothing of such a doctrine, it is clear that it could not have been known to the Fathers who were before him—that is, for a thousand years of the Christian era. How is it, then, that you venture to add such a novelty to the Catholic Creed? You are so much the less excusable for so doing, because you have already imposed upon those in communion with you a Creed unknown to the Catholic Church, and attributed to your pre-

¹ S. Hieron., ad Evagrium Epist.

² St. Bernard's letter I translated in full and published in "The Church Review," in 1849, where it may be found, vol. ii., page 264. But see also Laborde on the Immaculate Conception, my own edition (translation), published in Philadelphia, '85.

¹ 1 Pet. v. 1-5.

² Gal. ii. 1-16.

³ Acts xv. 1-21.

decessor, Pius the Fourth.¹ But, in that very Creed you make all your followers swear that they will adhere to nothing which is not supported by the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers. How, then, is it possible for them to keep their oath, when you force them to accept a dogma which only one of the Fathers ever heard of; which he, the last of the line, pronounces a thing unknown to the Church, and which he so indignantly rejects as a "profane novelty?"

XIII.—Let me now turn to other points, in which you defy and threaten the whole human race. You tell us that "nobody will ever be able to deny that the potency of the Catholic Church"—you mean the Trentine or Roman Communion—"and of its doctrine; not only regards the eternal salvation of men, but also promotes the temporal welfare of peoples and their real progress, order and peace, with the advancement and maintenance of human sciences, as the annals of history, sacred and profane, clearly and manifestly show, and constantly and conclusively demonstrate by the most brilliant facts." But, what you would thus make us believe to be undeniable, is precisely what the whole civilized world rejects as false. All history, all literature, attests the decay and ruin which are the fate of every people which thoroughly receives your authority and your dogmas.² Your authorized Moral Theology trains the subjects of the confessional in fraud and perjury, and is unfavourable to the chastity of women, and the peace of families.³ In your

¹ The creed of Pope Pius the Fourth subjects the entire Papal Communion to the anathema of Chalcedon, against a new creed; so that Mr. Ffoulkes's inquiry about the *Filioque* is a feeble straining off a goat, while the camel of the Trentine creed is swallowed. Of this last, the history is now very serious, because the Pope on the Feast of the Epiphany obtained the solemn reception of it, in this Vatican Council, with extraordinary ceremony. So that:—I. The Popes have enjoined it for centuries; II. This Vatican Council has accepted it; III. Nobody can be in communion with the Papacy without doing the same. Will the able and candid Mr. Ffoulkes now extend his general inquiry: "Is the Western Church under Anathema," and meet this case of the Trentine Church, in particular?

² We are not to argue from the career of a particular nation as to the divine favour or disfavour, though St. Augustine sets such an example in his *City of God*. But, when the decay of many nations may be fairly traced to their common religious institutions, and when these institutions conflict with the precepts of Morality, as recognised alike by Philosophy and Christianity, it is certainly a fair argument against such institutions. Besides, as Cardinal Bellarmine makes "Temporal Felicity" one of the "Notes of the true Church," we may fairly accept the issue which he has chosen to make, and which, for a long time, Rome was very fond of adopting.

³ The "Moral Theology" of Alphonsus de Liguori became the authorised Casuistry of Rome in 1831. Its character

late Syllabus you have made war on science and on the social life of nations. You are the sworn enemy of free governments, and of whatever tends to enlighten the popular mind. From your own immediate flock you have "taken away the key of knowledge," forbidding them to read or to possess the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. In the kingdom of which you are the sovereign you know very well the gross ignorance and superstition which you have forced upon the population at the point of the bayonet. Nor is this all; for you have lately awarded the Golden Rose, the token of your special approbation, to the most dissolute princess in Europe, subsequently deposed by her own people for her immorality and tyranny. And yet, while you must be conscious that these things are notoriously true, you venture to defy the world to assert such plain facts.

It is most painful, Venerable Brother, in view of your reverend years and your natural benignity, to make mention of things like these; but the human family merits more consideration than any single man, be he king or pontiff. How, then, can I restrain myself from replying, in the name of humanity, when you provoke us, in such wise, to make use alike of our reason and our recollections? You date your Pontifical Letters from the neighbourhood of that prison where Galileo languished. The church is hard by, where one of your predecessors sang *Te Deum* in honour of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day: and I have seen with horror a triumphal picture of that slaughter painted in your halls, near the door of that very chapel where you assure us that you are continually interceding for the welfare of the world.

XIV.—But you do not stop with this. You threaten all mankind with the following words: "Let no man be permitted to infringe this document, or with presumptuous boldness to contravene it. But if any one shall venture to attempt this, let him know that he will incur

must be felt by any one who will take the pains to examine it. See Paris edition of 1845. Or, the reader may consult Meyrick's "Moral Theology of the Church of Rome," London, 1857. How the Romish Confessional operates on female character has been illustrated in many works of fact and fiction; but any one who has wife or daughters may form his own conclusions as to the cause of feminine immorality in Popish countries, if he will consult Liguori himself—certainly the very *clearest* of Romish Casuists, or rather the least uncleanly. As to the effects of eliciting female confessions upon the minister of "the sacrament," in the very act of ministering, observe—e.g., p. 265, tom. ii., lib. iv., tract 4, § 481, Paris, 1842.

the indignation of Almighty God, and of His Apostles SS. Peter and Paul." But, I have demonstrated that such an attempt is precisely what I am bound to make. I have proved that, both as a bishop and a man, it is my right to resist the propositions you advance, and to refute them, for the simple reason that they are not true. Who, then, are you that you should presume to menace your fellow-men in whole nations, and even your faithful brethren in Jesus Christ, with such anathemas? For myself I will not permit any one who is not more than a man to speak to me, or to the flock over which God has placed me, in such terms, without answering—"the Lord rebuke thee." Almighty God alone has the right to speak thus to His creatures, sinners though we are. This, then, is my answer to "the great swelling words of vanity" which you have uttered; and I make it, not so much in virtue of my office, as of the common dignity of man: for the time is past when men will permit any fellow-creature to forbid them to say what is true. Ours is an epoch in which it becomes princes and pontiffs "to know themselves to be but men."

XV.—But as a Christian bishop it remains for me to add one final word in all brotherly kindness. When you threaten me with the inscrutable judgments of God, I can only appeal to His future tribunal. But when you menace me with the wrath of St. Peter and St. Paul, I am able, fortunately, to recur to their sacred pages, in order to discover whether you or I have most to apprehend from their anathemas. And, seeing I have already cited both the example and the words of St. Peter, an appeal to the writings of St. Paul may suffice, for the present. "If we, or an angel from heaven, preach to you any other gospel than that which ye have received, let him be accursed:" such is the Apostle's anathema.¹ But, it is not I that have undertaken to supplement the Holy Evangelists; nor for all the world would I teach, whether less or more, anything which the Holy Scriptures have not revealed. But you, oh Venerable Brother! are not you the author of an apocryphal *Protevangel*; ² a prologue to the Gospel of Christ, in which you have been so daring as to teach men what God alone could make known, and what the Church

has never received? I have proved to you, by the testimony of St. Bernard, that neither the Sacred Scriptures nor the holy Fathers furnish you with any authority for what you have had the hardihood to tell us about the Blessed Virgin Mary; intruding, as you have done, into the hallowed mysteries of her hidden life, and violating those chaste secrets which God Himself has veiled in silence. Who, then, of all men living, has most to fear from the anathema of St. Paul?

XVI.—St. Jerome informs us, from of old,¹ that St. Paul has attributed pride and arrogance, as characteristics, to the Church in Rome; for, as the Apostle said even in his day, "the mystery of iniquity did already work." Hence that apostle himself admonished the Roman Church "not to be high-minded, but to fear." Further, to your own diocese he wrote—"Behold, therefore, the goodness of God towards thee, if thou continue in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." Here surely is no promise of Infallibility to the Roman See, but rather a pregnant forewarning of apostasy and excommunication: *Thou also shalt be cut off.* Look well, therefore, oh Brother, to your Faith, for you are expressly referred to the example of Caiaphas and the Jews, by the same apostle, when he says, "Thou, also, standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear."²

So, then, oh Venerable Brother! though I cannot meet you in your Council, "we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ;" and, in that day, "God shall judge the secrets of men's hearts, according to my Gospel," says St. Paul.³ We shall both be judged, then, according to that Gospel, and not by any decrees of yours; and, doubtless, he will have least to fear who shall best be able to say with him—"I have kept the Faith." He says not, oh Brother! I have added to the Faith, but, simply, "I have kept the Faith."⁴ And St. John says—"If any one shall add to these things, God shall add to him the plagues that are written in this book."⁵ It is, therefore, the greatest consolation to many millions of Christian believers, who have kept the Apostolic Faith, that God Himself is the Judge; that He will judge "without respect of persons;" and that He promises to take the cause into His own hands. So then, every one

¹ Gal. i. 8.

² The fabulous accounts of the early life of our Lord, which abound at an early period of the Christian era, are known as the *Protevangelia*. See "Jones on the Canon," or "Hone's Apocryphal New Testament," London, 1820.

¹ Ep. ad Galat. Comment.

² Romans xi. 20.

³ Ibid ii. 16.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 7.

⁵ Rev. xxii 13

of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us therefore no longer judge one another, but judge this, rather, that *no man put a stumbling-block in his brother's way.*"¹

XVII.—These Scriptures, I repeat, are our comfort, when you judge us and load us with your curses, and when we see you adopting the deeds of your predecessors, who have persecuted our forefathers even unto death: whose blood crieth from the ground. Even so—Amen. To the great "Apostle and High-Priest of our profession" we are willing to leave our cause, oh Brother, against that day, when we shall all stand at His righteous bar.

XVIII.—In conclusion, Venerable Brother, if in anything I have said I have failed in charity, I now crave pardon. My simple aim has been to speak to you "the Truth in Love," for I have often thought of your misfortune in being surrounded by those who never warn you of your real dangers. Let me beg you, therefore, to think neither of the grandeur of your see nor of the humility of mine; for the Apostle teaches us that God not unfrequently, makes choice of the feeble to confound the mighty; and St. Jerome reminds you, as touching the Episcopate, that "wherever a bishop may be, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, at Alexandria or Tanais, he is of the same value and of equal priesthood."² And there is yet another reason why any bishop of Rome may charitably be reminded of the saying—"be not high-minded, but fear;" be-

cause St. John,¹ in his Apocalypse, has left so many unfulfilled prophecies concerning "that great city." The kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world, yet you, a bishop, sit upon a worldly throne and on those very "seven hills" to which St. John refers. This is my reason, Brother, for entreating you, in all charity, not to overlook the things which are written, and which must soon be accomplished. It has seemed to me the very instinct of love to point you to these things, and from over the sea to lift my voice, testify to you in behalf of "the Faith once delivered to the Saints." Therefore, have I contended so earnestly for it, in the very words of apostles and martyrs and confessors; to the end that you may not fail to know that, even in America, there are those who profess the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, unaltered and unchangeable, such as it has been defined in the Great Councils according to the Holy Scriptures. For in us, the American bishops, who with the Apostolic Succession have preserved also the Apostles' Doctrine, the Lord has fulfilled the promise which He gave to the eleven: "Ye shall be witnesses for Me unto the uttermost part of the earth."²

Given at the See-House, in Buffalo, this 6th day of May, being the Festival of the Ascension, in the year of our Lord God, eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, and of my Episcopate the fifth.

[L. s.] (Signed) A. CLEVELAND COXE,
Bishop of Western New York.

Attest, FRANCIS PHILIP NASH, Secretary.

¹ Rom. xiv. 12.

² Ep. ad Evag.

¹ Revelation xvii. chapter.

² Acts i. 8, "for me," Greek.

SEN. 5.—OUR INFLUENCE, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE OTHER CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM.—A PORTION OF AN ADDRESS TO THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL SOCIETY, ON THE DAY OF THE OPENING OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL, DEC. 8, 1869 (THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY PRESIDING). BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

If I must own to some feeling of embarrassment in rising to propose a resolution for the consideration of this meeting, that feeling does not arise, as might be imagined, from my position as a stranger. For you have relieved me, by your cordial welcome, from any such embarrassment; and I now find myself confronted by perils of an opposite character. I find myself among my fellow-Christians of the dear Church of England, in an assembly presided over by your lordship, and in the presence of other right reverend prelates, long known to me by name, by words and works, and by distinguished achievements in the Church's cause. I am in danger of forgetting, therefore, that I am a stranger, and that I am bound by that fact to

express myself under constant restraint. For, with the Church's interests here, I feel so identified in spirit, that it is sometimes hard for me to remember that I am not a native of this country, and that I must not too freely express myself with respect to local affairs, however deeply the interests of my own country and of the whole world may appear to me to be connected with them.

The resolution which I have been asked to propose is:—

"That a great future is opening to the Anglican Communion in relation to the other sections of the Church Catholic.

Here I find an assuring ground to stand upon. I am here to speak of the foreign relations of the Church of England.

My Lord, it is with unfeigned reluctance that I venture to relate anything of my personal experiences, yet I may be permitted to say that eighteen years ago, while yet a young man, I

made a somewhat extended tour in Continental Europe, not, I trust, in the spirit of an idle tourist, but looking everywhere on mankind as my fellow-men and my fellow-Christians, and above all, seeking here and there, wherever I went, among the Churches, some token of a better and a brighter day. What was my grief of heart, the sadness of spirit, with which, at every turn, I found my Mother Church almost unknown upon the Continent, or certainly very much misunderstood: by many honest men regarded in a most unreal light, and by many dishonest men grossly misrepresented and placed before the people of Europe in views most unfaithful to her true character! How painful it was, at that time, to observe that this venerable Church of England, with the grand old names of her history—names that shine in heaven, I doubt not, and will shine for ever as the stars—that this dear Church of England, with her wonderful record, a Church that has produced such great saints, and that has done such great things for the Truth of God, should not be appreciated by the nations, nor even understood by countries close at hand, and only separated “by a narrow frith.” How humiliating it was to find that even by the Protestants of Germany and Holland its position was strangely misconceived, or that they were willingly ignorant of many things which their forefathers had left on record concerning her peculiar history, as a reformed Church. Now then, may I be permitted to say, that I have just returned from a hurried tour in Continental Europe, in which I have enjoyed some opportunities for comparing the present state of things with the past. As I landed in England only this morning, and crossed the channel expressly for the privilege of attending this meeting, I will venture to hope that I may bear some testimony here, which, if any credit can be attached to my words, will in some degree relieve those awful feelings of oppression, which I am sure we all felt together as we listened to the painful facts so faithfully sketched by the reverend prelates who have preceded me.

This day is, indeed, a melancholy one for Christendom: a “day of blasphemy and rebuke,” a day for sackcloth and ashes, a day in which no Christian who has the spirit of his Master, can find anything for exultation. Certainly, we do not rejoice in anything that distresses any of our fellow-Christians. We cannot find satisfaction in anything that adds to their trials, or that is likely to add to the stumbling blocks of their faith. It is a very dark day, and well may we who are assembled here, in London, on this memorable eighth of December, feel that we are met together as mourners in Israel and for Israel. Rising, under this oppressive feeling, let me nevertheless say with gratitude that, in one respect, there is a great change for the better, which ought to be noted. I do not know that I ought to attribute this change chiefly to our Society. I know that it may be accounted for, in a great degree, by the personal efforts of many distinguished members of the Church of England, and

of some of those by whom I am now surrounded. But I am glad to say that I have found this Church no longer unknown in foreign parts, and that our Society is not only recognised, abroad, as an active influence, but is felt as such by those who regard it as an omen of blessing to the world, and by those who hate it for its good works.

I find that the Church of England is no longer unknown, and that, if not altogether understood, she is, at least, beginning to be viewed more intelligently. It is not so easy now, as it was, to misrepresent her to the mind of Europe, and almost everywhere we find friends who will not permit her enemies to bear false witness concerning her, *unchallenged*. We have, therefore, some encouragements to believe that even through an imperfectly developed system of intercourse, the Church of England can rectify her foreign relations; can make herself to be felt and known and respected; can let her light shine before men, according to her Lord's command.

For, my Lord, ours is truly a great period, a remarkable epoch. So it is everywhere regarded by those who have “understanding of the times.” The popular mind is also impressed with this idea, so that it is the common cant of the day, on the Continent, to take account of men, with respect to it, as a man who understands his epoch, or as one who does not comprehend it.

There are persons who, though influenced by none other than good motives, by an honest and real desire to do good, are so shocked by the divisions of Christendom, and feel them to be so intolerable, that they aim to restore unity at any expense. They seem to think that we should all accept, therefore, whatever may be proposed to us by Rome, and submit ourselves to one who claims to be the Supreme Pastor of Christendom, in the verdant hope that he will make all things smooth, when once we have yielded to his dictations. There are those who maintain this in books, with a very specious show of argument, and who shape their theories towards practice in the habits of their lives. Some almost besiege the doors of the Vatican to get an assurance from those who have power there, to encourage efforts of this kind. “Things are now coming to such a pass,” they say, “that all Christians must forego unity, or seek it by conceding to the See of Rome what it demands as essential thereto. After all, by such concessions we can restore unity at no very great cost. Rome will not make her yoke heavy.” So they argue; and if we take their ideas, we may make the experiment very easily. We shall sell nothing in the world, but our liberties—nothing else *but the Truth*. They forget that Rome will not permit them to be in visible communion with her on any other terms than those of professing, as articles of faith, things unknown to antiquity, unknown to the Apostles, unrevealed by Jesus Christ. Such men entirely *misunderstand their epoch*. They are the laughing-stock of Europe, which no more takes account of Rome in reckoning with the future,

The Papacy is an exploded imposture. Men who are shaping our times inquire concerning such re-actionists—What do they mean? Have they failed to learn by the experience of ages, that to make any such terms with Rome is simply to put one's neck under the foot of a pretended Infallibility, and that such is the only submission which will be accepted as a condition of the sort of unity which they are contriving? Have they not discovered, that, of course, their proposals will be received with every mark of affectionate regard, and that their persons will be welcomed and bowed to, and very cordially entertained, but that it will all end in requiring them to kneel down and worship the image that Rome has set up? These men are earnest in their feelings, sincere in their piety, they mourn over the divisions of Christendom and would see them cured; but in suggesting their method of cure they have mistaken their epoch. Nobody knows this better than those whose favour they would primarily secure. The Gallicans know it bitterly, to their cost. I say, then, they are the laughing-stock of Europe; of those who are devoted to the one idea of making the Papacy supreme over all the piety and politics of mankind; and of those cold sardonic worldlings who are simply lookers on, in Christendom, and who regard them as the most infatuated of all theorists, and, in many respects, as the most extraordinary phenomenon of the times.

But, then, there is another way of curing all the evils of civilization and religion, and I am sorry to say that it assumes a form which is much more specious. It may, possibly, have escaped your notice, my Lord, that while we are engaged, in London, in this humble meeting, for the promotion of Christian brotherhood among men, and while that imposing pageant is going on at Rome, there is still another meeting in another part of the world, in the city of Naples, taking the form of what it would have accepted as a Counter-Council. Such a Council, of itself, is a sign of the times. It is largely countenanced by public men in Europe and America, and efforts have been made to secure for it the attendance of representatives from different parts of the world. The basis of the meeting is to be one of pure humanitarianism; they propose to discard all creeds, and to come together on the principle of simple good-feeling. And there are some who verily imagine that this is going to be indeed a "Counter Council," and to do work that will have real consequences in Europe and America! Why, as was shrewdly remarked to me by a very intelligent Italian layman, the other day, at Naples—"the Church of Rome could afford to pay these men for holding such a Council." It is precisely what Rome would have. All that she wants is that, while she holds a Council upon dogma, and professedly upon faith, they who do not subscribe to her Council, should take their stand upon a broad principle of—nothing in particular: of humanitarianism, or rationalism, or whatever you may choose to call it, but all reducible to this:—"We do not believe in anything, very

much, but we will all agree to be very good friends." Nothing could be given to the Papal Church, this day, in the shape of a boon, more acceptable to herself than the reception of such a position as this, by those in Europe who reject her pretensions. Then she would be able to make the issue, which she is so anxious to make as a true statement of her case, between faith and unbelief. Then she would be able to say,—“See, you must take us as we are, even if you do not now believe with us, or you must fall in with Infidelity. It is the one thing only or else the other. Submit, or you lose your faith.” Such is the very acceptable state of things which the Papacy hopes to see brought on by the Counter-Council. But Europe understands the case far better. The Pope and the unbelievers alike mistake their epoch.

May I be permitted to refer to a valuable little book from which I have received a great deal of instruction, and which may possibly be less familiar to some of those whom I now address? It is a learned and very candid review of the "Internal History of German Protestantism," by Professor Kahnis, of Leipzig. It gives us the results of experiments essentially the same which have been tried in Europe, once and again, for the space of three centuries, very nearly. They have tied all the problems of humanity to their fallacious circle, which, like that wheel of which we read in the realms of Pluto, perpetually turns and re-turns, producing no results. It repeats itself from generation to generation. Beginning with a profession of reasonable inquiry, criticism, and what not, it goes on to mere Deism, and ends in downright Atheism, or, as they call it now, "Positivism!" Such is the cycle of unbelief, and Europe has become wearied with it. Efforts to revive the old platitudes under new names excite little more than disgust. But is it true—I do not allow myself to meddle with your local affairs, but surely I may be allowed to ask—is it true that in England there are men, who, forgetting the traditional position of this glorious Church, are picking up the cast-off rags of German rationalism? Why, my Lord, it is a monstrous anachronism! Such men are eminently un-mindful of their epoch. They forget that Germany itself has loathed and cast out this whole chaos of unbelief; they forget that the great names of Germany, at this day, are names which represent a returning faith and a yearning for something better than mere dogmatic faith that is not enshrined in a living Church. I ask, then, is it true that there are men in England, the land of faith, the land of traditional Christian homes, the land of Christian mothers and of a Christian Constitution, the land of those grand old worthies who for centuries have made palpable the harmonies of Faith and Reason, and have demonstrated their entire coincidence before the nations,—I ask, is it possible that, here, in England, there are men who stoop to pick up what Germany has discarded, and who imagine that it is even scholarly to do so? Why, the Germans would laugh them to

scorn! These men, if there are such, miserably mistake their epoch.

What then is our epoch? What is its real spirit? Its master-effort,—from which these other are but the poor reactions, the muddy side-drift, right and left, which sets back from a grand current;—its master-effort is **THE REVIVAL AND RENEWAL OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY**. The era of Renovation has begun. Ours is a day when a single word uttered in the spirit of the Faith once delivered to the Saints, thrills throughout Europe, and awakens, everywhere, such answers as have never before been heard since the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches. I was told not long ago, in a distant part of Europe, that the words of one who is here with us, the admirable words of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, as an answer of Anglicans to the call of the Bishop of Rome, had been felt throughout the East, and had done more to make them understand and appreciate the

Church of England than anything that had been uttered in the West for ages. A single word inspired by the true Faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the great organic principles of the true Catholic Church, creates vibrations of feeling and of action throughout Europe, and throughout the world. Such is our epoch: and he who understands it will never make the fatal mistake of taking any other position than that which, for three centuries, the Church of England has so grandly occupied. May I not affirm, then, in the spirit of the resolution I support, that this venerable, but mighty Church, now finds an opportunity she never before enjoyed of asserting in the hearing of mankind her faithful testimony to the doctrine and the institutions of the original apostles of Jesus Christ? Surely, the long-expected hour of her Epiphany is at hand; the Master is saying to her,—“Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.”

* * We cannot conclude the re-publication of these letters in answer to the invitation of the late Pope, Pius IX., to the Vatican Council, without taking some notice of the *three* several letters issued by the present Pope, which, though of a less important purpose than an invitation to a Papal Council, have been specially intended for the instruction of “the English People.”

The two first letters—professing to be more of a general invitation to “Non-Catholics” to return to the unity of the Church of Rome,—claiming to be the one true “Mother Church” on earth—were regarded with indifference in this country as being an illusive overture, leading to no practical results, so long as Rome maintains her corruptions in doctrine, and assumed infallibility. As it has been well observed in the “Foreign Church Chronicle,” from which we have quoted above,¹—“It is a mistake to think that there is any new departure on the part of Pope Leo XIII. in inviting the English people to join his communion. It is a requisite for the Papal theory that ‘every human creature should be subject to the Roman Pontiff.’ When, therefore, they cannot be terrified into being so by ‘the thumb-screw and the stake for the glory of the Lord,’ nor yet by excommunication, it is necessary to fall back on invitations.”

The last letter, issued in September 1895, entitled,—“Letter Apostolic of His Holiness

Leo XIII. by Divine Providence Pope, concerning Anglican Orders,”—does not take the form of an Invitation as in previous letters, but commences with earnest expressions of paternal solicitude for England, desiring that—“Our teaching might both strengthen Catholics, and bring the saving light to those divided from Us.”

It then proceeds to the gratuitous discussion of the validity of Anglican Orders, (assuming it to be a doubtful question), as affecting our claim to be a living Branch of Christ's One Catholic and Apostolic Church. And it is an interesting specimen—characteristic of the quarter from whence it emanates—of a professed controversial discussion, terminating in the fore-gone conclusion of a dogmatical decision on the all-important historical subject which it proposed to examine!

As the question thus selected for Papal examination is one that has ever been regarded in our Church as fully established by authentic history, and not open to doubt, it does not come within the purpose of this serial work to vindicate the validity of Anglican Orders from the recent condemnation of the Bishop of Rome, who has now “pronounced and declared that Ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void!”

And such a thankless task is rendered the more unnecessary on our part, after the comprehensive manner in which the question thus

¹ See note page 8.

raised again has been dealt with in the recent Response to the Letter from our two Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

We therefore abstain from further notice of this peculiar document—the last “Papal Venture,”—beyond transcribing the following passage at the latter end, as it betrays the main purpose at heart underlying the professed re-examination of the historic question,—long since proved beyond gain-saying, that our Holy Orders are true and valid, and thus set at rest.

The real desire of Pope Leo—supported by “his Special Commission and the Council of Cardinals”¹—may be evidently traced in his endeavour to beguile wavering and disloyal members of our Church from their allegiance,—especially those of the Clergy, whose professed aim of late years has been to recede more and more, in doctrine and practice, from the principles of the English Reformation, (fitly designated by our venerable Bishop of Gloucester, in a former charge to his Clergy, as “the Counter-Reformation Party,”)—exhorting them “joyfully to submit to the Divine Call, and return to Christ’s One only Fold,”—by deserting their own Mother Church of England, heedless of the pure Scriptural Truth she holds and teaches them,—and renouncing their Ordination Vows, to be finally embraced in the arms of Rome, with all her false doctrine and corruptions!

Since the above comments on the Letter of the present Pope were in type, preparatory to the issue of Part I. of this 3rd edition,—another “Letter” has been published, (wishing apparently to have the last word in this hopeless disputation?) emanating from certain Bishops in England, subject to the See of Rome, who,—having assumed false and illegal titles in defiance of the express law of their country and the recognized rule of the Church—have taken upon themselves to dictate a rejoinder to the “Responsio” of the Archbishops, in vindication of the dogmatic manifesto, or “Bull,” of the Pope; and now call upon our two Primates to “tell them in unmistakable terms, what their real meaning is in their recent Response”!

Of the various comments on this “Vindication” by the periodical press, we have seen none to equal the Article on the subject in the last quarterly number of that excellent Theological Review, the *Foreign Church Chronicle*; especially in the clear statement therein of the real and vital question at issue between the two Churches. We therefore here reprint the Article, as the most effective comment that can be made by way of answer, on the important question thus raised again.

¹ Rightly designated “The Power behind the Pope.”—*Ed.*

And the bait thus held out to them, clothed with professions of paternal solicitude for their salvation, is the affirmation (on *Papal authority*) that the Commission they hold, and consequently, the Sacraments they administer, are nothing less than an Imposture and a Fraud!

“It remains for Us to say that even as We have entered upon the elucidation of this grave question in the name and in the love of the *Great Shepherd*, in the Same We appeal to those who desire and seek with a sincere heart the possession of a hierarchy and of Orders. Perhaps until now aiming at the greater perfection of Christian virtue, and searching more devoutly the Divine Scriptures, and redoubling the fervour of their prayers, they have nevertheless hesitated in doubt and anxiety to follow the voice of Christ, which so long has interiorly admonished them. Now they see clearly whither He in His goodness invites them and wills them to come. In returning to His one only fold, they will obtain the blessings which they seek, and the consequent helps to salvation of which He has made the Church the dispenser, and, as it were, the constant guardian and promoter of His Redemption amongst the nations.”

“We wish to direct Our exhortation and Our desires in a special way to those who are ministers of religion in their respective communities. They are men who from their very office take precedence in learning and authority, and who have at heart the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Let them be the first in joyfully submitting to the Divine call, and obey it and furnish a glorious example to others. Assuredly with an exceeding great joy their Mother, the Church, will welcome them and will cherish with all her love and care those whom the strength of their generous souls has amidst many trials and difficulties led back to her bosom.”

The natural reflection that arises on reading the extracts collected herein by the writer, can only result in a painful sense of the “blasphemous fables” and awful idolatry which the Church of Rome is thus proved to be guilty of by the testimony of her own ordained teachers! . . . Thankful indeed should England be that GOD has called her out of this darkness into His marvellous Light!

THE CONTROVERSY ON HOLY ORDERS.

“The question raised between the Church of England and the Church of Rome in respect to Holy Orders, has become clear enough.—The matter at issue is,—Has the Church of England the priesthood, or has it not? Define your terms, gentlemen! What do you each mean by priesthood? Cardinal Vaughan and his colleagues declare it to be a power through which a man is enabled ‘by means of the words of consecration to cause the Body and Blood of Christ to become present under the appearances of bread and wine, and to offer them up sacrificially.’ . . . ‘He is a priest solely because he has the office and power of effecting the *Real Objective Presence* on the altar of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and thereby offering HIM up in sacrifice.’ The Cardinal and his

friends speak plainly. 'Le Manrèze du Prêtre,' which is the standard pitch up to which many of the French priests are tuned in their annual retreats, speaks plainly. 'What is the priest?' it asks, and the reply is, 'He is at once God and man.' Addressing priests, it continues, 'Your creation, your daily creation is no less than the Word Himself made flesh.' 'I do not flatter you with pious hyperbols when I call you gods.' 'You are creators, as Mary was when she co-operated in the Incarnation.' 'God can make other universes, but He cannot make under the sun a greater action than your sacrifice.' 'We are far above the Cherubim and Seraphim.' 'Jesus dwells under your lock and key; His audiences are opened and closed by you. He does not move without your permission; He does not bless without your concurrence. He gives only by your hands, and this dependence is so dear to Him that in more than 1800 years He has not for one instant escaped from the Church to return to His Father's glory.' Nor is this teaching confined to France and Roman Catholic England. A priest called Vianney, of Lippstadt, in Germany, writes as follows:—

'The Sacrament of Priestly Orders raises man to be a God. Why, what is a priest? He is a man who represents God, a man invested with the whole plenitude of the power of God. St. Bernard says that all salvation has come to us by Mary. We may also say all salvation has come by the Priest. Yes, all happiness, all graces, all heavenly gifts. Not having the Sacrament of Priestly Orders, we should not have the Saviour at all.'

'Go to make confession to an angel or to the Virgin Mary. Will they absolve you? No. The Virgin cannot transform the host into her Divine Son. If there were two hundred angels here, they could not absolve you. A priest, poor as he may be, can do so. He can say to you, "Go in peace; I pardon you."'

'Oh, how lofty is the priest! It is only in Heaven that the priest will be truly understood. If he were understood on earth, men would die, not of fright, but of love. Without the priest none of the greatest blessings of God are of any value to us. Without the priest neither the passion nor the death of Christ are of any good to us. Look upon yourselves as if you were heathens. What benefit is it to them that the Saviour has died? After God, the priest is everything. Leave a flock for twenty years without a priest and it will worship animals.'

'Look at the power of the priest, the word of the priest makes a God of a piece of bread; that is more than creating the world.'

This then is the Roman Catholic definition of priesthood—in the words of the Anglo-Roman Bishops, 'the power to cause the Body and Blood of Christ to become present on the altar under the appearances of Bread and Wine, and thereby to offer Him up in sacrifice.' In the words of 'Le Manrèze,' it is the power by which the priest 'daily creates the Word Himself made flesh.' In the words of the German priest,

it is the power of 'making a God of a piece of bread.' Does the Church of England profess to have the priesthood in this sense? Impossible. For it is a corollary from the two doctrines of Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, both of which she has repudiated. And in good faith, does it savour most of St. Paul's teaching to Timothy and Titus, or of the boastful claim of some African medicine man? Can a man really 'create the Word made flesh'? Can a man really 'make a God of a piece of bread'? Can a man really summon Jesus Christ on to the altar and then 'offer Him up in sacrifice'?

Rejecting the Roman doctrine, the Church of England holds fast to the Catholic doctrine of the priesthood, such as it was in primitive times before Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass were invented. She believes that God gives His Holy Spirit to those who are set apart by the chief rulers of the Church for the sacred ministry, and that this gift of the Holy Spirit enables them to fulfil the functions of their office, such as offering prayer and praise publicly to God, instructing the people out of His Holy Word, comforting the perplexed, assuring the troubled conscience of God's forgiveness of the penitent, blessing the faithful, and administering the sacraments instituted by Christ. One of these sacraments is the Lord's Supper, and so far as the celebration of the Lord's Supper is sacrificial in character, so far those who are ordained to celebrate it offer sacrifice to God. This Eucharistic sacrifice consists in the offering of praise and thanksgiving, and the pleading, by means of commemoration, of the merits of Christ's death upon the Cross.

The two ideas of the priesthood, the primitive and Anglican on one side and the Medieval and Roman on the other, have little in common, and can have little in common as long as Rome maintains the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, from which follows her doctrine of the priesthood, so far as the power of sacrifice is concerned. The Church of England has nothing to gain by any attempt to assimilate her truth to Rome's corruption of the truth."

"F. M."

It remains for us to note in conclusion, that while the above Article was passing through the press, as the best answer to be given to the Episcopal letter of "Vindication," the reply of our two Archbishops to the letter addressed to them by the Roman Bishops has been published. While couched in terms of studied courtesy, it plainly deals with the real question at issue, and thus complies with the request of the Bishops "to tell them in unmistakable terms what their real meaning is." It is to be hoped that we have now heard the real "last word" in this unprofitable discussion,—instigated, it appears, by certain members of the "English Church Union," with the vain attempt to reconcile the true "Anglo-Catholic principles" of our Church with the false assumptions of Papal Rome!

Lent, 1898.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART I.—(*Second Division.*)

THE ASSUMPTIONS OF ANGLICANS PERVERTED TO ROME,— EXPOSED AND REFUTED.

From all privy conspiracy and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from contempt of Thy Word and Commandment,—Good Lord, deliver us.

*That it may please Thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.—
We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.*

A LETTER TO AN “UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT.”

BY THE LATE VERY REV. J. W. BURGON, DEAN
OF CHICHESTER.¹

SIR,—

You have thought fit to address me on the subject of my faith, and to remonstrate with me on my “position” (as you are pleased to express it) as a member of the Church of England. You are evidently one of those persons who have apostatized to Rome. And, inasmuch as there are doubtless many to whom you or your friends will have already written in a similar style, my reply shall be made public, for their help and advantage. Would to God that the considerations which I am about to offer may convince, if not yourself, at least some of them; or suffice, at least, to arrest them—if they have not already gone too far—in their downward course!

That last clause is added advisedly; for the history and method of seceders to Romanism is too often observed to be somewhat as follows. And, first, for their *history*.

1. *Ordinary history of one who falls away from the Church of England to the Church of Rome.*

Born, perhaps, of Dissenting parents—or, to say the least, educated, in what are absurdly called “*Low-Church* principles” (those principles being of a kind which, if faithfully carried out, must infallibly conduct their professor to the Meeting-house rather than to the Church)—a man of superior instincts speedily discovers the unsatisfying nature of a purely human system. He is struck by the insecurity of his

position. The absurdity of Dissent, in an intellectual point of view, offends his reason: its unscriptural character alarms his conscience; the practical immorality in which it so largely results, offends and disgusts him. He is taught the nature, and becomes initiated in the principles of the Church Catholic. The new wine at first gladdens his heart: if he be weak, it well-nigh turns his brain. It has been unhappily poured into an “old bottle.” This was inevitable: but is it also inevitable that the bottle shall “burst?” Not so. *That* depends on the *method* which is pursued by this weak vessel.

2. *Review of the several objections and difficulties commonly urged by such persons against the Church of England.*

The enthusiast, — (a young person most likely, and not improbably of the gentler sex), — instead of resorting in the first instance to some thoughtful and learned priest of the Anglican Communion; instead of seeking at his hands instruction and advice, in order that he may understand something of the History and Constitution, as well as acquire some acquaintance with the actual teaching of the Church of England; and in this way build himself up in his own most holy Faith; — the young person of whom I am thinking, begins by assuming that he shall never find in the Church of his Fathers the peculiar nutriment which he fancies that he requires. This, he also assumes, that he *shall* find in the Church of Rome. He seems to argue in the following way: — It was Catholic teaching which he desiderated in the first instance; and Rome claims to be “*The Catholic*

¹ This Letter having been long out of print, is now republished by consent of his Executor, and is the Editor's copyright.

Church." Moreover, (as if it were actually the case that the terms "Romanist" and "Catholic" are simply convertible), that appellation is popularly conceded to her. He observes further that certain persons calling themselves "*High Churchmen*," delight in the externals of public worship; which externals *Rome* enjoys in the most profuse abundance. Certain Doctrines which he approves, and which the same persons have to maintain against popular opposition, are also observed to be by the Church of *Rome* taken for granted. A little coterie of persons professing thoroughly "Catholic principles" is now probably joined; and nowhere in the kingdom could a sect of Dissenters be found, more wedded to the tenet that outside their own peculiar chapel,—*nulla salus*. The narrowest party views are espoused. To overhear the conversation of this clique you would imagine that a nosegay, or lighted candles, or a Gregorian chant,—(the most primitive thing in the world, all on one note!)—must certainly be in their estimation the *articuli stantis vel cadentis Ecclesie*. Some vile piece of foppery in dress, they think worthy of approval and imitation. Opposition to the teaching of the Prayer-Book, offence given to weak brethren, and disregard shown to the counsel of their Bishop, they call "contending for a principle." I forbear to inquire into the furniture of their private chamber; or to scan too curiously the decorations of their persons.

The rest of the story is soon told. No more pains have been taken to ascertain the truth about Romanism, than to understand how the case stands with their own Church. Whereas, therefore, at first, *adaptations* of Romish works of Devotion were resorted to, *now* there is a demand for the raw material. Romish manuals are at last habitually employed; and acquaintance is freely formed with those who have already lapsed to Romanism. Doubts the most preposterous are now unblushingly instilled: slanders the most gross are insinuated: misrepresentations the most discreditable are bandied from lip to lip, without rebuke or contradiction. Let there be but an ardent temperament and a lively fancy, and the conclusion of the work goes on at railroad speed. Some trifle haunts the memory: some specious saying rankles in the heart: there was an anonymous article in some third rate Romish Review which upset the judgment: an assurance

that one's "Conversion" is daily prayed for, keeps on recurring like the cadence of some half-forgotten song. The influence of a stronger mind at this stage of the business is seldom wanting . . . Now, what I wish you to observe is, that when things have come to this pass—(not before!)—the faithless one is commonly found to bethink himself of the fact that he has been for months steadily advancing in a fatal direction; that he has now reached the very edge of the precipice; that his footing is unsteady, and that only a breath is wanted to carry him over headlong. It is *now* that he is commonly observed to make his first appeal to a priest of the Communion which he has already forsaken in heart; and which he is conscious that he shall soon forsake entirely. Looking back, while already on the road to Oscott, he remarks,—“If you have anything to say, I am perfectly ready to hear it; and have no objection to read anything you particularly desire me to read. So please to say on.” . . . Such persons have been even known to take the irrevocable step before your answer has had time to reach them! But even if there is no precipitancy, and if at this stage of the business letters are exchanged to *any* extent,—*who* so blind and impractical as not to see at a glance how unavailing all must be? A rambling controversy, conducted on false premisses on the side of the apostatizing spirit; and too often a weak discussion of points which do not affect the life of the question at all; concluded by a shameful act of secession to Romanism at the end of a few weeks;—such is too often, in outline, the miserable result of this form of error!

I have designedly entered into these particulars, and set them like a beacon in the very forefront of what I am about to say. Quite absurd is it to place an Anglican Priest in the position just described, and then to expect that his words can avail. The conscience has been too long tampered with. The poison has been too perseveringly imbibed. The antidote comes too late. A habit has been acquired which cannot be undone by a single act. No words on earth are sufficiently powerful now to break the unholy spell . . . The supposed appeal should have been made at the outset, when the early awakening came: not at the very close of the business, when it only remains for the deluded one to set his seal to the fatal contract.

I shall yet, for the sake of others, consider

your strange appeal patiently and in detail. Arguments, as you must be aware, you have advanced none. But you make a number of assertions, and you hint at a variety of considerations, which seem to be (in your judgment) a sufficient warrant why I should forsake the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic, and seek "admission" into the Romish Communion. In my next letter something shall be said on the other side; and I will endeavour to show you that if all your assertions were true, and if every consideration which you urge were well founded, it would still not follow by any means that Romanism must be my resource: for it shall be explained that all such points as the following,—with one single exception,—are absolutely irrelevant, and do not touch the life of the question in the least.

3. *Validity of her Orders.*

That solitary exception, I proceed to consider and dispose of at once: for though you introduce the remark only in passing,—("The very validity of the Orders of the English Church has been doubted,")—I cannot permit you to suppose that a charge of this nature is like the rest of those you adduce. If our Orders are invalid, then are we indeed in a piteous case; for then are we not, properly speaking, a Church at all. I know nothing of a Church which has not a threefold order of Ministry. I hold no Ordination to be valid which a Bishop has not bestowed; and I cannot admit that any one is a true Bishop whose commission and authority have not been derived to him in unbroken line from the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST Himself.

That the preachers at Rome are accustomed to class us with "the Chinese;" and to represent our Church as a schism,—our Religion as a very Babel of confusion,—ourselves as a mere nation of sectarians;—I am well aware. The Archbishop of Ferrara, last January, put forth a *Notificazione Ecclesiastica*, in which the following passage occurs:—"Da chi hanno essi la loro missione? poichè l'uomo non é obbligato in materia di Fede a credere se non a chi ha prove d'essere mandato da Dio, somma Verità, o da Chi ne tiene cospicuamente e incontrastabilmente le veci in terra.—Domandate loro quale mai, e per qual ragione, fra tante loro sette diramantisi all' infinito, meriti la preferenza d'essere ascoltata; se a mo' d'esempio la Chiesa alta o la bassa, oppure la larga; se il dono dell' infallibilità l'abbiano i *Pusristi*, o gli *Evangelici*,

o i *Pietisti*, o gli *Ermuti*, o i *Metodisti*, o i *Quakeri* . . . Chiedete se almeno in qualche verità si sono ancor convenuti fra loro; poichè, non ha molto, fra 24,000 ministri anglicani non se ne trovarono due che battessero a segno in fatto di dogmatiche dottrine, sicchè, a detta di un Protestante basterebbe l'unghia del pollice per iscrivervi sopra tutte le dottrine in cui vanno essi d'accordo; e come diceva un altro, a forza di riformare e protestare, il Protestantismo si è ridotto ad una serie di zeri."¹ . . . This kind of statement is doubtless very convenient, where none are present to contradict; and may serve to blind the people of Italy to the truth concerning the Church of England,—Heaven only knows for how many years longer. Even in France, strange to relate, the same gross misconception of our position and practices popularly prevails. But such mistakes,—(I have no grounds for calling them wilful misrepresentations),—cannot prevail for ever. Nor, (what is more to the purpose), do they impress one with much respect for the controversial ability of those who put them forth. You and I, at all events, know better. That sad confusion of opinion prevails among certain members of the Church of England, is true enough: but I question whether things are not worse in Italy and in France. That false brethren have been among us, the recent secessions from our Communion prove plainly; and that brethren quite as false (but not nearly so conscientious) remain behind, a volume recently published, entitled "*Essays and Reviews*," abundantly proves. But, for all that, we are not by any means so divided, practically, as the Archbishop of Ferrara supposes; while in theory, we of the English Church certainly all "walk by the same rule;" and "mind the same thing." Our ancient Breviary and Missal (after the Sarum use) reformed and made "the use of the Church of England,"² —is our own immemorial possession; is in the hands of us all; and constrains every one of us to speak the language of early Christendom to the present hour. Can as much be said for the congregations of Italy, France, and Spain? It is notorious that no single doctrinal tenet which can be truly called *Catholic*, is unrecognized in our authorized

¹ *Giornale di Roma*. 3 or 5 Jan., 1861.

² Title-page of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Books. What need to remark that "Methodists," "Quakers," and the like, are *external* to our Church, and too often its open enemies? "High Church,"—"Low Church,"—"Broad Church,"—are names colloquially employed among ourselves, to denote persons whose private tastes and prejudices incline them to take widely diverse views on all questions connected with Faith and Practice, as maintained by the Church of England; but to the authoritative teaching of that Church they nevertheless are pledged *ex animo* to conform: and we, as a Church, ignore their very existence. Distinctive tenets in fact these schools have none. As for the gift of "Infallibility," it certainly resides neither with Puseyites nor with Freethinkers; neither with so-called Evangelicals, nor with Papists.—But to return.

So long as the following words stand in the Preface to the Ordinal of the Church of England, it must be admitted that her *Theory* is Apostolic:—"It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in CHRIST's Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which offices . . . no man might presume to execute, . . . except he were . . . admitted thereunto by lawful authority. Therefore . . . no man shall be accounted . . . a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be . . . admitted thereunto, according to the Form, hereafter following; or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination."

And if the theory be Apostolic, how about the *Practice* of the English Church? "The validity of her Orders," (you say), "*has been doubted.*" Are you not ashamed of thus reproducing "the Nag's Head fable"? which has been again and again proved to be an absurd forgery, and impudent calumny;¹ while, even by Romanists themselves the validity of English Orders has been elaborately maintained.² I

will not condescend to go further into this question with you, unless you will venture to give me a distinct challenge, and instead of saying that our Orders "*have been doubted,*"—(as *what* Truth has *not* been doubted, in this lower world?)—will deliberately inform me that *you*, after due inquiry, are yourself in doubt on the subject . . . And now, to proceed a step. But not until I have modestly asked you the following question, which I shall thank you categorically to resolve.

The Church of Rome, as you are well aware, holds the Priest's *Intention* to be *essential* to the *validity* of a Sacrament.¹ Now, since this can never be infallibly ascertained,—(indeed, for the most part, no security is either sought or given on the subject),—what possible ground have you for your confident assumption that your Ordinations are valid, in *any* given instance? Where, *according to your own theory*, is your security for the validity of *any* sacramental act, except those performed by yourself individually?²

4. Her Antiquity.

You are requested therefore to observe, in the next place, that I cannot allow you, even inadvertently and casually, to hint that the English Church is "*only three hundred years old.*" This is so entirely false a charge, so utterly irrational a statement,—(contradicted as it is by the unequivocal evidence of History),—that I must insist upon its absolute withdrawal; before I condescend to argue with you for another instant.

That the Church which we founded in America is of recent growth, is true. Yet more recent is the Church in India, in Australia, in New Zealand, at the Cape: while Central Africa is even now in process of foundation. But you ought to be aware that none of these Churches are any the worse on that account. Britain seems to have received the Gospel soon after Rome, as Rome seems to have received the Gospel soon after Jerusalem,—which is the Mother of all the Churches: but neither Rome nor England are any the worse for *that*. And the Gospel doubtless came to us, in the first instance, (as it came to Gaul), *from Asia Minor*.

¹ See especially. *The Story of the Ordination of our first Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside, thoroughly examined; and proved to be a late-invented, inconsistent, self-contradicting, and absurd Fable.* By Thomas Browne, B.D., 8vo, 1731, pp. 495.

² Especially by Le P. F. le Courayer. The English reader will do well to consult the excellent Oxford Translation which appeared in 1814:—*A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church*, &c., pp. 500.

¹ Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. xl.

² The Canon was opposed at the Council of Trent, on these very grounds, by one of the Bishops then present,—Catharinus, Bishop of Minori.—Scudamore (*Letters to a Sceder*, p. 120), quoting Sarpi's Hist. ii. p. 191, ed. 1620.

Granting, however, that the flame had well-nigh died out when Augustine the monk visited our shores in the sixth century, and brought hither the Gallican (not the Roman) succession; even so, the difference will be but this,—that Rome (in consequence of her geographical position) was blest with its *actual* succession a few centuries before ourselves.

Then, in the church so founded, you ought to know that there was *no break* at the period of the Reformation. The Church of England did but *reform herself*. Romanists really are sometimes heard to speak of the Reformation as if “*the Protestants*” were a distinct race, who came in and drove out “*the Romanists*,”—who fled (I suppose) to Rome! But *you* at least ought to know better . . . I have heard Romanists sometimes say,—“*We built your churches*.” I should like to force them to explain what they intend to imply. They cannot mean that Rome supplied *the funds* out of which our churches were built: for the reverse is notoriously the case,—namely, that for a few hundred years before the Reformation England was drained of a great deal of money with which *Italian* churches were erected! It cannot be pretended that the Ritual now used in the Romish Church was, before the Reformation, used in the English Church; which Old English Ritual was, at the time of the Reformation, by the English Church abandoned; for the diametrical reverse is notoriously the fact. First, it is demonstrable that the ancient and the modern English Use is one and the same; and next, that our ante-Reformation Use was so widely discrepant from the Roman, that, (in the language of the most learned of modern Ritualists),—“it may safely be affirmed that no Roman or continental priest can possibly, for many ages before the Reformation, have officiated at an English altar.”¹

What can be meant then? The same men who before held certain modern Romish errors, at last shook themselves free from those errors. The Church reformed herself. She began no new existence. She called in the aid of no fresh agents. She experienced no change in her succession. She remained what she was before,—with the single exception of her errors. Let the prosperous estate of England ever since be accepted as some proof that no wrath from

Heaven descended upon her for what she then did! That her vitality was not impaired thereby, let her daughter-churches all over the world attest! . . . You are therefore requested to observe that you are not allowed for an instant to assert that the English Church is only *three hundred years* old . . . And now, to proceed.

5. *The doctrines she has repudiated—Transubstantiation—Invocation of Saints—Purgatory—Prayers for the Dead—Adoration of Relics.*

In your very first remark you beg *the whole question*; for (1st), you assume that the teaching of the Church of Rome is *identical with* the teaching of the first three or four centuries; and (2ndly), you assert that the Church of England has *rejected* the doctrines of those early centuries. On the first of these two assumptions you proceed to build up a considerable fabric of self-glorification: on the second, you build up a mountain of abuse, and insist that all Englishmen ought to do as you have done,—namely, forsake the Church of England and join the Church of Rome.

But permit me to remind you that this is to proceed a great deal too fast. Be assured that you will find it utterly impossible to make out either position. The contradictory of the first I propose to establish by-and-by. You shall be convinced that the Church of Rome not only does not hold the faith of the earliest age, but *does not even profess to do so*. And yet, the main thing which you have to remember is, that until you have proved that the Church of England has rejected the faith of the primitive Church, you have shown no reason whatever why I should forsake her communion. It is *conceivable*, surely, that *two* branches of the Catholic Church may hold “the Catholic Faith,” and profess “the Catholic Religion;”¹ and therefore be alike entitled to retain the undivided attachment of their respective children! Now,—*In which single particular* will you preterd to tell me that the Church of England has departed from the faith of the first three centuries?

You open your indictment by informing me that “the Faith of the primitive Church is well known. We have Liturgies as far back as the times of the Apostles; St. Paul himself having quoted,” (as you say), “from the Liturgy of St. James. And it is proved beyond a shadow of doubt by these ancient Liturgies, as well as

¹ Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*. Part ii. p. 84.

¹ Athanasian Creed.

by letters of the Ante Nicene Fathers, and by the Inscriptions in the Catacombs, that, in the first two centuries, Christians believed, (besides the Doctrine of the Real Presence, which is a *matter of course*), in Transubstantiation, the Invocation of the B. Virgin and of Saints, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, and a reverence for Relics. What then," (you ask), "are the 'corruptions' of which the Church of England speaks, if these doctrines were held in the first two centuries,—which she deems so pure? And how can you rejoice in belonging to a Church which confessedly rejects these doctrines?"—This is your charge.

I answer :—"The faith of the primitive Church" is indeed "well known : " but if you have been taught that (A) Liturgies of the Apostolic age,—(B) Letters of the Ante-Nicene Fathers,—and (C) Inscriptions in the Catacombs,—prove that the primitive Church held (a) Transubstantiation, (b) The Invocation of the B. Virgin and of Saints, (c) the *Romish doctrine* of Purgatory, (d) Prayers for the Dead *as practised by the modern Church of Rome*, and (e) *Adoration* of Relics,—you have been grossly deceived, and are utterly mistaken. For in the first place,—

(A) You have to learn that there exists *no* Liturgy of the date you imagine : (I heartily wish there did :) while your notion that St. Paul quotes from the (so-called) Liturgy of St. James, is just one of those extraordinary blunders which, in the judgment of any learned person, would suffice to put you at once and for ever out of court. It shows that you are not competent even to have an opinion on the subject on which you write with such confidence : for you ought to know that the absurdity of such a notion is gross and patent. Take the truth however in the words of a learned ritualist of your own adopted communion,—Zaccaria. He is speaking of this very Liturgy. "I cheerfully admit that the Liturgies which pass under the names of the Apostles, are of *much more recent date and are not authentic.*"¹ The most ancient of all, is the (so called) "Liturgy of Clement ;" which Bona conjecturally assigns to the 2nd or 3rd Century. But, (as a plain matter of fact), *no Liturgy seems to have been put into writing before the latter end of the fourth century : and the Liturgy of St. James, (of which we are*

speaking), contains unequivocal interpolations which may be referred to a period subsequent to the *fifth* century.¹ The appellation it bears, in the opinion of a competent judge,² is later than A.D. 380 You are convicted therefore of dogmatising on a subject which you do not understand. What is certain, without at all denying the *essential* antiquity of the primitive Liturgies, (with which our own English Liturgy entirely agrees), I insist on your observing that the primitive Liturgies cannot be adduced as primitive (much less as *Apostolic*) evidence in support of *any* doctrines concerning which the Churches of Rome and of England are at variance.

(B) You ought to produce your *authorities* from the "Letters of the Ante-Nicene Fathers,"—not simply refer to them as if they were a known series. What letters do you allude to? Do you fancy that Cyprian, for example, held any of these errors?

(C) As for the testimony of the Catacombs, you will find it sufficiently considered in my "Letters from Rome to friends in England."³ And now, having said all I *can* say about your supposed authorities, I proceed to tell you something about the history of those tenets for which you are so anxious to claim not only primitive Antiquity, but even Apostolic sanction : it being perfectly clear to me that you know next to nothing about them at all.

(a) TRANSUBSTANTIATION, (as I hope you are aware), denotes "the *change of the substance of bread and wine,*"⁴ and no other thing. You are requested not to mix up this question with quite a distinct one,—viz., "The Doctrine of the Real Presence." Also, you are requested not to insinuate that "the doctrine of the Real Presence" is anywhere repudiated by the Church of England. To the *phrase*, indeed, she lends no sanction. And why? Because she fears lest she should thereby mislead her children. But that she holds the Real Presence of CHRIST in the Holy Eucharist is sufficiently proved by her teaching that "the Body and Blood are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, in the Lord's Supper : " for how can anything be "*verily and indeed taken and received,*" which is not *verily and indeed* (i.e. *really*) present? It

¹ See Brett's *Dissertation* (§ 32) at the end of his *Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, &c., 1720, and since reprinted. The learned reader will have recourse to the volumes of Renaudot.

² Palmer's *Origines*, i. p. 44.

³ From page 223 to 258.

⁴ Art. xxviii.

¹ Quoted by Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, &c., p. xxxvi.

is only concerning the mode of her Lord's Sacramental presence that the Church of England is severely silent; because the mode of it *hath nowhere been revealed, and has never been decided.* In the meantime, concerning "Transubstantiation," she declares boldly that it "cannot be proved by Holy Writ; is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture; overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament; and hath given occasion to many superstitions."¹

Not to be tedious, then, I invite your particular attention to the following words of Gelasius, who was Bishop of Rome, A.D. 492—496. That learned man was engaged in controversy with the Eutychians. Now the heresy of Eutyches consisted in *this*,—that he assumed a conversion of the Human Nature into the Divine. He taught that the Humanity in the One Person of CHRIST was absorbed and wholly turned into the Divinity; so transubstantiated in short, that the Human Nature existed there no longer. The ancient Fathers who opposed this heresy made use of the sacramental union between the Bread and Wine, and the Body and Blood of CHRIST, in order to illustrate the Catholic Doctrine. They thereby showed that the Human Nature of CHRIST was no more really converted into the Divinity, and so ceased to be the Human Nature, than the substance of the Bread and Wine is really converted into the substance of the Body and Blood, and thereby ceases to be both Bread and Wine. A more unequivocal proof that the Church in those days understood no such doctrine as that of Transubstantiation, can scarcely be imagined.² I invite your attention to the emphatic language of one of those Fathers whom you must allow to be a most unexceptionable witness. Gelasius says,—“The Sacrament of CHRIST's Body and Blood, which we take, is doubtless a Divine thing, whereby we are made partakers of the Divine Nature: and yet *it ceases not to be the substance, or to have the nature, of Bread and Wine.* Doubtless, also, the image and likeness of CHRIST's Body and Blood are celebrated in the celebration of those mysteries. To ourselves, therefore, it seems to be with sufficient clearness

demonstrated that the self-same thing is to be thought of CHRIST our LORD, which in His image we profess [to exist, and believe that we] celebrate, and take, namely,—that as, by the operation of the HOLY SPIRIT, they become this Divine substance, *and yet remain in their own proper nature*,—so do they demonstrate that that other crowning mystery, whose virtue and efficacy they faithfully exhibit, remains one CHRIST, because very and entire; while yet the parts whereof He doth consist, abide in the propriety of their own nature.”¹ . . . In other words,—“One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, [*nor of the flesh into the Godhead*], but by taking of the Manhood into God.”

You perceive the conclusiveness of this quotation, of course, at once. Well may the modern Roman Catholic editors write *caute* against the place.² It proves what was the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as declared by the Bishop of Rome, *at the end of the fifth century*:—a sufficient refutation of your notion that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is as old as the Liturgy of St. James.

It may be new to you to hear that Chrysostom had said precisely the same thing as Gelasius. He was arguing against the Apollinarians, whose heresy was cognate to that of the Eutychians. He says:—“As the bread before it is sanctified is called *bread*, but after Divine grace has sanctified it by the mediation of the priest, it is called bread no longer, but is accounted worthy to be called the Body of the LORD, *though the nature of bread remain in it*,” &c., &c. Theodoret (A.D. 450) uses the same illustration in a well-known passage against the Eutychian heresy. To be brief, Tertullian (A.D. 200), Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa (A.D. 370), Augustine,

¹ “Certe Sacramenta quæ summus corporis et sanguinis CHRISTI Divina res est, propter quod et per eadem Divina efficiuntur consortes nature: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis de ipso CHRISTO DOMINO sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus; ut sicut in hanc, scilicet, in Divinam, transeant, SANCTO SPIRITU perficiente, substantiam, permanentes tamen in sue proprietate nature; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter representant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum CHRISTUM, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonstrant.”—This fragment of Gelasius may be seen in Pearson. It has also been elaborately edited by the late venerable President of Magdalen, in his *Reliquia*.

² See the quotation in Pearson *On the Creed*,—with that learned prelate's remarks upon it.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Bishop Pearson remarks,—“There can be no time in which we may observe the doctrine of the ancients so clearly as when they write professedly against an heresy evidently known, and make use generally of the same arguments against it. Now what the heresy of Eutyches was is certainly known, and the nature of the Sacrament was generally made use of as an argument to confute it.”—Art. iii. p. 162, *note*.

Ephraem Bishop of Antioch (A.D. † 40), Facundus (A.D. 550), Isidore, Bishop of Seville (A.D. 630),—together with many others, are all witnesses to the Catholic doctrine. You may see the places at length in Bingham; ¹ but in fact they have been a hundred times repeated. The term Transubstantiation was unknown in the Church for upwards of a thousand years; and the doctrine was not established until A.D. 1215. And so much for your first instance.

(b) Your notion that the INVOCATION OF SAINTS, and of the Blessed Virgin, is a primitive practice, again shows your ignorance of antiquity. For not only was the worship even of Angels forbidden by the 35th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, but the early Fathers expressly discourage all prayers to Saints. All this has been shown a hundred times. "Look into the more ancient Liturgies" (says Bp. Bull), "as particularly that described in the 'Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,' and the Clementine Liturgy, contained in the book entitled the 'Apostolical Constitutions;'" and you will not find in them one prayer of any sort to Angels or Saints; no, not so much as an oblique prayer (as they term it), *i.e.* a prayer directed to God that He would hear the intercession of Angels and Saints for us." ²

You will find in Bingham's "Antiquities" ³ a sufficient proof made out,—(it can be but a negative proof, but it is complete),—that no such worship as is now paid by the Romish Church to Saints was known in the early ages of Christianity. True enough it is that in the fifth century we meet with a passage, perhaps with more than one, which seems to show that the exclamation, "Holy such-an-one, help me!"—casually uttered, is not, in the judgment of the writer, to be reprobated. Several places of a rhetorical or of a poetical kind are also easily discoverable, which a lively imagination might torture into the "Invocation of Saints." But none of these places are capable of being pressed seriously into the argument. I refer you to what I have already offered on this subject, at pp. 237-41. You are requested to observe that a casual apostrophe to a departed human being—(call it an "Invocation" if you please)—is a vastly different thing from those *direct prayers, for favours which God alone can bestow*, which the modern Church of Rome systematically offers to *Saints*. For the sake of brevity, I beg to refer you on this entire subject to Palmer's

5th Letter to Wiseman. You are requested to read from p. 51 to p. 75. In the meantime you are to observe that the burden of proof rests entirely with yourself; and that it is not such an invocation as was above alluded to that you have to produce, but a fair specimen of *such* invocations as by the Church of Rome are addressed to the Saints at the present day. I pass on, with the remark that a greater contrast cannot be imagined than the ancient language of the Church respecting the Blessed Virgin, and the language of the Modern Church of Rome on the same subject.

(c) and (d) I must take your next two heads together, for a reason which will speedily appear. That the early Church used Prayers for the Dead is quite certain. Equally certain is it that Prayers for the Dead as practised by the modern Church of Rome are a corrupt innovation,—altogether unknown to the purer ages of Christianity,¹ and pregnant with nothing but mischief.

For what is the Romish theory of prayers for the dead, as at present practised? It is inseparably mixed up with the received and approved doctrine that *Purgatorial fire* awaits the souls of the just after death. Purgatory is feigned to be a place and state of misery and torment, whereunto faithful souls go presently after death; and there remain until they are thoroughly purged from their dross, or delivered thence by Masses, Indulgences, &c. These pains "are supposed to be inflicted in order to satisfy the justice of God for the temporal punishment still remaining due for remitted mortal sin, or for venial sin still remaining."² For, (as the Council of Trent decrees), "*temporal punishment remains, for the most part, to be discharged, after eternal punishment has been removed.*"³ In short, it is held that God consigns the just, on their exit from this world, for an indefinite period, to the torture of Hell-fire; and the Romish Theologians teach that the punishment of Purgatory "*is the very same as that of Hell; its eternity only being removed.*"⁴ Now this doctrine of *temporal punishment* is the very foundation, the key-stone of the whole Romish system, as it comes to view in respect of Satisfaction, Purgatory, Indulgences, Masses, and Prayers for the Dead. To keep now to the last-named point.

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, according to the

¹ See Bingham on this subject,—B. xv. ch. iii. §§ 16, 17.

² Palmer's VIth Letter to Wiseman.

³ Concil. Trident. Sess. xiv.

⁴ See the authorities in Palmer, as above, p. 22.

¹ Origines, Book xv. ch. v. ² Works, vol. ii. pp. 26-56.

³ B. xiii. ch. iii. §§ 1, 2, 3.

modern Romish theory, have it for their special object to deliver souls out of the pains of purgatory. But PURGATORY itself has been shown a hundred times to be a fiction,—without foundation in Scripture, Reason, or Primitive Tradition :¹ repudiated by the Greek Church,—spoken of with hesitation by not a few of the writers of your adopted Communion,—maintained, I fear, for nothing so much as for mercenary motives. Disconnect the doctrine of Purgatory fr in the doctrine of Prayers for the Dead :—I mean, suppose only that this corrupt fable had never sprung up to teach the Church of England the practical danger of encouraging her children to pray for the departed ;—and it may reasonably be suspected that she would have retained in her public services some more distinct recognition of this primitive practice than is actually to be found in any of them, at the present day.

And yet, I request you to observe that a Christian of the primitive Age would have been quite content with our existing practice. A few expressions in the prayers which are found in our Burial Service, and that general commemoration of all the faithful departed which we employ at the oblation of the Holy Eucharist,—(“Finally, we bless Thy holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear,”)—are conceived in the true spirit of the early Church. We include in the last-mentioned eucharistic prayer, without naming her, the Blessed Virgin Mary,—whom the primitive Church expressly named in the corresponding part of their service. The old Roman Missals adopted this Catholic practice of praying for all Saints,—Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs. Confessors, Bishops being of course therein included. But the Church of Rome adopts very different language at the present day. In a word, the Romish fable of Purgatory has given to Prayers for the Dead, as practised by the Church of Rome, quite a new character and complexion : and you are requested to observe that *not one* of the Patristic places you commonly see quoted in support of the Doctrine of Purgatory will sustain any part of the burden you purpose to build upon it.

It would be easy to multiply authorities, and to draw out in detail proofs of the modernness of the practices under review. But this is not my present object. I have said enough to show you that Purgatory is the reverse of a Catholic

Doctrine, and that such Prayers for the dead as Rome employs are a modern and a corrupt practice.

(e) THE ADORATION of Relics you will be pleased to remember is what I call a *modern*,—*you*, a *primitive* practice. You would appeal, I dare say, if hard pressed, to the many indications extant of *honour* paid to relics from the earliest period of the Christian Church. But *honour* is not *adoration*. We “honour” *Men* : we “adore” only *God* ! You, on the contrary, pay “Latria,” or Divine Worship, to RELICS.

That such Adoration is authorized and approved in the Romish Communion, you will find demonstrated in Palmer’s 8th letter to Wiseman : and that it was unknown in the primitive Church, you will find established by Bingham in the last chapter of the last Book of his great work. It has been shown, (he says,) “that there was no religious worship given to the Relics of Saints and Martyrs for several of the first ages in the Church.” Mabillon owns that there were no Relics set upon altars even to the 10th century.

6. Challenge of Bishop Jewell.

Permit me to invite your attention to a gallant challenge which was given by an English Bishop just 300 years since, but which to the end of time will not be accepted. Bishop Jewell thus spoke and wrote in 1560 :—“If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor, or Father, or out of any old general Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved (1) that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after CHRIST ; or (2) that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind ; or (3) that the people had their Common Prayers then in a strange tongue that they understood not ; or (4) that the Bishop of Rome was then called an ‘Universal Bishop,’ or the ‘Head of the Universal Church ;’ or (5) that the people was then taught to believe that CHRIST’S Body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally, in the Sacrament ; or (6) that His Body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more, at one time ; or (7) that the priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head ; or (8) that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour ; or (9) that the Sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged

¹ See Stillington’s *Rational Account*, &c., p. iil. ch. vi.—Also Bp. Bull ; Sermon iil. p. 72.

up under a canopy ; or (10) that in the Sacrament, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine ; or (11) that the Priest then divided the Sacrament in three parts, and afterwards received himself all alone ; or (12) that whosoever had said the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic ; or (13) that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one Church, in one day ; or (14) that Images were then set up in the Churches to the intent the people might worship them ; or (15) that the lay-people was then forbidden to read the Word of God in their own tongue.—If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old Doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any example of the Primitive Church, *I promise them that I would give over and subscribe unto him.*¹

I have now said enough to prove that you are utterly mistaken in supposing that the several doctrines you enumerate are sanctioned by the testimony of the first two or three centuries of the Church. You have been shown that the very reverse is the case ; viz., that the evidence of the earliest ages entirely condemns those doctrines.—Give me leave to remind you however of a circumstance which you clearly lose sight of : namely, that if the Doctrines in question were ever so true, it would not by any means follow that I must therefore become a Romanist. In order to convince me of the necessity of that, you will have further to convince me that a belief in those Doctrines is generally necessary to Salvation. Now pray mark how the case stands between us. While you cannot even pretend to assert this, *I* do most unhesitatingly assert, (with Bishop Bull,) that it positively endangers a man's Salvation that he should hold some of the doctrines you advocate.² The case therefore between you and me, is somewhat peculiar.

7. Modern Theory of Development.

You propose next to lead me a dance into the Doctrine of "Development:" but excuse me for telling you plainly that you have not the necessary powers for a prolonged discussion of this nature ; which moreover, (as it ought to be

plain to you,) is very little *ad rem*, after we have seen that your appeal to Antiquity has broken down. "Development" is a theory which has been invented by the apologists of modern Romanism in order to account for the actual corruption of Doctrine in the Romish Church ; but it is attended with certain fatal inconveniences, as I can easily show you : while the argumentative worth of the theory of Development is absolutely nothing at all. Let me explain.

True enough it is that, *in a certain sense*, "there have been Developments in Religion." The "Te Deum" of the Western Church is, I believe, the beautiful development (expansion I should rather have called it) of a short Eastern Hymn ; the germ of which is contained in the "Trisagion," or cry of the Seraphim,—as recorded by the prophet Isaiah, ch. vi. The Hymn of the Blessed Virgin may be regarded as a development of the song of Hannah : and the germ of both, I have always been taught to discern in the short hymn of Sarah, set down in Gen. xxi. 6. Our Litany, in like sort, may be regarded as a lawful development, (*expansion* I must again prefer to call it,) of the three fold invocation which ritualists call, "the lesser Litany."¹ Somewhat thus, many parts of our Church service may be accounted for. A code of Laws is conceivable which might be regarded as the development of the Divine command,—*"Love thy neighbour as thyself."* Nay, if I understand the words of CHRIST rightly, "the Law and the Prophets" are, in a certain sense, a development of Deut. vi. 5 and Levit. xix. 18. But then it requires little wit to see that to account in this manner for the doctrine of Purgatory, for example, or for the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary,—is to beg the entire question. He who so argues forgets that Development may be *lawful*, or it may be *unlawful* ; and that the name for an unlawful Development in respect of Doctrine, is a *corruption*. Thus the *Adoration of Relics* as practised in the Church of Rome, I hold to be a manifold abuse of a sentiment in itself not only faultless but commendable. In the Martyrdom of Polycarp, as related by the Church of Smyrna, is read as follows :—"We afterwards gathered up his bones, more valuable than gold and precious stones, and deposited them in a fitting place."² Turn from this expression of natural piety, and survey the picture sketched by myself in "Letters from Rome to friends in England"³

¹ Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1560, *Works* (Parker Soc.), i. p. 20.

² See Bp. Bull's Discourse on the *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, sect. 1. *ad. init.* Works, ii. p. 239.

¹ "LORD have mercy upon us, CHRIST," &c.

² xviii.

³ From p. 48 to p. 58.

You may call this "Development" if you please. All persons of unsophisticated understanding will hold it to be a *corruption, depravation, or abuse.*

Development again may be perfectly lawful: but it may be the development of some doctrine or practice which is in itself erroneous. Thus the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin seems to be a perfectly lawful development of the *Adoration* paid to the Blessed Virgin. *Indulgences* and *Pardons* are, (for aught I see to the contrary,) perfectly legitimate developments; but then they are developed from the *Romish doctrine of Purgatory*—which is confessedly a fable.

For, (to take Analogy still for our guide; it being quite unreasonable that we should forsake Analogy when it begins to make against us:)—What is the teaching of "moral, intellectual, political, and social" life? (I accept your challenge and quote your own words. In "*vegetable life*," the exquisite phenomenon of orderly growth and increase seems to make for you: "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."¹ But what, I ask, are the phenomena of *moral, intellectual, political, social* existence?) In the first and second, does your conscience tell you nothing which it is inconvenient just now to remember? Has not the full "development" of early faults of character caused you many a time to cry out, "O miserable man that I am"? Have you never heard of corrupt institutions in the State; or have you never been the unwilling witness of a disordered civil and social fabric? Where have you lived, and where has your observation been, if in almost every department of human agency, you have not noticed the fatal tendency of seminal errors,—(or at least the perversion of principles which in themselves were true and good,)—to germinate into corrupt practices; and these again to branch out into endless developments for evil? . . . You will of course tell me that I have no right to assume that in the Church of Rome the germs of the Doctrines in dispute were seminal "errors," or "perversions" of true principles. But I must in turn again remind you, that you are begging the whole question when you assume that they were *not*.

For (I repeat) two phenomena are before us:—The grown-up plant, gemmed all over with fruit or flower, which is the lawful and lovely result of a little insignificant seed: and, The dead man, corrupt from head to foot,—which is

the lawful and loathsome result of a few particles of poison received into the constitution. It cannot, of course, be pretended that the Church of Rome shall be the field for the *exclusive* manifestation of the former class of phenomena: and all the other Churches of Christendom, including the Holy Eastern Church, the scene for the *exclusive* manifestation of the latter. This were mere folly. That the HOLY SPIRIT dwells in the Church of CHRIST, I believe as sincerely as you do; but then it cannot be thought to reside exclusively in any *one branch* of it. And as for supposing that He is the Author of all *Romish Doctrine*, I hold on the contrary that "as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith."¹ . . . The argumentative value of Development is therefore absolutely nothing; while the practical inconvenience of a theory which is as likely as not to result in the condemnation of its advocate, is obviously fatal.

I will dismiss the subject by reminding you of a passage in Church History,—the first which comes to mind. "In the course of the correspondence" of the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Greek Church with the Nonjurors, "the Patriarchs of the East are not sparing in their censures of the Pope of Rome." They describe him to be "deceived by the Devil, and falling into strange novel doctrines; as revolted from the Unity of the Holy Church and cut off; tossed at a distance with constant waves and tempest, till he return to our Catholic, Oriental, immaculate faith; and be reinstated from what he was broken off." They declare "the Purgatorial fire to have been invented by the Papists to command the purse of the ignorant, and we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction, and a doting fable, invented for lucre, and to deceive the simple, and in a word, has no existence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Holy Scriptures, or Fathers, whatsoever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary."²

Now, suppose the Churches of England, Ireland, America, (not to speak of India, New Zealand, Southern Africa, Australia, and the rest,) were one and all to endorse this opinion of the Greek Church respecting the Romish

¹ Art. xlx.

² *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, 1854, p. 183, quoting Lathbury's *Hist. of the Nonjurors*, p. 350.

¹ St. Mark iv. 28.

Doctrine of Purgatory, appealing as the Greek Church does to Scripture and Fathers;—what possible weight can you suppose would attach to a little babble about seeds,—and growth;—and development,—and maturity,—and perfection? Further, If Purgatorial Indulgences,—or the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,—or *any other single doctrine to which the Church of Rome has solemnly and irrevocably pledged herself*,—may be thus disposed of,—*what*, I ask, becomes of the security of all the rest? I pause for an answer.

But let me not leave the question thus. I would rather direct your eyes in the right direction. You are requested therefore to take notice that whenever in ancient times it became necessary to define more accurately than had been done before any single department of Christian doctrine, the *invariable* method was to appeal to Holy Scripture. I venture to say there is not to be found one single ancient exposition of Doctrine where the appeal is made to the principle of Development, or to private Tradition. *Universal belief* is indeed sometimes insisted on: but only rarely. The appeal is generally made to *Holy Scripture*; and its probable meaning, as it may be gathered from the consentient voice of ancient Fathers, and from the general analogy of Holy Writ,—is discussed, just as it is discussed by ourselves at the present day: while the unequivocal witness of the *SCRIPTURE*, (and that only), is accounted absolutely conclusive, and altogether final.—Now, to proceed.

8. *The Faith of the English Church not Indefinite*

You assert that we of the English Church “have no definite Faith.” This charge is too feeble to stand. No one can read the Thirty-nine Articles and complain that we have “no definite Faith.” What of our Prayer-Book, with its occasional Offices? All you can mean is that Anglican teaching is not so definite as *you* wish it was, and think it ought to be: that there is a *want of definiteness of teaching* in the Anglican Church. Now, even if there were, *that* would constitute no reason whatever for my becoming a Romanist. As well might I expect to persuade a Romanist to forsake his own Communion, on the ground that, in the judgment of myself and others, *there is a vast deal too much definiteness* in Romish teaching.

But I simply deny the charge which you bring against us; while I deliberately bring the oppo-

site charge against *you*. I maintain that the teaching of our Prayer-Book is sufficiently definite; and is altogether Catholic,—which is more than can be said of yours. No man can be at a loss as to the Church’s mind on any important point. That, within certain limits, she allows to her children considerable freedom of sentiment, is undeniable; and that they have not been slow to take advantage of her charity is only too clear. But I have yet to learn how it can be made a grave ground of accusation against a Church that terms of communion with her are of a large, and altogether Catholic kind,—not multitudinous, narrow, and in their character often quite novel, as well as unheard-of in ancient times. The Churches of Rome and of England are constructed alike on a rock; but not only the materials out of which they are constructed, but the very method of their construction are somewhat different. The one boasts itself rigid and unyielding; the other (like the Eddystone) is observed to rock slightly in the storm. O that she may stand for ever!

Give me leave in the meantime to remind you that you are not to hug the belief that perfect unanimity of sentiment on doctrinal points prevails in the Church of Rome. Concerning Purgatory, for instance, you will find a great deal of contradictory teaching among Romish Theologians. On the doctrine of Papal Infallibility you will also find immense discrepancy of doctrine. But I forbear to enlarge on this subject.

In the meantime, I insist on your observing that no sooner do Romish controversialists find themselves hard pressed in argument, than they labour to show that their Communion is characterised by that very feature which, at other times, they make a point of casting in our teeth as a ground of reproach. They find it convenient to distinguish the doctrines and practices prevalent in the Roman Communion into two classes; “the former consisting of matters of Faith, or doctrines defined by the Church; the latter consisting of matters of Opinion, or doctrines not so defined. The use made of this distinction in all writings and discourses intended for those who are opposed to Romanism, is to avoid all responsibility for, and all discussion on doctrines of the latter class, by representing them as mere non essentials, which any member of the Roman Communion may dispute or reject at pleasure; while the attention of opponents is drawn entirely to the former class of doctrines, which, being commonly pro-

posed in general terms and with great caution, are far less assailable.”

This is ingenious enough, but not honest,—as the acute living controversialist on our side of the question, just quoted, has ably shown.¹ At the same time, it is undeniably true that the language of the Council of Trent is to the last degree indefinite,—compared with the language of Romish Divines: the *falsity* consists, in the favourite assumption of your new friends, (whenever the assumption suits them), that the Decrees of Trent are the only authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome.

But as you complain of the want of definite teaching in the Church of England, let me address a few words to you about the definite teaching of the Church of Rome.

For the character of her teaching, as already hinted, is characterised by no more pernicious peculiarity than this very definiteness, the want of which you object to as a grave defect. “Romanism professes to be a complete Theology. It arranges, adjusts, explains, exhausts every part of the Divine Economy. It may be said to leave no region unexplored, no heights unattempted; rounding off its doctrines with a neatness and finish *which are destructive of many of the most noble and most salutary exercises of mind in the individual Christian*. That feeling of awe which the mysteriousness of the Gospel should excite, *fades away under this fictitious illumination which is poured over the entire Dispensation*. Criticism, we know, is commonly considered fatal to poetical fervour and imagination; and in like manner this technical religion *destroys the delicacy and reverence of the Christian mind* Rome would classify and number all things; she would settle every sort of question, as if resolved to detect and compass by human reason what runs out into the next world or is lost in this Not content with what is revealed, Romanists are ever intruding into things not seen as yet, and growing familiar with mysteries; gazing upon the ark of God over boldly and long, till they venture to put out the hand and to touch it.” “*This mischievous peculiarity of Romanism*,” (proceeds Mr. Newman),—“its subjecting Divine truth to the intellect, and professing to take a complete survey and to make a map of it,—it has in common with some other modern systems.”²

And practically, the Romish method is mis-

chievous. It discourages a spontaneous service of God. It encourages formalism. “It lowers the dignity and perfection of morals; it limits, by depriving, our duties,—in order to indulge human weakness, and to gain influence by indulging it.” “If, indeed,” (remarks the thoughtful writer already quoted), “there is one offence more than the rest characteristic of Romanism, it is this, its indulging the carnal tastes of the multitude of men, setting a limit to their necessary obedience, and absolving them from the duty of sacrificing their whole lives to God. And this serious deceit is in no small degree the necessary consequence of that completeness and minuteness in its theology to which the doctrine of Infallibility gives rise.”¹

The same writer thus sums up his charge against Rome, based on that very “definiteness,” or “bold exactness in determining theological points,” which seems to you so attractive; but which he justly describes as “a minute, technical, and imperative Theology, which is no part of Revelation.” “It produces,” (he says), “a number of serious moral evils; is shallow in philosophy,—as professing to exclude doubt and imperfection; and is dangerous to the Christian spirit, as encouraging us to ask for more than is given us, as fostering irreverence and presumption, confidence in our reason, and a formal or carnal view of Christian obedience.”²

9. Unfaithfulness, Undutifulness, and Doubt.

You inquire,—“Do you never doubt? Do you never ask yourself, am I in the right?” *Never*,—I answer. Why should I? Does the owner of ancestral acres and an ancient title wake up some fine morning troubled with a doubt as to the validity of his right to all he enjoys,—all his fathers enjoyed before him? Does a child ever doubt whether he is his own mother’s son, and vow that he will not rest until he has the point demonstrated to him; as well as until he has inspected the marriage certificate of his parents? I reject your question with equal scorn and abhorrence.

You proceed,—“How do you know you are right?”

I may with far better reason rejoin,—How do you know that you are right? You say that you are as convinced about your own position as that there is a sun in Heaven.—So am I about mine.—The difference between us is just

¹ Palmer’s *Letters to Wiseman*, 1812.

² Newman’s *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church*, pp. 110-12; 123,

¹ Newman’s *Lectures*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.* ut *supra*, pp. 126; 146; 127.

this. I am in the Church where God's good Providence originally placed me: *you*, by a reckless exercise of the right of private judgment, have licentiously transplanted yourself into a foreign Communion. The burden of proof rests altogether with *you*. If there be no Salvation except to members of the Romish branch of the Church Catholic, I must depend on God's tender mercies, with Andrewes and Hooker and all the rest of the reverend Fathers of the Church of England. But if *you* have erred, you have erred indeed!

You tell me that I have nothing to go by:—that I cannot appeal to the Scriptures,—for every sect finds its own tenets there: (in which, by the way, you are quite mistaken, for I defy you to find all of *yours* there!)—and that I cannot appeal to the English Church, because it comprises every shade of opinion:—in short that I hold certain “opinions,” but cannot pretend to any Faith at all.

You are really very saucy. Permit me to give you a plain man's view of this question.

I was born a member of the Church of England, and I bless God for it. Its *prima facie* claims upon my allegiance therefore I hold to be altogether paramount. In fact, I can scarcely conceive any adequate cause arising from my ever quitting the Church of my Fathers. To be sure, if that Church were to commit herself irrevocably to all sorts of awful superstitions and heresies,—I might feel compelled to consider with myself what was next to be done. But, generally speaking, the errors of our Ecclesiastical rulers, (which are the Church's misfortunes),—the unfaithfulness of individual teachers,—the growth of heresy,—the spread of unbelief;—all these things instead of driving me *out* of the Church, would only keep me the more firmly *in* it. I should simply feel that there was the more to be done; the greater mischief to be counteracted,—the more need of men to “strengthen the things which remain.” The last thing which would enter into my head would be to treat the Church as an impatient child treats a toy: namely, when out of humour with it to inquire for another. Does an officer think of deserting his men because they are thinned by disease, and are become demoralised? Does a son think of forsaking his parents, a husband his wife,—because of sickness,—misfortune,—loss of comeliness?

I should have felt and acted much in the same way, I am persuaded, had I been born a Romanist: and I think I should have felt and

acted rightly. The claims of that Church in the bosom of which God causes us to be bred up,—are, in the first instance, paramount. We must try to *improve* the Church of our birth, not to find excuses for *forsaking* it. To *reform* a corrupt Communion, not to work its downfall, should surely be our aim! To resist State interference indeed, and to protect the Faith, is reserved for very few. But to maintain sound Doctrine, and strenuously to oppose every kind of error, is the province of a very large number: while to raise the standard of holiness, and to promote the growth of practical Religion, is within the power of all. . . . Such seems to me to be the business of the *individual* believer. His work is *within* the Church,—not in the camp of the enemy. To be busy *there*, is to be a traitor! . . . The fundamental position on which these remarks are built you will perceive to be the following,—that in whatever branch of the Church Catholic God has caused our lot to be thrown, *there* we may reasonably hope to “save our souls alive,” if we make the most of the opportunities within our reach, and of the advantages we enjoy. Individual obedience,—personal holiness,—these are the only conditions requisite for blessedness.

The fundamental position in *your* remonstrance, on the other hand, seems to be this,—That men and women are not only at liberty, but are *called upon*, and positively *bound*, to doubt their position; to weigh the claims of one section of Christendom against those of another: to exercise their right of private judgment; and, in a word, to set themselves up *above* the Church. . . . Now all this kind of thing, give me leave to tell you, is an evidence of a sectarian spirit; and shows a habit of mind to which every sound Catholic instinct is abhorrent.

But, (let me add),—If such doubts and inquiries *are* to be the order of the day, then I fear your new friends will have to look out for their flocks. Inquiry, in the spirit *you* recommend, (which I altogether deprecate), would introduce into the ranks of Romanism hopeless confusion; and a degree of insubordination which would make government impossible, and would imperil the safety of souls: for dissatisfaction and dismay would infallibly follow indiscriminate inquiry, in *that* quarter. I pray that such a spectacle as my fancy draws may not be witnessed in our own day. But I repeat,—If individuals are to be promiscuously asked, “Do you never doubt? How do you

know you are in the right?" and the like,—then confusion would inevitably follow, and schism would be the result; and such a breach would be witnessed in the Romish Communion as never could be healed. "The mind seems to reel for years after it has recoiled from the Roman system," says Archdeacon Manning: who refers his readers to Southey's *Colloquies*, (vol. ii. pp. 16, 31), "for the moral effects of Romanism in shaking the habit of faith."¹

But I am not at all apprehensive of any amount of inquiry which you or others may be disposed to make here at home. Rather does all my apprehension arise from the utter absence of real knowledge of the subject which I witness around me. May I ask,—Have you examined Jewell's Controversy with Harding? or that of Andrewes with Bellarmine? Have you studied Laud's Controversy with Fisher, and followed the question up, until it was finally closed by Stillingfleet? Do you know Bishop Bull's Discourses, in answer to Bossuet? or the polemical writings of Bramhall, Ussher, and Barrow? Have you more recently read Palmer's Controversial writings, including his Letters to Wiseman, as well as Bp. Turton's encounter with the same gentleman? and Bp. Phillpott's Letters to Butler? More recently yet, are you acquainted with Dr. Wordsworth's Letters to M. Gondon? . . . You may sneer: but you will find out, if you will inquire, that these men have all silenced their adversaries, and remained masters of the field.

And so, when you ask me "what I have to go by," and so forth, I, as an individual Englishman of very moderate learning, think, that besides the authoritative teaching of the English Church, I may with reason appeal to what the most learned Fathers and Confessors of that Church have written on the subject of her relation to Rome. When I find, in addition to the controversial ability of Ussher and Stillingfleet, Laud and Jewell, the learning and piety of Andrewes and Hooker,—Taylor and Bull,—Bramhall, Cosin and Beveridge,—Pearson, Sanderson and Hammond,—Waterland and Jackson, and the rest;—I think I may with entire safety dedicate my leisure, (which is but scant), and my abilities, (which are not considerable), to something better than doubt and controversy. Excuse me for saying that when I survey this list of names,—ever increasing in number and in splendour,—the insolences of such an one as yourself appear to me unspeak-

ably paltry and worthless. What sufficed for them, may surely, I say to myself, suffice for me also!

10. *Misapplication of the term "Conversion."*

When therefore you talk of "converting me," I really must trouble you to consider what a preposterous abuse of language you are guilty of. From what, and to what do you propose to "convert" me? You wish to see me converted from being an *Anglo-Catholic* to becoming a *Roman-Catholic*! And can such an arbitrary transfer of allegiance be confounded with the blessed act of the soul's conversion to God? Have you then so entirely forgotten the Scriptural and Catholic teaching of the Church of England as to address me as if I were a worshipper of false deities, or addicted to heathen rites? The same Bible with yourself, (all but the Apocryphal books):—the same three Creeds which you acknowledge, (not, of course, adding thereto the Creed of Pope Pius IV.):—the same Litany as yourself, (bating the Invocations of Saints):—much the same Missal and Breviary, (all but the fabulous legends):—the self-same Collects, (only that we have not put them to wrongs, as you have):—the same two Sacraments above all,—the same Priesthood,—the same Councils and Fathers which you yourselves acknowledge; all, all our own! Good Heavens, then,—what an abuse of terms is this! that a man should be persuaded to uproot himself from one branch of the Church Catholic, and to plant himself down in another; and flatter himself that he has thereby been "converted";—the Conversion resulting in his being now compelled, under pain of anathema, to believe in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary! . . . Why, you must either be mad yourself, or you must think me so, to think that I can seriously contemplate such a "Conversion" as this!

11. *The Church of England not "small."*

As for your insinuations about fewness of number, (the "*little Church of England*," and so forth,) I counsel you to get up the statistics of the question a little more carefully, before you so speak. I might indeed invite you to remember that when the Ten Tribes fell away from the primitive standard, the Truth remained with the tribe of Judah; while "of [little] Benjamin he said, The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between His shoulders." (Deut. xxxiii. 12.) But I have no wish to resort to such an argument. The Church

¹ Archdeacon Manning's *Rule of Faith*, p. 109.

of England,—whether absolutely or relatively considered,—is *not* little. Her numbers are *not* small. She counts her tens of millions even in this country. She is stretching out on the right hand and on the left, and is ready to colonize the globe. Already does the sun never set upon her altars. She has already extended her Religion, and is destined yet more effectually to extend it, over the whole World.

12. *The case of those who have forsaken her considered.*

But I have not yet replied to all your charges. Let me be briefer with those which remain.—You ask me how it comes to pass that several men of undoubted piety and ability and learning have left us?

Really, I am not concerned to account for the unfaithfulness of these men: but the argument derivable from their apostasy is worthless. That a few of the Clergy and Laity should have left the Church of England, during a period of unusual excitement, is not at all surprising; neither is it strange that these should have been the more earnest of her sons. Such a contingency was, on the contrary, to have been expected. Far more than a full set-off, however, against the supposed importance of the unfaithfulness of these few men, is the unwavering fidelity of the multitude who have remained behind.

You appeal with especial satisfaction to the names of three or four considerable authors, who were once accomplished English Divines. I bid you note how, (like Samson on the lap of Delilah,) their strength has already “gone from them, and they have become weak, and like any other men.”¹ I request you further to tell me why these writers are more to be listened to at one stage of their motley history than at another? The question I am now asking is of the following nature:—

A gentleman who became an Archdeacon in the Church of England,—who had been a fellow of his college, and was known to be a man of considerable ability and learning,—in the maturity of his powers produced a work on the “Rule of Faith,” which went through two editions, and on which he bestowed considerable labour.² He proved that “the Roman Church, how much soever it may appeal in words to Antiquity, does in practice, *oppose* Antiquity and universal Tradition:” (p. 100) “has intro-

duced *new* doctrines unknown to the Apostles of Christ:” (p. 103) “*undermines the foundation upon which Christianity itself is built;*” (p. 104) and so forth. He explained “the Catholic Rule of faith,” and proved “that it is distinctly recognized by the English and the early Church.” “We may now go on,” (he said,) “to consider the following rules, which have been in later ages, adopted by the Church; both therefore modern, and condemned as novel, by universal tradition: I mean, *the rule of the Roman Church*, and the rule that is held by all Protestant bodies, *except the British and American Churches.*” (p. 81) The learned writer proceeded “to define the Roman rule and to contrast it with the Catholic:” (p. 81, referring to p. 82,) elaborately setting forth the Catholic method of the Church of England, in opposition to the un-Catholic method of the Church of Rome; and insisting that “the Church of England protests against the Church of Rome for departing from the *universal* tradition of the Apostles, and for bringing in *particular traditions, having their origin in an equal neglect of Scripture and Antiquity.*” (p. 84.)—Now, I ask, how can such a writer expect to be heard when, a few years after, he comes forth as the vehement assailant of the English Church, and the strenuous advocate of Popery?

Again. An energetic parish priest, who produced a series of “Discourses on Romanism and Dissent” which went through several editions, declared, as the result of his study of the question, “that the real fact of the case is this;—that out of eighteen centuries, during which the Church of England has existed, *somewhat less than four centuries and a half were passed under usurped domination of the see of Rome*: so great is the *absurdity, and palpable ignorance of historical facts* evinced by those who represent the Church of England as a separating branch from the Romish communion. Let it be remembered, that all which the Reformers of our Church aimed at, and which they so happily accomplished, was to bring back the Church of England to the *same state of purity which it enjoyed previous to the imposition of the Papal yoke.* They put forth no new doctrines; they only divested the old ones of the corruptions which had been fastened on them. In all essential points,—in Doctrine, in the Sacraments, in the unbroken succession of ministers,—*the Church of England is at this day the same which it was in primitive times.*”¹

¹ Judges xvi. 17.

² “*The Rule of Faith,*” &c., by Rev. H. E. Manning, consisting of a sermon, (p. 53,) and an Appendix, (p. 136,) 2nd ed. 1839

¹ Disc. viii. pp. 8-9.

—The same judicious writer further defines the “gulph between us and the Roman Church which we can never pass (!) and which the members of that corrupt Communion can only pass by giving up all that is peculiar to their own creed . . . We can have no fellowship,” (he says) “with those who practically exalt the Virgin Mary, (who, though ever blessed, was a creature, by nature corrupt and sinful as ourselves,) to a coequality with CHRIST, as the ground of their dependence and trust. We can have no communion with those who assign to the traditions of men the same authority with the inspired Word of GOD, and who corrupt and overthrow the nature of the Sacraments.”¹ “The kingdom of England,” (he proceeds,) “is not in the diocese of the Bishop of Rome, nor yet in the patriarchate of Rome . . . When, therefore, the Church of Rome charges us with breaking the unity of the body of CHRIST, our reply is, that no such unity as she contends for was known in Apostolic or Primitive times. Let her cease from her attempts to tyrannize over other bishoprics not her own; let her cleanse herself from corruptions: let her revive sound and Apostolic doctrines; give the sacraments to her people in their simplicity and purity; and cancel the decrees of the schismatical Council of Trent;—and we will joyfully reunite with her, in the same sense that the Church of Corinth was united to the Church of Jerusalem.” As for “the charge brought against the Church of England, that she herself has set the example of schism to the Dissenters, by her own separation from the Church of Rome,—common as the notion is in our day that our Church did so separate,—there never was a more groundless notion, or one more contrary to fact. *The Church of England never separated from the Church of Rome, or from any other Church.* When she sank under the usurpation and corrupting influence of the Church of Rome, she did not thereby lose her own existence; neither did she forfeit her right to release herself from that cruel bondage, when GOD put it into the hearts of his servants to attempt it, and enabled them to succeed in the attempt.”²

Now will you pretend to tell me that when the selfsame individual who wrote these words changes his religion (as a man would change his coat), and is heard flatly to deny what yesterday he had logically established,—his second opinion

is to outweigh his first; or rather, cause that we should overlook it altogether?

It were easy to multiply illustrations *ad nauseum*, and to show what a miserably weak and foolish figure our own writers cut, when having been “once enlightened, and having tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the HOLY GHOST, and tasted the good Word of GOD, and the powers of the world to come” (Heb. vi. 4, 5), they thus fall away. The Rev. T. W. Allies, in 1846, wrote 204 pages, the gist of which was sufficiently expressed by their title,—“The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism.” In 1854, the same gentleman altered his mind,—discovered that “the See of St. Peter” is “the Rock of the Church, the source of jurisdiction, and the centre of unity;” recanted all his former professions; reversed all his solid proofs; and, in short, apostatized! The “Lecturer on the Philosophy of History in the Catholic University” (wherever and whatever that precious institution may happen to be!),—for by this new title the late “Rector of Launton and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London” now designates himself,—T. W. Allies, M.A., in 1854, writes 203 pages to quite the opposite tune; winding up his labours with this kind of thing: “Whither then shall I turn, but to thee, O glorious Roman Church, etc., etc. Thine alone are the Keys of Peter and the sharp sword of Paul’ . . . Can anyone forbear a contemptuous smile when he glances from that picture to this? . . . Take one more example.

“If we are induced” (says Mr. Newman,) “to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances towards her as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach . . . Let us be sure that she is our enemy, and will do us a mischief when she can . . . We need not depart from Christian charity towards her. We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate tender thoughts, with tearful regret and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye and a firm hand. For in truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or rather she may be said to resemble a demoniac . . . Thus she is her real self only in name; and, till GOD vouchsafe to restore her, we must

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 4-5.

² Dodsworth, *On Romanism and Dissent.* Disc. i. pp. 16-18.

treat her as if she were that Evil One which governs her." So wrote the Rev. J. H. Newman in 1838. Four or five years after, he was "inveigled" into the arms of this same "pitiless and unnatural relation." He submitted himself to this "deranged" Church. He enlisted his splendid abilities under that banner where "noble gifts" are not "used religiously." He received a second Baptism, and fresh Orders from this (so called) "Demoniac." To that Church which "the Evil One governs"—(a terrible sentiment surely to utter or to subscribe to!)—he entirely submitted himself Heaven forgive him! Heaven help and guide us *all* in the exercise of our powers—be they considerable, or be they very slender! But will *you* pretend to mention such conduct with any self-congratulation? It seems to me that the less said about such acts the better! He who being bred in ignorance (whatever the Church of his profession), on due inquiry changes sides, is at least entitled to a hearing. But he who is first, on deliberate conviction, a powerful controversialist on the side of the Church of England, and then a far more vehement (but not nearly so powerful) combatant on the other; this man, I cannot think is entitled to any hearing at all.

To confess the truth, instead of feeling that the apostasy of certain literary Priests of the English Communion makes against that Communion, I can view their act only in reference to themselves. Next to astonishment at their infatuation, a sense of the absurdity of their actual position overcomes me. It is *too late* for them now to rail against the Church of their Fathers. They have demonstrated its purity and its primitiveness long since! It is worse than absurd for them now to vaunt the Romish claims. They have long ago disproved them! In an unguarded hour *they wrote a book*. Happily, "*littera scripta manet*,"—*atque in æternum manebit*.

Then, as for the gifts and graces of these men,—their zeal and earnestness, their self-denial and learning,—what need to point out that every one of these are of *English*, not Roman growth! Nay, Rome has proved herself incapable of maintaining in their purity the spirits which spontaneously have joined her ranks. For, one and all, these men are found to have become demoralised and debased by their new connection. They may say what they will, moreover, but I am *persuaded* that they are not happy where they are. They may be as

vehement in their protestations as they please, but the more learned among them *must* repent the step they have taken. They have discovered, long since, that they have lost something which they could not afford to part with, as well as gained something which they used to think they could not live without. But, in the meantime, the fruition has not proved by any means what they expected; and the gain, they discover, is not unmixed; and the practical deformities of Romanism have long since become painfully apparent. Moreover, there has been sorrow inflicted, and confidence outraged, and precious ties severed; and, what is more, grand opportunities have been lost for ever, and sacred pledges have been violated, and solemn trusts have been broken, and Ordination vows have been scattered to the winds.

You are evidently struck by the strangeness of seeing our Anglican Communion forsaken by such men; but stranger sights will be witnessed "in the last days," let me remind you—far stranger spectacles than we and our Fathers have hitherto witnessed. Our Lord declares that "there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, *they shall deceive the very elect.*"¹

13. *The Church of England the mother of Saints.*

Another of your charges against the Church of England is that "it has not produced considerable Saints." How, I should like to be informed, do you know *that*?

If you ask me to name a set of men equal to Francois de Sales, Vincent de Paul, and so on, I really think I shall find no difficulty at all in doing so. The Annals of the English Church will supply me with as bright a galaxy of names as are to be found in any sky. But I prefer making a different, and (as I think) a fairer answer. I would rather remind you that to every Church must be allowed its own proper glory. It is conceivable that the result of the teaching of the Romish Church may be to produce exceptional cases of extraordinary personal sanctity, and occasional acts of altogether heroic devotion; while the great bulk of the population shall be grossly vicious and immoral, and the ranks of its very clergy largely infected by the poisonous taint. On the other hand, while our Bishop Wilsons at home, and our Henry Martyns abroad, are few, it seems to me that the result of our Church's teaching is to produce a far higher

¹ St. Matt. xxiv. 24.

standard of average morality. Permit me, for my own part, to declare that I conceive our own to be herein the higher felicity ; our own the greater glory. Our domestic life is more pure ; our homes are more sacred ; our national truthfulness is far higher than that of any Roman Catholic country. I believe there is more *average goodness*, more *general piety* here than anywhere else in the world It shall suffice to have indicated thus much. What need to remark, however, that all this is *nothing at all to the point* ? Suppose the Church of England could be *proved* not to have bred so many great Saints as the Church of Rome ;—*what then* ?

14. Books of Devotion.

You complain further that we are destitute of Books of Devotion, and have got no good Commentaries. One of these charges, if you please, at a time.

Pray have you ever taken the trouble to inquire how many books of Devotion the English Church actually possesses ? Have you had recourse to Andrewes, and Taylor, and Cosin, and Laud, and Leighton, and Sutton, and Patrick, and Spinckes, and Ken, and Beveridge, and Wilson, and Hale, and Keble, and Williams,—and found them all insufficient ?

Permit me, however, to say that I decline following your lead any further in this direction. You are assuming that the best Church *must* be that which provides the best devotional Manuals for her children ;—a position which I altogether deny. (Nay, you are implying that a man's duty will be to unite himself to that branch of the Church which boasts itself most rich in this department of sacred literature). I, on the contrary, am bold to assert that *that* Church is most faithful which most encourages her children to make the *pure Word of God* their habitual strength, and help, and consolation. *The English Prayer Book* is the *Englishman's* habitual Book of Devotions : and the *Psalms of David* he prefers,—with the Saints of all ages,—to all the paltry “little gardens of lilies,” and “little gardens of Roses,” and “little Paradises of dainty devices,” in the world.

You will please to take notice, therefore, that I repel your charge against the English Church, (that she is destitute of Devotional Manuals), with indignation, on every ground. As a matter of fact, we have a *vast number* of such works. As a matter of taste, I prefer the honest homely flavour of the worst of ours to the very best of yours ; so mawkish and unreal in their tone,—so unscriptural and unsound in their teaching,—

so alien and strange in their manner,—so *Sectarian and un-Catholic* in their whole method and tendency ! But the chief point to which I invite your attention is, that *we* have human helps the fewer, because we have Divine helps the more ! *We* habitually resort to,—*the Bible* : your people, (the lay sort, I mean), read,—a vast amount of religious *trash*. . . . When a devout Anglican wants spiritual entertainment, his obvious resource is to turn to the *Gospel of Jesus Christ*. He would rather hear one of those four blessed Saints discourse to him concerning his SAVIOUR'S acts or sayings, than read any merely human book of cogitations. Next to the Gospel, he loves the Psalter. If he is very sad, the book of Job, or the penitential Psalms, are quite sad enough for *him* ! He seldom seems to want anything more, for devotional purposes, than the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer supplies.

But if he does, (and this reminds me of the other charge you bring against us), one of Bp. Andrewes', or one of Dr. Mill's, or one of the late Charles Marriott's sermons gives him plenty to think about—if he happens to feel as I do. (But every man to his own special taste in this matter !) You complain that we have but few Commentaries. There is no denying it. (Your new friends, let me tell you, have not got many *good* ones either !) But instead of reckoning up those we have, I will take the liberty of saying that England's true exegetical strength is to be sought and found in the *Sermons and Treatises of her greatest Divines*,—in the writings of Pearson, Bull, Sanderson, Cosin, Andrewes, Waterland, and so on. A man will find that he understands the texts which relate to Holy Baptism infinitely better by reading Wall's celebrated treatise, or that of Bp. Bethell, than by dipping into any number of Commentaries. Mill's five Sermons on the Temptation are better than any system of Notes on that portion of the Gospel. But I must absolutely turn away from the train of thought thus opening to me. I pass on with one remark, which I earnestly recommend to your attention ; or, rather, to the attention of those who are likely to be seduced by your bad example, and to fall into the common *cant* of depreciating the stores of English Divinity ; namely, that before gentlemen of a Romanizing tendency make up their minds that they must seek for help at the hands of writers of the Romish Communion ; or before another, equally undutiful, class of spirits resort to *Germany* for

help, it would be well if both would take the trouble to ascertain *what their own language and literature supplies, of purely English growth.* How many excellent writers there are (as Jackson, Horbery, Townson, and others), who—certainly for no fault of theirs—experience systematic neglect at the hands of Englishmen;—the very Englishmen who yet pretend to be familiar with Continental Divinity! Many a man, believe me, has lost his way with the Germans, or been misled by writers of the Romish School, who never read a line of Beveridge, or Bramhall, or Bull. But I must absolutely pass on.

15. *Closed and Open Churches.*

Your complaint that our Churches are “never open, whereas Romish Churches are never shut,” is just another of those utterly irrelevant matters, as well as very incorrect statements, which I am surprised to see you so confidently urge. The Roman Basilicas are always open indeed, just as the English Cathedrals are, but the same can be said of no other Churches in Rome. From 12 o'clock to 2 or 4 P.M. *all* Churches are closed; while there are scores of Churches at Rome which are shut all the week. You have to send for the key,—just as in London; while, to some of the Churches, you will find it *impossible to obtain access at all.* I remember trying in vain to discover where the key of St. Saba is kept. Many of these lesser Churches (though very curious) are *not opened from one end of the year to the other*; or Divine Service is celebrated in them *once a year.*

But, let me ask, what has this to do with the question? *The methods* of the two Churches are wholly different. Our practice of Family-worship, together with the superior conveniences we enjoy for private devotion in our dwelling-houses, partly explains why our Churches are not so systematically kept open as the Churches at Rome. The difference of our public Service from theirs, (a subject which has been largely remarked upon from p. 36 to p. 89 of my “*Letters from Rome*”), further helps to account for it. There may be a difference in our social instincts and general traditions. Lastly, I freely confess that it is to be wished our Churches *were* more generally open than they actually are. But yet,—when all has been said,—I see not what it can be thought to have to do with the question before us; which is,—whether I am bound to transfer my allegiance from the Church of England to the Church of Rome? This is the *only* question between you and me!

16. *No lack of devoutness in our people.*

Your remarks are (many of them,) purely sentimental. I expect, at every instant, that you are going to say something next about *the climate of Italy*; or to urge, by way of argument, the sweet Vespers of the little nuns at the Trinità di Monte! I am sure if the facts were reversed about the *popular style of Architecture* of the two countries (Italy and England), we should have had a paragraph about *that too!* What a pity that stained-glass windows, the glory of our English churches, should be unknown in Rome!

Why, how irrelevant as well as how untrue is all you say about the comparative devoutness of the people! You seem to imply that reverence is to be found only among Romanists; irreverence only among Anglicans. Where can you have been living, and what must your powers of accurate observation be? Enough in praise of the popular religion of Rome (enough and to spare perhaps!) has been said in some of my “*Letters from Rome.*” But do you mean to tell me that a Roman Catholic Church during the time of public prayer is as devotional and reverential a spectacle as an *English Church*? Will you tell me, too, that either the highest or the lowest ranks exhibit the externals of devotion more strikingly in Italy than in England? And pray, are we to be so besotted as to identify intensity of devotion with purity of Faith? Who more devout than a good Turk?

But I *deny* your position entirely. I will not track the worshippers into private life, or inquire how they conduct themselves *there*; and so set off the “pure religion and undefiled” of the one against the other. I will confine myself to the Sanctuary; and I boldly insist that, as a matter of fact, there is *more* reverence, on the whole, among our own people than among your new friends. You must not ask me, Why, then, is no one ever seen in the corner of an English Church on week-days, etc.? I reply,—You have to consider the difference of the two systems. *We* promise no Indulgences *applicable to souls in Purgatory* for slender religious exercises! I make little doubt that if we did; if, for example, there were a statue of the Blessed Virgin in the church of the village in which I write; and if beneath it there were an inscription stating that the Archbishop of Canterbury, (I really beg his Grace's pardon for so wild a supposition,) granted in perpetuity a hundred days of indulgence to every one who once a day devoutly kissed its foot, and recited

a single "Ave Maria"—as in the instance specified at p. 61 of the "Letters from Rome"—if this were the *English* method, I say, I make no doubt that the same interesting spectacles would be witnessed here as in Italy. But would not that be to buy such treats at somewhat too dear a rate?

17. *Conditions of a Church's Existence.*

It may not be uninteresting or useless, to some persons at least, that even so humble a hand as mine should venture to trace out certain very unfavourable conditions, under which, nevertheless, any independent Church might safely hope to maintain a healthy existence. I draw the portrait as follows, perfectly conscious that the result will not be very attractive; but taking leave to remark that an *attractive* portrait is not the thing which it was proposed to draw.

If a Church be but constituted on the Apostolic model—namely, with three orders of lawful ministers:—If the pure Word of God be but "preached, and the Sacraments duly ministered, according to CHRIST's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same;"¹ (what need to declare that the Cup of the LORD is not to be denied to the lay-people?)—If the Bible be but freely read, and the three Creeds faithfully maintained by the Church:—If there be but set forms of Prayer (what need to say that public Prayer in the Church must be *in a known tongue*?)—If no *new dogmas* are added to the Faith (*ἀνάξ*) "*once for all delivered to the Saints*":—If *truly* Catholic observances be but retained; and if care be but taken that in all rites and ceremonies of the Church which are of purely human authority, all things be done to edifying:—If, lastly, in all cases of doubt or difficulty the appeal be but invariably made first to Scripture, then to primitive Antiquity:—If all this, I say, may but be predicated of any Church, then no one of its members can pretend to doubt of his safety in that Church; or, on the contrary, presume to quit it, *without endangering his own Salvation*.

It would be idle to object to such a Church that its shrines are not open all the week, or that the State oppresses it; that some of its Ministers (or of its lay-members) are unworthy, or unlearned, or at logger-heads, or unsound in Doctrine; that some of its teachers deny Baptismal Regeneration, and disclaim or repudiate Apostolical Succession; that heresy is

winked at, and Immorality not quite unknown; that Discipline is slack, and good books of Devotion scarce; that Lent and Easter are badly kept, and the Saints'-Days altogether neglected; that great irreverence prevails, and not a little unbelief; that there are as serious divisions among its members, and as many party names as when St. Paul had done preaching at Corinth; that great Saints are very uncommon, and real Martyrs rarer still; that its ritual is not very ornate, and that the people would not like it if it *were*; that most populous towns are practically in a very heathen state, and that scenes which have been recently witnessed in any given Church are a great scandal. I might, to be sure, make reprisals, and draw up such a parallel catalogue of supposed or real blemishes in your own adopted Communion, as would drive you mad. But I spare you. Let me advise you, however, not to provoke one who has been an attentive observer of the practical working of the Romish system, to become the aggressor; for verily, in such case, you will find it *impossible* to hold your own! All this kind of thing, multiplied a hundredfold, you are requested to take notice, is all as irrelevant to the matter in hand; just as little affects *the life* of the question,—as the expression on my friend's face, or the rent in his clothes, or the mud upon his boots, or the amount of business he has on his hands, or the going of his watch, or his being hot and weary, or his having a detestable wife living somewhere in Westminster, (*not that he or I at all desire a divorce, remember!*) or the way he is forced to wear his hat,—affects *the life of the man* . . . It is absurd to mix up points so purely irrelevant, with the real—the only real and vital question!

You will perceive, (I desire to write without levity,) that your correspondent is prepared for much graver troubles falling on the Church of England than she has hitherto experienced, without yet feeling the least anxiety concerning *her life*, and, therefore, concerning *his own position*. She may have (God forbid!) her Liturgy disfigured, and her rightful temporal inheritance taken from her. Her enemies, (under the name of a "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control,"¹) may succeed in bringing her very low. She may be forbidden the use of her Liturgy. She may see her decisions reversed by the Temporal power, and her Doctrines practically set aside. (I am not for an instant

¹ See Archd. Hale's recent pamphlet. Rivington's. (1861.)

meaning that these things *are* coming upon her ; but I say they are, one and all, conceivable). Heresies may arise among us which will rend the very Church asunder. All this and more is conceivable. But it would not destroy the life of the Church ; much less would it make it the duty of a member of the Church of England to become a member of the Church of Rome. The truly loyal heart and dutiful spirit, the man with ever so little of Christian chivalry in his composition, would feel it *impossible*, in days dark as I have been imagining, to forsake the Communion of his Fathers. Suppose him a man of loftiest parts and of most admirable genius—of truly primitive piety and of real learning—what would be his resource ? He would do as Richard Hooker did, when he put forth his Books “Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity ;” and so, depart in peace. I can never read the magnificent opening words of Hooker’s preface, (addressed “To them that seek, as they term it, the reformation of laws and orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England”), without feeling my heart beat faster, and my whole spirit stirred with unutterable sympathy :—“Though for no other cause, yet for this ; that posterity may know we have not loosely, through silence, permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men’s information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same” He would do, as Bishop Butler did, when he observed as follows :—“It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all persons of discernment ; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were, by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world”¹ Seeing this, Bishop Butler produced his immortal “Analogy.” In some such way, I repeat, every loyal heart, according to his opportunities, would certainly act. The last thought which would ever occur to a noble spirit would be to *turn Romanist*.

18. *The Church of England not indifferent to truth.*

It is quite idle, therefore, in you to tell

me that “one of the most striking points of contrast between the Church of England and the primitive Church is that every shade of unsound doctrine may be held within the former, and treated as a harmless speculation.” For first, *it is not true* that “every shade of unsound doctrine” may be held without rebuke. Romanizers on the one hand, Essayists and Reviewers on the other, are *not* tolerated. You have lately seen the indignation of the whole English Church aroused by a single volume, and finding authoritative expression through the entire Bench of Bishops and both Houses of Convocation ; while a hundred individuals have come forward to refute the erroneous doctrines, and by no means harmless speculations, of certain false brethren ; and, in the boldest and most unequivocal language, to denounce them. Secondly, *it is not true* that the primitive Church knew nothing of such scandals ; although it is perfectly evident that *you* know next to nothing of the *primitive Church*.

Considerable diversity of opinion, I freely admit, prevails within our Communion. A considerable latitude is allowed, even to the *Ministers of Religion*. But let me advise you not to be too saucy on this subject ; for I shall be constrained to remind you that outward uniformity may be purchased at too dear a rate. An ignorant Clergy, a superstitious people, and a country under a spiritual thralldom,—these are widely dissimilar conditions from those under which *we* exist. You are to consider that in periods of transition, and in an age of great mental activity, and in a country where the freest discussion is allowed, and where the Bible is in the hands of all,—we must *expect* much in the practical working of the Church to distress and to sadden. The questions to be asked by a fair observer are such as the following :—Is the march of things upwards or downwards ? Does Heresy go unrebuked ? What is the prevailing tone of the Divinity which is issued weekly from the press ? What are the counterbalancing advantages of the system under which we in England live ? Are there no indications of immense activity and earnestness among our people ? Above all,—What is the *authoritative teaching of the Church* on the several subjects in dispute ?

19. *Her Liturgy.*

And so, with respect to our Liturgy, which you are so rash as to bring into the question. All parties (you say) wish to see it altered. This I deny altogether. True it is that many

object to a few expressions in the Burial Service, and many to a clause in the Athanasian Creed. Some think the Table of Lessons capable of improvement, and others desire that the Services might be shortened. Yet more wish (not unreasonably,) for a second Evening Service. But we may hope that men will generally see the danger of uniting for the redress of their several supposed grievances, as we believe that the generality are content with the Prayer-Book as it is. On *this*, at least, I insist emphatically, that the several "small peculiar" wishes of individuals are not to be spoken of, in the lump, as a national desire for a revision of the Liturgy. An excellent and aged friend of mine (his name would command respect if I were to mention it,) proposed to confide to me, many years ago, a scruple he had in the use of the Liturgy. I was all attention. "That expression,—'Changes and chances of this mortal life,'—troubles me," said he; and you can imagine the reason why. . . . In the meantime suffer me to remind you that it is better to have a Liturgy which many find fault with than to have *no Liturgy at all*. For (as I have in an early part of "Letters from Rome" fully shown,) your own adopted communion has practically parted with her ancient inheritance, and is *without a Prayer-Book*!

20. *Men of Moderate Views.*

I quite feel the fun and smartness of your satire on men of "moderate views." You are, doubtless, right in supposing that the most saintly mediæval bishops on record would not have looked about for such men to work within their dioceses. But pray be fair. To every age its own appropriate praise. And even *you* will not pretend that any objection is entertained in England to a man, however *immoderately good and earnest*, however *immoderately self-denying and laborious* he may be. No. What we all hate is a reverend coxcomb—whose religion

displays itself, at first, in the style of his *millinery*, and next in the warmth of his Romish sympathies. Then comes an ultramontane system of teaching and a half-emptied Church. Last of all the reverend gentleman probably carries his strangely-cut coat and empty head over to the Church of Rome. *Such* is the kind of individual, be it remarked in passing, who has brought Ritualism itself into disrepute, and caused that "men of moderate views" should be inquired after. The phrase (be assured) does but denote persons who are not likely to make immoderate fools of themselves.

In conclusion. You are requested to observe that we are quite agreed as to the Church being the Ark,—outside which are the whelming waters; the Fold,—outside which are ravening wolves. I entirely subscribe to the axiom—*extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*. Like yourself, I hold that the Catholic Church is the Church which CHRIST commissioned to teach all nations, and in which His HOLY SPIRIT dwells. All this I firmly believe and maintain. The only question between us is—*What is the Catholic Church?* We are quite agreed that with the world there can be no compromise, and that "the Church holds on her awful way, through storm and sunshine, waiting for the coming of her LORD." We are quite agreed about all *that*. But *you* are absurdly assuming all the while, that to be in the Church means—to acknowledge the *Papal supremacy*! You are forgetting that CHRIST (not Rome) is the Vine, and we (Rome and England) are [two of] *the branches*:—limbs of the Body they; and He, the Head! You evidently require to be taught, (and I proceed next to show you) that for many hundred years the Church of Rome put forth no such claims as those she now advances; and that, in the best ages of the Church, the doctrine you so coolly seek to impose upon me, was simply unknown.

A SECOND LETTER TO THE SAME.

SIR,—

I have been content hitherto to stand on the defensive. You have brought sundry charges against the Church of England which I have been content to repel. You clearly overlook two important considerations; the first,—(I.) That if the shortcomings of the Church of England are to be so industriously raked up,—then some notice must be taken of the shortcomings of the Church of Rome also, since it is

not to be imagined for an instant that the Communion into which you have lately sought admission is immaculate, and that only *we* have something to deplore. Next,—(II.) You forget that if the shortcomings of the English Church were much more considerable than you attempt to make out, they would constitute no adequate reason for forsaking her. On both these two heads, in this and my third letter, I propose to offer a few words.

I am not about to multiply charges against the Church of Rome, as I easily might. I will confine myself to a few points:—

1. *Idolatry of the Romish Church.*

The first charge I bring against her is, that SHE IS AN IDOLATROUS CHURCH;—by which I chiefly mean to say that she not only permits, but encourages the worship of Images.

You may not attempt to elude this accusation by the old shift of distinguishing between different degrees of worship, and telling me (what is undeniable,) that the Greek word *Doulia* means one thing,—the Greek word *Latria* another. Such philological subtleties, however commendable in their proper place, are altogether foreign to the matter in hand. For we are not going to discuss what two Greek words mean, but what the Romish Church actually does. Moreover, distinctions like these, however plausible in theory, altogether disappear in practice, as you ought to know very well. Above all, the 2nd Commandment is express and unconditional: “*Thou shalt not bow down to worship them,*”—whether with one kind of worship or with another. Neither may you attempt to persuade me, (even if you have succeeded in persuading yourself,) that the graven image is *not* worshipped, but that through the representation the worshipper looks up to the being represented. I shall show you that the worshipper is taught to do nothing of the kind; and the authority which teaches him is none other than one which you think infallible,—that, namely, of the Bishop of Rome himself.

For, if the idol is nothing, but the object represented everything, how does it come to pass that *one idol is preferred before another*? If the intention of the Romish Church is to lift the thoughts of her children heavenward, how does it happen that worship, (whether *Doulia* or *Latria*.) offered to *one* image or picture rather than another, is encouraged by the highest authority? If the direct result of the Romish system is not to arrest the heavenward aspirations, and to restrain them to the earthly image, how does it come to pass that *miracles* are ascribed to so many of the representations of the Saints? ¹ And if this result is deprecated

by the authorities in the Romish Communion, how does it happen that a volume pretending to authenticate those miracles has been publicly put forth by authority? . . . You will find these questions hard indeed to answer. The volume of which I speak will be presently again alluded to.

You will tell me, I doubt not, that *the theory* of the Romish Church does not countenance Idolatry, however fatally that plague may have developed itself in the Romish Communion. I am sorry that I cannot altogether admit the validity of your plea. You are to observe that the Romish Church does nothing to check or discourage,—but, on the contrary, does much to promote and encourage—image-worship. The statue of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of St. Agostino, at Rome, (described by me in “*Letters from Rome*”),¹ would be quite sufficient to prove what I say, for the papal indulgence engraven on its base can be attended with only one result; *can* have been put there with only one intention. The same may be said of every image set up in Roman Catholic Churches, so long as the people are taught to visit it with especial veneration. *Practically*, the veneration paid to Images has reproduced the method of heathendom. “*Notre Dame de Fourvières*,” for example, is as much the tutelary goddess of Lyon, as ever was Minerva at Athens, or Diana at Ephesus. Permit me to refer you to the exhibition already described by myself,² in which the Pope took a conspicuous part. Are such transactions, (and they are very common in countries of the Romish obedience!) to be severed from the theory of the Romish system? ³

Leaving the question of image-worship, I have to remind you that your Church stands charged with being, in not a few respects, DOCTRINALLY CORRUPT. It shall suffice to indicate only a few points.

2. *Doctrine of Purgatory.*

Your doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences needs only to be stated, I should think, to proclaim its own sufficient and entire refutation. Concerning the former Doctrine I have already said enough. But what is to be said of the complicated superstructure of error which has been built up on the foundation of that

¹ One has not far to look for examples.—“*Vi e una Madonna detta di S. Gregorio, della quale si dice, che un giorno passando il detto Pontifice, e non salutandola, gli disse, &c. (Rom. Modern. Gior. 5. Rion. di Campetalli.)*”—“*Ad sanctum Paulum, ubi vidimus ligneam Crucifixi; Imaginem, quem sancta Brigida sibi loquentem audisse peribetur.*” (*Mabill. D. Italic. p. 133.*)—“*Imaginem Sancte Mariæ custodem Ecclesiæ allocutam et Alexii singularem pietatem commendasse.*” (*Durant, De Rots. l. i. c. 5.*)

¹ Pp. 60, 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ See the Rev. W. Palmer's VIIIth *Letter to Wiseman* (1842), wherein he demonstrates that “direct and formal Idolatry—*what Romanists themselves admit to be Idolatry*—is authorized and approved in the Romish Communion, and that Romanists are prevented by their own principles from condemning it.” See p. 9. The reader should also refer to *Stillingleet, Works*, vol. v. p. 459.

gross fiction? The superfluous merits of the Saints departed are assumed to be deposited in a kind of Bank, in conjunction (shocking to relate!) with the merits and satisfaction of our SAVIOUR. Of this Treasury, the Bishop of Rome keeps the key; and over it, he has unlimited authority. He is thought to enjoy the privilege of drawing upon this fund at pleasure; and to be at liberty, by a stroke of his pen, to apportion some of it to whomsoever he pleases. Nay, he claims to be able to appropriate the merits of any definite Saint to any indefinite person. Thus, over a Chapel in the transept of the Basilica of St. Lorenzo, at Rome, you read:—“This is that tomb out of the catacomb of St. Cyriaca which is celebrated throughout the world. Whosoever here celebrates Mass for the Dead will deliver their souls from Purgatorial pains, *through the merits of St. Laurence.*”¹

This kind of inscription is even common. In the Church of St. Onuphrio what follows is framed, in the second chapel to the right as you enter:—“*Altare privilegiato nel quale si libera dal Purgatorio quell' anima per la quale si prega, come si celebrasse all' altare di San Gregorio di Roma.*” Again, in the Church of S. Carlo, is to be read as follows (in the Chapel of the Assumption):—“*Innocentius XI. P.M. concessit ut quandocumq. in hoc Deiparæ altari pro anima cujuscumq. fidelis sacrificium fuerit, ipsa a Purgat. poenis liberetur.*” It is needless to multiply examples.² You are hopelessly blind if you are not struck with the

senseless profanity of a system which can develope such phenomena as these.

3. Indulgences.

This whole article of Papal “Indulgences” is a sad blot on the Romish system. You may find it briefly discussed in a manner you will find unanswerable by not a few of our Theologians.¹ Not to wade into the depths of this iniquity, and to uncover the revolting consequences of this sad corruption of the primitive Faith, I am content to ask: *What more transparently worthless than such promises are attached to the performance of almost every public religious act? Think only of a hundred days of indulgence for kissing the foot of a statue and saying one Ave-Maria!*² *Seven years of indulgence for a visit paid to certain Relics! Plenary indulgence for eighteen visits paid with prayer, after confessing and communicating!*³ But “plenary indulgence” is more easily attainable still. It appertains to him who attends five of the public catechisings, and is applicable to souls in purgatory.⁴ So are the *nine years of indulgence which accrue to him who once ascends to Scala Sancta devoutly*⁵ Surely such fables are as foolish as they are profane!⁶ You may think as you please on the subject: but let me tell you the mischief of such Doctrines must infinitely outweigh, in the judgment of persons of sense and candour, any of the practical inconveniences which are experienced in our own branch of the Church Catholic How *modern* this entire system is has been repeatedly shown; as well as to what monstrous scandals it has paved the way. The sale of Indulgences became at last so flagrant an abuse that it produced the Reformation.

¹ “*Hæc est tumba illa toto orbe terrarum celeberrima ex Cœmeterio S. Ciriacæ matronæ, ubi sacrum siquis fecerit pro defunctis, eorum animas a Purgatoriis poenis Divi Laurentii meritis evocabit.*”

² A few may be added in a note. Framed and glazed in the church of S. Maria Traspontina is the following:—“*La santa Memoria di Papa Paolo quinto, ad istanza del Card. Domenico. Pinelli vescovo di Porto e protettore dell' Ordine Carmelitano concede la liberazione d'un anima dal Purgatorio a qualsivoglia sacerdote che celebra in ques to alt-re intitolato delle colonne dove furono flagellati i gloriosi Apostoli S. Pietro e S. Paolo, come più amplamente appare dal suo breve spedito dal Vaticano li sci Aprile MDCVI.*” On the right of the altar in the dilapidated but curious church of S. Bartolomeo:—“*Gregorius XIII. P. O. M. . . . apostolica auctoritate concessit cuilibet ex eadem familia (sc. Franciscana) sacerdoti qui domum hanc S. Bartholomæi incoletet si in capella hac DEI Matri dedicata quam sanctam appellat, sacrificium pro defunctis offerret animam illam liberaret a Purgatorii poenis, pro qua sacrificaret, idque diplomate sanxit, Romæ, xi. Kal. Septem. MDLXXXI.*” Under the Basilica of Santa Croce, on a title affixed to the iron gate of the Capella di Pietà, is read: “*Celebrandosi la S. Messa in questo altare si libera un' anima dal Purgatorio, come risulta dalla bolla della S. M. di Gregorio XIII.*”—Over the altar of S. Maria Scala Cœli:—“*Celebrans hic animam a penis Purgatorii liberat.*”

¹ See, for example, Bp. Bull, *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 282-87. The reader is also referred to Newman's *Lectures on the Propheetical Office of the Church*, pp. 115-47.

² See p. 61.—As you enter the Coliseum, on either hand you see in the wall a plain marble inlaid cross. Beneath it, written:—“*Baciando la Santa Croce si acquista un' anno e x giorni d Indulgentia.*”

³ See “*Letters from Rome*,” p. 50.

⁴ See *Ibid*, p. 68.

⁵ See *Ibid*, p. 75.

⁶ As monstrous an instance as I ever met with is the following, written over the altar of the Crocifisso, in the basilica of S. Lorenzo:—“*Quisquis devoto ac contrito corde accedit ad istam crucem et ad alteram, plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum indulgentiam consequitur.*” (!) Above the confessional in the same church:—“*Hoc sub fornice tumulata jacent corpora Ssr. Stepliani protomartyris, Laurentii Diaconi et Justinii presbyteri et mart. ubi est quotidie a summis Pontificibus concessa indulgentia plenaria.*” The following inscription occurs perpetually over the doors of Churches at Rome, e.g. over the door of S. Vincenzio Anastasio:—“*Indulgentia plenaria perpetua—pro vivis et defunctis.*” What does this precisely mean?

4. *Mariolatry.*

The next serious charge which I bring against your adopted Communion, is that IT PUTS THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE PLACE OF GOD. I have already sufficiently established this statement ("Letters, &c.," pp. 102-4); but so gross and patent a fact calls for repeated protest, as well as admits of varied modern illustration. Thus, at Lyons, under the pictures of "Notre Dame de Fourvières" is read—"O Marie, écoutez favorablement les vœux et les prières de vos fidèles serviteurs." Behind,—"*Souvenez vous, O très miséricordieuse Vierge Marie, qu'on n'a jamais oui dire qu'aucun de ceux qui ont eu recours à votre protection ait été abandonné. Plein de cette confiance, O ma tendre Mère, je viens à vous ; et gémissant sous les poids de mes péchés, je me prosterne à vos pieds. Ecoutez favorablement ma prière, et daignez l'exaucer.*"

. . . . Now let any honest person say whether this be not addressing the Blessed Virgin as if she were God? Instead of "our Father," it is "my Mother," "at whose feet" the sinner "groaning beneath the burthen of his sins" "prostrates himself." To *her* he addresses "his prayer." At *her* hands he asks to have it granted . . . Is it not a mere trifling with the Truth to affect to doubt whether this be a breaking of the commandment or not?

Approach the capital, and see whether things are conducted differently *there*. Can anything be worse than the *ex-voto* tablets which bid fair soon to cover the walls of Notre Dame des Victoires at Paris?—e.g., "J'ai prié Marie pendant 8 ans pour une œuvre impossible : et j'ai été exaucée, le 8 Dec. 1859."—"Amour et reconnaissance envers Marie *qui a sauvé ma fille*, 30 Juillet, 1856." "J'ai prié Jésus, Marie, et Joseph. J'ai été exaucée le 15 Nov. 1856.—"O Marie, *qui nous a conservé notre enfant*," &c.—"O Marie, je vous remercie *d'avoir sauvé mon père*." C.D.G. 29 Mars, 1857," etc. etc. etc.

As for Rome, the extent to which this kind of thing is there carried is almost incredible. An inscription outside the Church of the Minerva records the height to which the Tiber rose in the inundation of 1530, with this inscription: "Huc Tiber ascendit, jamque obruta tota fuisset Roma, nisi huic celerem Virgo tulisset opem."—The same is said elsewhere concerning an earthquake which threatened the city in 1703. In the Church of S. Carlo, in the Chapel of the Assumption (over a picture representing the legend), is inscribed—"Tu sola universas haereres interemisti." But I have already

shown that the young and the illiterate are taught by the popular books of devotion to fly to the Virgin in every danger, as well as to build upon *her* their confidence in death:¹ and that she enjoys a far larger amount of popular worship even than our SAVIOUR CHRIST Himself.

The glaring offence against Catholic antiquity and Scriptural Truth which Rome committed in 1854, when she proclaimed the blasphemous dogma of the Immaculate Conception, has been already sufficiently adverted to "Letters, &c." p. 103. It is, of course, *the* crowning iniquity of modern Romanism—a step which must inevitably bring down the wrath of God on that branch of the Catholic Church. For this reason I have made the worship of the Blessed Virgin a separate head of complaint against your Church.²

As might be expected, the veneration with which *she* is regarded is freely extended to other Saints. In the Church of S. Geneviève, at Paris, you read on the *ex-voto* tablets as follows:—"J'ai invoqué S. Geneviève pendant une incendie, elle m'a exaucée le 28 Oct. 1859. C. G."—"J'ai prié S. Geneviève pour la santé de mon fils, et j'ai été exaucée. E. C."—"J'ai prié S. Geneviève pendant la maladie de ma fille. *Elle l'a sauvée.*" Will you pretend to tell me that the persons who so write do not mean what they say? or mean any other thing than that St. Geneviève is "God, to kill and to make alive?"

5. *Half Communion.*

If I do not dwell on the unscriptural practice of your adopted Church of denying the Cup to all but the consecrating Priest in the Holy Communion, it is not because I think this a light matter, but because it is needless to enlarge on what is so patent a violation of the Divine Command.³ The sinfulness of HALF-COMMUNION has been often exposed,⁴ and ought not to require explaining. That the practice is of quite modern date, *who* knows not?⁵

¹ See "Letters from Rome," pp. 102-3.

² The fatal consequences of the introduction of this new dogma, and the blasphemy which it implies, may be seen ably stated in the Bp. of Oxford's recent sermon—*Rome's New Dogma and our Duties*. At the end is printed Dr. Mill's *Catena of Catholic evidence on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception*.

³ St. John vi. 53. St. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.

⁴ See the Sequel to Dr. Wordsworth's *Letter to M. Gordon*, p. 107, &c. Letters V. and VI.

⁵ "Habet enim magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terra, cum eo recepto ab omnibus gentibus respondetur. Amen" [Augustin. *cont. Faust. Manich.* lib. xii. c. 10. Opp. viii. 382, B.] "Quare" (remarks Bp. Andrewes). "duo hic egregia habemus. 1. Universam Ecclesiam participem esse Criticis. 2. Cum accipiunt, dicere. Amen." [Works, xi. p. 157].

6. *Superstition.*

I declare next that the Romish Church is GROSSLY SUPERSTITIOUS. It would be easy to fill a volume with illustrations of this statement, but I am about to do nothing of the kind. I am content to refer you to what has been already offered on the subject of RELICS,¹ ("Letters, &c." pp. 48-56), and shall only remind you of a few additional particulars.

What think you, then, of the following inscription? It occurs on the right of the underground Chapel (of the Presepe) in the Sistine Chapel, in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore:—"Hic, S. Cajetanus, auspice Divo Hieronymo, cujus ossa non procul jacent, in ipsa natalitia Christi nocte, accepit a Deipara in ulnas suas puerum Jesum." Now, does anyone in his senses really believe that the Blessed Virgin put the Infant SAVIOUR (who now "sitteth at the Right Hand of God!") into Cajetan's arms? But even supposing that she did (!), what on earth can Jerome's bones have had to do with the circumstance? . . . You *must* feel that a Church which can perpetrate such absurdities, however successful she may be in conciliating indulgence, has yet need to be very slow in pointing out the shortcomings of any other Communion under the sun.

And then, what is to be thought of the superstitions attaching to images and pictures at Rome and elsewhere?² I earnestly invite you to obtain access to the little volume already alluded to, which was put forth only sixty-four years ago, under the highest authority, entitled, "De' Prodigj avvenuti in molte sagre Immagini, specialmente di Maria Santissima, secondo gli autentici Processi compilati in Roma, memorie, estratte e ragionate da D. Gio. Marchetti, Esaminatore Apostolico del Clero e Presidente del Gesù. Con breve ragguaglio di altri simili Prodigj comprovati nelle Curie Vescovili dello Stato Pontificio.—Roma, 1797." I recur to this curious publication (which, I believe, is sufficiently rare), because here is authentic evidence on the subject under consideration. It exhibits small engravings of 26 images,—24 of which are representations of the Virgin. The locality of each image is carefully specified, and the opening and shutting of eyes performed by each, as vouched for by 86 witnesses, is duly recorded. At p. 221 is the autograph attestation of Cardinal Della Somaglia, the Vicar-General of that day,

to the whole inquiry, which he had been delegated to conduct in person. This is followed by a considerable Supplement and Appendix of duly-certified wonders of the same description. The book was translated into English, but most rigorously suppressed.

I have no wish to be hard upon you, and therefore will pass on. But I scruple not to say that the superstitious legends of fabulous Saints in the Roman Breviary are alone a fatal blot: for these, at least, are put forth by the very highest authority and compromise the whole church. It would be endless to specify all the instances of gross superstition which have presented themselves to any single observer of the practices of your adopted Communion.

7. *Entire System of Public Worship in the Romish Church.*

Lastly, I must freely say that THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC WORSHIP of your new friends is open to the gravest objections. I have already written sufficiently largely on this subject, ("Letters, &c." pp. 36-98); and even *you* will not accuse me of having written those remarks in an unkind spirit. I made the best of everything at Rome. But when you twit me with my "position," &c., it seems to be high time that I should remind you a little of *yours*.

Suppose, moreover, instead of remaining at Rome, we transport ourselves in thought to the capital of "the eldest son of the Church." It is Sunday morning at Paris. The open shops, the noisy traffic, the cries, the din, the whirl of vehicles, the throng—all is oppressive and strange. Is this the way Sunday is observed in the first of Roman Catholic countries,—and in the very capital? You inquire for the principal church, and you proceed to the Madeleine. Surely (you say to yourself as you approach it), this must be the shrine of some heathen deity, not a Christian church! The churches at Rome (like our own city churches) are sufficiently unecclesiastical in their structure, but *this* is a *bonâ fide Temple*.

Enter; and, if Divine Service is going on, is it not your first impression that you have lost your way and inadvertently entered a play-house? What else can be the meaning of that multitude of personages in white, decked with blue and pink sashes, lilac silk, transparent muslin, black capes, red caps, gold fringe, lace and fur; and all performing in such a strange histrionic style in front of a pyramidal group of angels, lighted up by eighty or ninety candles, while boys are carrying tall candles, and young

¹ See extract from "Letters from Rome," p. 50-52,—at end of Part I. (p. 66), giving a description of Relics shown at Rome, ² *Ibid*, p. 58,

men are throwing and catching censer-boxes, —far more like jugglers playing a trick than persons assisting at the worship of the LORD of Hosts? Are these melodramatic evolutions sanctioned by Breviary or Missal? and are those mountebanks? or are they persons of the clerical order?

Oh, but all this is mere prejudice, (I shall be told). A theatrical nation, fond of the picturesque in Religion, as in everything else, has adopted a gaudier ritual than your cold northern taste is altogether able to approve. A boy may wear a pink dress, I suppose, with white muslin over it, if he likes, without endangering Antiquity?—Allowed. Let us inquire, then, what is the order of the Service for the day, and ascertain what these performers are all actually about. “Aujourd’hui, 5 Février, Septuagésime. Au chœur on célèbre la Solemnité de la Présentation de N. S. et de la S. Vierge.—A 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ h. la première grande Messe (du Dimanche) suivie du Prône par M. le Curé.—A 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. la Bénédiction des cierges, l’Asperion, et la seconde grande Messe.—A 1 h. la dernière Messe.—A 2 h. None, — Vespres, — Sermon, — et la Salut.—Le soir, à 8 h. Réunion de la Confrérie et Procession.” In other words, the sacred solemnities of the Feast of the Purification (2nd February) have been *transferred* to Septuagesima, the ensuing Sunday (5th Feb.) in defiance of propriety and of the Prayer-Book. The Sacrament of the LORD’s Supper is celebrated *by the clergy*, in the hearing of such of the lay people as choose to attend, thrice in the morning, the earliest occasion being at a quarter to nine (!). A short address, a blessing of candles, and Asperion, complete the programme. Nones and Vespers (by accumulation!) at 2 o’clock (!) are followed by a Sermon. Where, then, are Matins, Lauds, and Prime? The fancy-prayers of a confraternity (!) and “Procession” close the day. If you admire this representation of the *Catholic* method—(and you will please to observe that we have resorted for it to the first *Roman* Catholic nation in the world, and ascertained how it is exhibited in the best Church of the French metropolis),—I am sorry for you. Commend *me* to the Catholic method as it is to be seen in the best Churches of the metropolis of *Anglo-Catholic* England.¹

And next, for the effect of all this on the people. The *public* religion of the Parisians, as it may be called, is to be seen in the utter desecration of the Sunday practised universally *out of church*. The *veritable* “Théâtre” begins a few hours later! There will also be buying and selling going on till half-past ten at night in the public streets In Church, where are the *men*? Why do all sit, whisper, look unconcerned, or read books *not* of the Service? Why this coming in and going out at all hours? Why so much gathering of money? And then, that offensive chaisière coming for her vile two or three sous in the middle of the Service! Could no other way be devised of paying for being uncomfortable? To be brief. “The *Gallican* use,” seen through Liturgical spectacles at the end of a vista of a thousand years, looks picturesque and venerable enough. So does the *Roman* Use. So does the Use of *Sarum*. But *you* seem to make Church-membership an open question, and talk as if you were “an *unattached Christian*” (as Lady — wittily described herself), and as if every one was “in search of a Religion.” Now, if contrasting of methods is to be the order of the day, then I have but to request that you will contrast like with like, and contrast fairly, and I have no misgiving whatever as to what will be the result. You may not, at all events, describe Romanism as it is to be seen set off to the greatest advantage in one of the best appointed and most sumptuous Churches in Rome; and straightway contrast the imposing and attractive result with our Anglican method as it is to be seen in the ill-served church of a neglected village in one of our remoter English provinces.

No doubt I shall be told that the Madeleine is a gay and fashionable Church, and that I ought not to go there for a sample of the *Romish* devotion of the French capital. So, in truth, I thought, and frankly stated my sentiments to a very pious person. “Go,” she said, “to Notre Dame des Victoires at 7 in the evening;”—and I went.

Part of the result will be found chronicled in “Letters from Rome,” &c., at p. 108. The devoutness of the congregation of that Church delighted me, I confess, but *it was the devotion of a Meeting-House*. About

¹ [Since this was written by the late Dean Burgon, it must be admitted—(though much to our shame as a Reformed Branch of the Church!)—that certain of the “advanced” Clergy in London have “become a law unto themselves,”—and in defiance of all law and authority, have so altered the time-honoured Services and reverent ritual

of our Church, as prescribed in the Prayer-book, by reviving Mediæval ceremonies and practices, indicating false doctrines, renounced at the Reformation,—that they can scarcely be distinguished from such “histrionic displays”—described above—as characterize the Services of the Church of Rome in Paris!—Ed.]

five hundred were assembled, all of the humbler class. The prayers were altogether modern, and very wretched compositions. The people sat while the Psalms were being chanted. True, that most of them joined in them heartily, but they had not come together for common Prayer. I tried to look over their books, and ascertained that only some had come provided with the manual of the confraternity, the rest were otherwise employed. One near me was reading the "Manuel des pieuses domestiques." A single priest officiated, and the service lasted exactly two hours and a half. It was called "Vespers of the Virgin," for she is the presiding Deity of Romanism, whether in or out of Rome. As for the Sermon, it was as worthless and weak as possible, but the speaker was fluent and earnest. Now this is a true picture of popular Romanism as it is to be seen in Paris since the great Revival effected by M. Desgenettes. Does it appear to you particularly attractive? Does it, at all events, warrant any saucy remarks in disparagement of our Anglican method?

8. Neglect of Antiquity.

I might prolong this kind of discussion indefinitely. If I were to attempt to enumerate all the vices in the theory, all the mischiefs in the Practical working, of the Romish system, the task before me would be endless. I should have to give you a lecture "on Romanism as neglectful of Antiquity,"¹ and should have to preface it by a Lecture on Romanism as neglectful of Scripture. "She assumes" (says Dr. Wordsworth) "a superiority over the Fathers and Councils of the Ancient Church. This she has

¹ "However we explain it, so much is clear, that the Fathers are only so far of use in the eyes of Romanists as they prove the Roman doctrines; and in no sense are allowed to interfere with the conclusions which the Church has adopted; that they are of authority when they seem to agree with Rome, of none if they differ . . . How hopeless, then, is it to contend with Romanists, as if they practically agreed with us as to the foundation of faith, however much they pretend to it! Ours is Antiquity, theirs the existing Church . . ."

"I make one remark more. Enough has been said to show the hopefulness of our own prospects in the controversy with Rome. We have her own avowal that the Fathers ought to be followed, and again that she does not follow them; what more can we require than her witness against herself which is here supplied us? If such inconsistency is not at once fatal to her claims, which it would seem to be, at least it is a most encouraging omen in our contest with her. We have but to remain pertinaciously and immovably fixed on the ground of Antiquity: and as truth is ours, so will the victory be also."—Newman's "Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church," pp. 84, 68, 107. The reader is also referred to Letters IV. to X. of my "Letters from Rome," &c.,—Murray, 1882.

shown *a priori*, by affirming that if Councils or Fathers speak in opposition to her they are to be regarded as *pro tanto*, of no authority. Secondly, she exercises this assumed superiority in practice by mutilating (or, as she terms it, correcting) the records of the Early Church." Sixtus Senensis¹ commended Pope Pius V. for the care he took "in purging all the compositions of Catholic writers, and specially those of the ancient Fathers;" and the mode in which this work of purgation was performed may be conceived from the following examples:—Augustine says, "Faith only justifies":—"Our works cannot save us":—"Marriage is allowed to all":—"Peter erred in the question of clean and unclean meats":—"St. John cautions us against the invocation of Saints." The holy Bishop (says the Church of Rome) is to be corrected in all these places.² Chrysostom teaches that "CHRIST forbids heretics to be put to death;" that "to adore martyrs is anti-Christian;" that "the reading of Scripture is needful to all;" that "there is no merit but from Christ;" that it is "a proud thing to detract from or add to Scripture;" that "Bishops and Priests are subject to the higher powers;" that the "Prophets had wives." The venerable Patriarch must be freed from all these heretical notions. Epiphanius affirms that "no creature is to be worshipped." This is an error, and must be expunged. Jerome asserts that "all Bishops are equal;" he must here be amended. And further, the Fathers are not only to be corrected by subtraction, but by addition also. Thus Cyprian is to be made say, "hic Petro primatus datur," and "qui cathedram Petri, super quam fundata est Ecclesia deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?"³ against his own practice, for which he has been condemned by Bellarmine as guilty of mortal sin. All this is not wonderful, since the Church of Rome has not spared even the Word of God. In the Roman index⁴ we read "deleatur illud 'Abra-

¹ Epist. dedicat. ad Pium V. P. M. "Expurgari et emaculari curasti omnia Catholicorum scriptorum ac præcipuè veterum Patrum scripta."

² I copy these passages from the *Index Expurgatorius* Impensis Lazari, 1599. This Index was not to be published. See Pref. B. 6. "Prælati in omnibus urbibus ubi bibliopole inhabitant unum et item alterum sibi deligere poterunt, quos idoneos judicabunt, sedulos et fideles: tique ipsi privatim nullisque consiliis apud se Indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt."

³ See Dr. James "On the Corruption of the True Fathers," p. 114, ed. 1688.

⁴ P. 48. See other passages of Scripture, expunged by the Church of Rome, in Dr. James's work, p. 427.

ham fide justus," which is the assertion of St. Paul.

9. *Rebaptization.*

If I were bent on prolonging this discussion, I might easily draw out a most heavy charge against your adopted Communion of having added fresh articles to the Faith, not for the first time in 1854; and for requiring assent to them under pain of Anathema. (I allude especially to the Creed of Pope Pius IV.) I should have to reproach the Church of Rome with setting an example of schism by setting up rival Bishops in our sees at home and abroad,—in defiance of the Canons of Œcumenical Councils and the Laws of all the Churches.¹ A Bible withheld from the people, and Divine Service in an unknown tongue,—alas! it would be a long, long catalogue if I were to undertake to give you every reason why I think the Church of England an infinitely better Church to live and die in than the Church of Rome! Moral considerations would have to be introduced also; and I should feel it my duty to direct your

¹ "As the Imperial City of Constantinople was the centre of Catholic communion in the East, so once was Imperial Rome in the West, until her Bishops affecting an universal supremacy, she became the author of her own schism, by which she still divides the Christian world. Then, it may be for her punishment, she was permitted to wander from the straight and narrow path of Scriptural truth, into the broad road of error; adding, at her own will, novel and strange doctrines, unknown to the Apostles or Articles of Faith; until, in this our day, as if to perpetuate her character of the Great Schismatic, she has invaded the rights of other independent churches, setting up altar against altar, and pretended Bishops, who, being *secundi*, are by the nominal rule of the Church, *nulli*."—"Life of Bp. Ken," by a Layman, 1854, p. 132.

Note, see p. 48.—Extracts from "Letters from Rome," pp. 50-51, on RELICS.

"I must not pass by slightly this subject of Relics, for it evidently occupies a considerable place in the public devotions of a Roman Catholic. Thus, the 'Invito Sagro' specifies which relics will be displayed in each of the six churches enumerated—(e.g., the heads of SS. Peter and Paul, their chains, some wood of the Cross, &c.)—granting seven years of Indulgence for every visit, by whomsoever paid; and promising plenary indulgence to every person who, after confessing and communicating, shall thrice visit each of the aforesaid churches, and pray for awhile on behalf of Holy Church. There are besides, on nine chief festivals, as many great displays of relics at Rome; the particulars of which may be seen in the *Année Liturgique*, pp. 189-206. I witnessed one at the Church of the Twelve Apostles, on the 1st of May.

"There was a congregation of about two or three hundred in church, while somebody in a lofty gallery displayed the Relics, his companion proclaiming with a loud voice what each was. 'Questo è il braccio, &c., which such an one gave to this 'alma basilica.' There was part of the arm of St. Bartholomew and of St. James the Less; part of St. Andrew's leg, arm, and cross; part of one of St. Paul's

attention to Spain, and to other parts of France and Italy, besides Paris and Rome. But I desist. To my next, which will be a much longer letter, I beg to invite your very special attention. One only question do I feel disposed to put to you at parting: "On what possible principle can you defend the universal practice of your new friends of rebaptizing,—insisting upon the Rebaptization,—of such members of the Church of England as seek to unite themselves to the Church of Rome? . . . I have heard that anxiety is feigned lest the person so seeking admission into another branch of CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church should never have been duly baptized. But two awkward considerations here present themselves:—First, why should an English priest be supposed to be a less trustworthy agent than any old woman,—to whom the Romish (not the English!) Church expressly gives authority, in case of need,—to administer the Sacrament of Baptism? And secondly, since (according to the Romish view) *Intention* is necessary to the validity of a Sacrament, what security have you that, in any given instance, the Sacrament of Baptism is administered by a Romish Priest at all? . . . I am really curious for an explanation. Let me only request you to disabuse your mind of the notion that the alleged plea of *doubt* is the true reason why Rome pursues this sinful course. For, even when a learned English Priest (as in a well-known instance), has given a written assurance that the Sacrament was only administered by his own hands, Rome has insisted on the repetition of the solemn rite. Now, you are of course aware that *Reiteration of Baptism is sacrilege*.

fingers; one of the nails with which St. Peter was crucified; St. Philip's right foot; liquid blood of St. James; some of the remains of St. John the Evangelist, of the Baptist, of Joseph, and of the Blessed Virgin; together with part of the Manger, Cradle, Cross, and Tomb of our LORD, &c. Of course many persons knelt, while this strange and painful exhibition was going on."

"The veneration of Relics in the Romish Church is really carried to an extent which is scarcely credible. What grotesque notions, too, are they for ever laying hold of!—The idea, for instance, of showing the porphyry slab on which the soldiers cast lots for the seamless coat: the stone on which the cock stood when he crowed twice: a column of the Temple which was split when the veil was rent in twain! the impression made in a block of marble by our Saviour's feet, when He was taking leave of St. Peter in the Via Appia (!): the identical column against which He used to lean when He taught in the Temple,—and which possesses miraculous properties in consequence, &c. Wherever you turn, you are shown nails of the Crucifixion, or fragments of the Cross, or thorns of the Crown. It is no secret. These relics are appealed to in the printed *offices*, put forth by authority; nay, they are proudly blazoned on the walls of the Churches."

A THIRD LETTER TO "AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT."

(Concluding the Correspondence).

THE VALIDITY OF THE PAPAL CLAIM TO UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY,—THE REAL QUESTION TO BE DISCUSSED.

SIR,

It is high time to bring the question before us to a definite issue. Not one of the various considerations urged in your letter, to which I have hitherto directed my remarks, affects the real question before us, in the least; and I am surprised that you, and the many others, (I thought they had been chiefly young ladies?)—who adopt the same language, do not perceive how utterly inconsequential and weak it is. Whether the primitive Liturgies are full of Romish doctrine, or whether they are not;—on which side of the Alps there is more of Sanctity or ungodliness;—whether or no Images wink, and whether or no they ought to be worshipped even if they do wink:—all such points as these are absolutely irrelevant to the question which you bring before me. *You urge me to become a Romanist.* In other words you invite me to look upon the English Church as a simply schismatic body;—a body to which it is impossible to belong without such imminent danger to one's soul, that every one ought positively to withdraw himself from it. You invite me further to show by my acts that I think the way of safety is to seek admission into the Church of Rome. This, if I understand you rightly, is the actual gist of your letter.

Now, in order to persuade me to take so serious and solemn a step as this; in order to induce me to reverse my existing convictions, and then to set up my own private opinion against the collective wisdom, learning, and piety, of the English Church; it is clear that no small amount of logic is required on your part. It will not suffice to show me that the advantages of Romanism,—the disadvantages of Anglicanism,—are manifold. The retort is obvious and fatal. It will not suffice to appeal to the fact that the Bishop of Rome now *claims* supreme authority over all the Churches of Christendom. That is precisely the circumstance which underlies the whole question,—the very claim which requires to be made out,

1. The Papal Claim to Universal Supremacy.

In a word. The one thing you have to establish is the *validity of the Romish claim to universal Supremacy*: or, at least, you have to demonstrate the rightful authority of the Bishop of Rome over the English Church. I, for my part, as you are aware, assert that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England."¹ You, with your new friends, adopt precisely the opposite language: nay, the most expert of your controversialists declare that the Pope's Supremacy is the fundamental doctrine of Romanism. "On this doctrine," (says Bellarmine,) "the whole cause of Christianity," (he means *Romish Christianity*,) "depends."²

I must give you yet another warning. It will not suffice for you, in order to make out the validity of the Papal claim, to do any of the following things: *one or more of which every writer has done, who has hitherto written on your side of the question*, viz, (1) You may not assume that "a Primacy of authority" is given in Scripture to St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles. You must *prove* it. (2) You must not invite me to accept the remarkable favour which occasionally attends the mention of *St. Peter's* name in the Gospels and Acts, as any proof whatever of a thing with which I deny that it has any manner of connection; viz., the claim to Infallibility, and universal Supremacy set up, in modern times, by the *Bishop of Rome*: (3) I must caution you against quoting, (as Dr. Wiseman has been convicted of doing),³ spurious writings in support of the Romish side of the question. (4) You must be on your guard against urging in argument, divorced from their context, short scraps of Fathers, which prove on examination to be garbled extracts which entirely misrepresent the mind and meaning of the author.⁴ (5) You must be denied the

¹ Art. xxxvii.

² "De quâ re agitur cum de Primatu Pontificis agitur brevissime dicam; de summâ rei Christianæ."—Vol. I. p. 491, ed. 1577, quoted by Wordsworth.

³ See Rev. W. Palmer's *Vth Letter to Wiseman*, (1841,) p. 15 to p. 32.

⁴ I allude to such a collection of shreds and patches as Archd. Wilberforce accumulates at p. 131,—references taken wholesale by himself, (as he informs us,) and by Mr. Allies, from Passaglia's "*De Prærogativis B. Petri*." Such utterly worthless specimens of patristic lore, again, as Mr. Allies sweeps together at p. 11, and indeed throughout his book, are what I here condemn. The strange underlying fallacy

privilege of quoting in *English* what was originally written in *Greek* or in *Latin*; with a vague reference at the foot of the page to "St. Cyprian," "St. Optatus," "St. Ambrose," and so forth: for I positively declare that such cheap, (and generally *incorrect*,) Patristic lore is wholly inadmissible into so grave a question. We must really be allowed to see clearly, and be quite sure of, what it is we are talking about. Under these very obvious conditions, I shall be happy to attend to everything you are pleased to urge. (6) What need to say that I will put up with no fanciful analogies, as if they were proofs? This is too grave a question to be settled on sentimental grounds. We are not now going to discuss such an expression as the "Rock of Peter," or the "Chair of Peter," or the "See of Peter," or any other mere flourish of rhetoric, as if it were an argument. However laudatory the language which, in the fifth or sixth century, may have been applied to the Romish Church, it is clearly *no* proof that the Bishop of Rome enjoyed any supremacy whatever over the other Churches of Christendom.—None of these tricks of controversy will I allow you to palm off upon me for an instant. You may not imitate Archdeacon Wilberforce, in the logically worthless volume with which he went over to Rome:¹ nor Mr. Allies, (who is a yet greater offender in the same way,) in the little book which he put forth when he apostatized.² I refuse to admit any such methods as valid.

2. Five Theories briefly Considered.

Do not imagine from this preamble that I am about to inflict upon you a complete argument

of those writers, and indeed of all who have taken the same side of the question, is,—that laudatory expressions concerning *St. Peter* are one and all assumed to be, *ipso facto*, applicable to the *Seal of the Papacy*! And again, that language of *high respect* used concerning Rome, is tantamount to a recognition of modern claims, of its Pontiff to spiritual supremacy! This, and the further fallacy that wherever *the Church* is, anywhere and by anybody, mentioned, the *Romish branch* of the Church is exclusively intended,—really makes the sum of what nine-tenths of those who have written on the other side will be found to have delivered concerning the Romish question. . . . Their method, to describe it in a few words, seems to be this:—*Given the truth of all Romish Doctrine*, how may the language of Scripture, and the facts of antiquity be warped into agreement with it? Now, *our* method is precisely the reverse of this. Assuming *Holy Scripture* to be worthy of all acceptance; and assuming that deference is due to Antiquity, how does *Modern Romanism* appear when tested by this twofold standard?

¹ *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority; or My Reasons for Recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy.* 8vo. 1854.

² *The See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction and the Centre of Unity.* 12mo, 1855.

against the Papal claim to universal authority. I am about to do nothing of the kind. Our Anglican position has at least this advantage in all discussions of this nature, namely, that the burthen of proofs rests wholly with yourselves. The hollowness of the pretensions generally set up, and the insufficiency of the arguments generally urged, is easily shown. I must, nevertheless, proceed methodically, and cannot dismiss the subject without reminding you that those who argue on your side of the question are bound to make out their case on some definite ground. What you have to prove is *the Papal authority in England*, and you are at liberty to adopt whichever of the following theories you please:—

(1) You may pretend that England belongs to the Western Patriarchate, and that the Pope is the Patriarch of the West.

(2) Or you may pretend that the right of authority was acquired by the Bishop of Rome, and conveyed to his successors in perpetuity, on the ground of having converted England.

(3) Or you may assert that he has a prescriptive right to jurisdiction in England, grounded on immemorial Possession.

(4) Or you may set up the Pope's Infallibility, and infer the deference due to an unerring guide.

(5) Or, lastly, you may stand on Scripture and the Fathers, and attempt to prove the universal Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter.

Let it only be remarked concerning all these good reasons, that they are somewhat inconsistent with one another. If the Bishop of Rome claims to be *universal* Bishop, then why talk of his *Patriarchal* jurisdiction? much less of his right based on our Conversion. If he has *rights*, then why appeal to his pretended immemorial possession? I proceed briefly to refute the five pleas already stated.

3. The Patriarchal Claim.

The plea of the Pope's Patriarchal authority over England is easily disposed of. We appeal to the celebrated language of the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325):—"Let the ancient usages prevail, which are received in Egypt,"¹ &c. "And . . . let the privileges of the Church be preserved."² We appeal also to the decree of Ephesus:—"No bishop shall interfere in other provinces which have not, from the very

¹ Even the plain language of the Canon has been trifled with by Bellarmine and others. See Fullwood, pp. 31-5.

² Routh, *Opuscula*, vol. i. p. 358.

first, been under himself and his predecessors But if anyone should have taken (a province), or have caused it to be subject to him by compulsion, he shall restore it." "To these canons of Nicæa and Ephesus," (says Palmer,) "we appeal with confidence. They establish all jurisdictions existing at the time when they were enacted; they forbid all usurpation of authority by one Church over another. The British churches were perfectly independent of Rome in the time of those synods; it was, therefore, unlawful for Rome to assume authority over them. That authority was an abuse; it ought to have been relinquished by Rome; it was rightfully corrected by our churches."¹

For (as Fullwood, following Bramhall and many others, has shown), the territorial independence of the English Church is matter of historical notoriety. It is a simple fact that the ancient Patriarchate of Rome *did not include* England. "According to Ruffinus (a Roman, who lived not long after the Council of Nicæa), it was limited to the suburbicary cities; i.e. a part of Italy, and their Islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; much less did it ever pretend to Britain, either by custom, canon, or edict of any of our princes."² But I must be content to refer you on this subject to the pages of our own learned Bingham.³ What need to remind you of the answer of the British Bishops to Augustine the Monk?—their bold and emphatic assertion of their ancient independence? This evidence, remember, is express, and ought to be decisive, if the testimony of History be worth anything at all.

The Pope, I repeat, must say nothing about his claim as a *Patriarch* if he pretend to be *Universal Bishop*, for the two claims are inconsistent, as Fullwood (after Bramhall) has convincingly shown.⁴

4. The Claim of Conversion.

And next, for the plea of CONVERSION, it may happily be disposed of in few words. Even supposing that Christianity had been, in fact, introduced into England, and our Churches founded by missionaries from Rome, by what process of reasoning is it concluded that such circumstances necessarily or equitably confer on the see of Rome a right of Patriarchal jurisdiction? Gratitude, and love, and veneration would doubtless have been due, in large measure, to the benefactor on the part of the benefited; "but on what principle of equity it can be

proved that such a nation, when formed into Churches, and governed by its own Bishops, is bound to place itself *under the jurisdiction* of this benefactor, it would be difficult to conceive." The testimony of the Early Church, and the experience of history, point unmistakably the other way.¹

"The argument," (says Fullwood), "must run thus: If the Bishop of Rome was the means of the English Church's Conversion, then the English Church oweth obedience to him and his successors. We deny both propositions:—(a) that the Pope was the means of our first Conversion; (b) that if he had been so, it would not follow that we *now owe obedience* to that See."²

"Eusebius, who wrote nearer to the time of the Apostles than Bede did to that of Eleutherius, declares that Britain was visited by the Apostles themselves; and Theodoret says that St. Paul preached the Gospel here."³ "Our adversaries, while insisting that the grace of Orders was communicated to this Island by Gregory, do not seem to be aware that the very words of Pope Gregory establish two points in direct opposition to the right of Ordination claimed by the Roman see: first, that the bishops of England were '*always, for the future,*' to appoint and consecrate their metropolitans; secondly, that those metropolitans were to consecrate the bishops of their provinces. 'We concede to thee,' (he writes to Augustine), 'the use of the pallium,' (the well-known mark of authority as vicar of the Roman see), 'that you may ordain in several places twelve bishops to be subject to your jurisdiction, since the bishop of the city of London *ought always in future to be consecrated by his own synod*, and to receive the pallium of honour from this apostolical see. We wish you also to send a bishop to the city of York, who also is to *ordain twelve bishops*, and to enjoy the honour of metropolitan.' Thus the ordination of the bishops and metropolitans of England was given, according to the canons, not to the Roman see, but to the English Church itself. The present discipline of our churches is, therefore, entirely conformable to that which Pope Gregory instituted."⁴

5. The Claim of Immemorial Possession.

The plea of Prescription, and Immemorial Possession, is simply *untrue*. "For

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 100-1.

² Fullwood, p. 25.

³ *Ecc. Antiq.* Book ix. ch. 1. §§ 9-12.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 37-8.

¹ Palmer's *Episcopacy of the British Churches vindicated against Dr. Wiseman*, (1840), ch. xlii.

² *Roma Ruit*, &c., pp. 28-9.

³ Palmer, *ut supra*, p. 117. ⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 118-19.

nearly twelve centuries the Bishops of Rome did not confirm or ordain our metropolitans; nor did they acquire such powers over our Bishops till the 14th century, and then only by the aid of the temporal power. These powers were not given to the see of Rome by any (Ecumenical Council, nor by any English or Irish Synod. They were usurped, as a matter of Divine Right, by the Roman Pontiff; who, on the same ground, claimed the right of confirming or naming all Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs whatever." ¹

The facts of the case (for the full establishment of the details you must be referred elsewhere), are briefly these:—"The English Church, according to Pope Gregory, was always to ordain its own prelates without having recourse to Rome; two Bishops of Rome assisted in the maintenance of the English hierarchy on occasions of absolute necessity; another uncanonically disturbed the jurisdiction of an English metropolitan; the sees of Canterbury and York, at a late period, voluntarily made the see of Rome the arbiter of their disputes; the metropolitans of Ireland never received palliums from Rome till the twelfth century." This is what Mr. Palmer has proved in opposition to Cardinal Wiseman; "and most assuredly, it is altogether insufficient to prove the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman see in general over our churches; or in particular, to show that the ordinations of our bishops or metropolitans in any degree belonged to the Bishop of Rome."

You may like to have a more detailed and definite statement of this matter. "From the time of the Apostles till the twelfth century of our æra, amongst all the metropolitans of our churches, only two individuals were consecrated by the Bishop of Rome or his legates. There is not a trace of such ordination in our churches during the ages which elapsed previously to the arrival of Augustine. Pope Gregory did not claim the ordination of that prelate, but wrote to the Bishop of Arles to consecrate him bishop, and afterwards directed that in all future times the metropolitans of England should be appointed by their own provincial synods, as the sacred canons enjoin. And accordingly, out of forty-one archbishops of Canterbury,

from A.D. 597 to A.D. 1138, only two were consecrated by the Bishop of Rome, namely, Theodore of Tarsus in 668, and Plegmund in 889, the former of whom was only so ordained in a case of absolute necessity Of the twenty-seven archbishops of York who lived from A.D. 625 to A.D. 1119, *not one* was ordained by the Roman Pontiff or his legates. In the twelfth century, in consequence of disputed elections (which contending parties referred to Rome), the Roman Pontiffs took occasion gradually to usurp the ordination of our metropolitans; but even in 1162 and in 1234, Thomas à Becket and Edmond Rich were elected and consecrated in England according to the ancient custom. Therefore the Bishop of Rome has no immemorial right to consecrate our metropolitans.

"Nor has he any immemorial right to *confirm* their elections; for the learned Roman Catholic Thomassinus has proved that the metropolitans of France, England, Spain, and Africa, up to the year 1800, were not confirmed by the Roman patriarch, but by their own provincial synods. In particular he shows that the confirmation and ordination of metropolitans in England was reserved to the English Church itself by Pope Gregory, and that the confirmation of the Papal See was not to be waited for. In fine, he proves that the confirmation and consecration of the metropolitans and bishops of the West by the bishops of Rome commenced in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in consequence of references being made to Rome to determine doubtful or disputed elections. It does not seem, indeed, that there is any clear instance of the Pope's confirming the elections of English metropolitans till the time of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1174, and Hubert, in 1194, in both which cases the elections were disputed and the difference referred to Rome. In the following century similar disputes afforded an opportunity to the Popes to usurp the confirmation, and even the election of English metropolitans.

"So far were the Roman pontiffs from confirming the elections of our bishops and metropolitans generally in those ages, that they did not even confirm in cases when Bishops were *translated*, and in which their interference would have been especially called for had they possessed any power over our episcopal elections. On this subject Thomassinus has proved that in the time of Charlemagne and his successors the Gallican and the German churches always enjoyed the ancient right of making translations. And the Anglican likewise . . .

¹ Palmer's *Jurisdiction of the British Episcopacy vindicated*, pp. 30-1. The reader is particularly invited to read the detailed examination of the question contained in Sect. ix. pp. 99-115. See also what follows, down to p. 138; the end of Sections X. and XI.

"We, therefore, conclude that the Roman Pontiff has no right, by immemorial or ancient custom, either to redeem or to confirm our metropolitans or bishops."¹

Yet another word on this head; for the singular phenomenon is before us of foreign jurisdiction, *de facto* if not *de jure*, submitted to in the 13th and two following centuries. Now it is much to be noticed,—

(1) That during the 13th and two following centuries *our clergy were ignorant of the ancient canons*; the only collections then known being those of Gratian and Gregory IX., which included and were based on *the false decretals*. It is not to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, our clergy did not object to the Papal confirmation of metropolitans, or to the assumption of jurisdiction in other respects. They imagined that they were acting on the canons and precedents of the purest antiquity in so doing; while in reality they were merely *guided by a series of forgeries of the eighth or ninth centuries*. And as our bishops were thus entirely unconscious of their rights or duties in reference to the See of Rome, their acquiescence could not afford any sanction to its usurpations."²

But (2) the Romish dominion, even down to a late period, was *not* submitted to without remonstrance or opposition. Instead of indirect historical evidence, hear William the Conqueror addressing Pope Gregory VII., who had claimed him as a feudatory of the Papal See:—"Hubert, thy legate, holy Father, coming to me on thy behalf, has admonished me to do fealty to thee and to thy successors, as well as to think better of the money which my ancestors were wont to send to the Romish Church. This last claim I assent to; to the former claim I assent *not*. To do fealty I neither have been willing, nor am I willing now; inasmuch as neither have I done it in times past, nor can I find that my ancestors have been in the habit of doing it to thine."³

I have quoted this letter of an early king because it occurs to my memory as a piece of evidence not commonly introduced into this controversy. But you are not to fancy that the remonstrant voices which were raised against the usurpations of the Papacy in this country,

even at that late period, were confined to a few. As for the earlier centuries of our history, the records of the Church are plain and emphatic. Our kings and councils refused to yield obedience to persuasion, injunctions, sentences, and legates. Our ancestors unanimously resisted the Papal claims of whatever kind. You will find the subject carefully worked out by Fullwood from p. 39 to p. 160 (Ch. V. to Ch. XIV. inclusive) of his admirable little volume.

You are requested, in passing on, to observe that there remains deeply and distinctly graven on our ancient English Ritual the witness of the original independence of this Church and nation. The wide discrepancy between the English and the Roman rite has been already noticed. By far the most important point of discrepancy Mr. Freeman discourses of as follows:—"The claim of Divine Adoration, as properly due to the Elements from the moment of their consecration was, indeed, inculcated on English ground, as elsewhere, from about the time of the Lateran Council, or perhaps even earlier. But there was this remarkable and important difference between the English Church and all others throughout Europe—that her regular, written, and authorized ritual *contained no recognition of that claim*. The consecrated Bread was, indeed, ordered to be elevated, so that it might be seen by the people; and there were various diocesan or episcopal injunctions for its being revered by them. But the direction which was embodied in the rubrics of all other Churches and monastic bodies of the West, for the celebrant to *knelt and worship the Element, never found footing in those of the English Church*; and if not in her rubrics, we may be sure not in her practice either, since in all these points the rubric was always rigidly adhered to. And this peculiarity continued down to the very time of the Revision of the Offices in the sixteenth century. The Communion Offices of the various dioceses of Salisbury, of York, of Hereford, or of Bangor, in whatever else they might differ, agreed in this point:—an unanimity, it must be admitted, most striking and even astonishing, when the universal prevalence of this direction elsewhere throughout the West, and the immense importance attached to it, are taken into consideration.

"It clearly appears" (adds the same learned writer), "that the *written* ritual, at any rate, of the English Church, retained its original soundness in this particular, amid the universal corruption of the whole of Europe beside. It

¹ Palmer, *ubi supra*, p. 121 to p. 131. For the authorities, &c., adduced by the learned writer, his work must be referred to.

² Palmer, *ut supra*, pp. 132-3.

³ Sir H. Ellis, *Original Letters*, Third Series, Vol. I. See also Letter VIII., from Lanfranc to the same.

exhibited all along in the West an almost perfect parallel, as far as concerned its letter and its authoritative contents, to the Liturgies of the East. The doctrine of elemental annihilation—however proclaimed, almost from the very hour of its invention, from archiepiscopal thrones, and followed up by divers injunctions, based upon it, in diocesan decrees—wrought no material change in the liturgical forms of the English Church. From whatever causes, the accredited ritual expression of that doctrine, elsewhere universally imposed by the Roman See, found here no place. Viewed in its theoretic structure, the stream of Liturgical service in this country flowed almost unimpeded, in this particular, from the Apostolic fountain-head.”¹

It is scarcely necessary to add, “that what Augustine introduced was not, strictly speaking, the Roman Daily Offices at all, but only a kindred, though very closely allied member of the family or stock of Offices to which the Roman belonged.”² Mr. Freeman has, in fact, proved that the English and Roman ordinary Offices, though closely akin, were quite *distinct*. He shows that Cassian and Leo were probably co-originators of the Roman rite,—Cassian alone of the English,—but on the old Western basis; and that it was Cassian’s rite which was brought to England by Augustine. But I must refer you to the delightful pages³ of that excellent ritualist and divine for the details of a subject which only indirectly bears on the matter in hand.

6. *The Claim from Infallibility.*

The argument for the Pope’s universal authority derived from his Infallibility need hardly occupy us long. It is a plea which runs up at once into the next, that, namely, which is derived from his being the Divinely-appointed and Universal Pastor of the Church.

Enough for my purpose to remind you that Rome “cannot, even in theory, give an answer to the question *how* individuals are to know for certain that she is infallible;” nor, in the next place, *where* the gift resides, supposing it to have been vouchsafed. It neither determines who or what is “infallible, or why.” Little room as there is in the Romish controversy for novelty or surprise, yet it does raise fresh and fresh amazement, the more we think of it, that

Romanists should not have been able to agree among themselves *where* that Infallibility is lodged, which is the keystone of their system! Archbishop Bramhall reckons no less than six distinct opinions on the subject. “Bellarmine maintains that at least the Pope in General Council is infallible; but even granting this,” “yet it is not a matter of faith (that is, it has not been formally determined) what Popes have been true Popes; which of the many *de facto*, or rival Popes, are to be acknowledged; nor, again, which of the many professed General Councils are really so.” . . . “The theologians of Romanism cannot complete their system in its most important and essential point. They can determine in theory the nature, degree, extent, and object of the Infallibility which they claim; they cannot agree among themselves where it resides. As in the building of Babel, the Lord hath confounded their language; and the structure stands half finished, a monument at once of human daring and its failure.”¹

7. *The Claims of Supremacy.*

The favourite claim remains to be considered. The most popular plea of all, doubtless, is this last,—namely, that the Bishop of Rome, because he is Universal Pastor and Supreme Head of the Church here on earth, has authority over our Church of England, and is entitled to her submission.

The first thing which strikes me in this plea (which, unlike Theories 1, 2, and 3, is not particular in its effect but universal,) is, that the Holy Eastern Church, at all events, has never admitted, and, to this hour, knows nothing of such a claim on the part of the Bishop of Rome. Let us, however, consider it on its own merits. The nature of the Papal claim, then, seems to be of the following nature:—

(1.) It is pretended that to St. Peter was given by our Lord a Primacy of Authority over the rest of the Apostolic Body.

(2.) It is pretended that St. Peter founded the Church of Rome.

(3.) It is pretended that St. Peter became the first Bishop of that See.

(4.) It is pretended that the pretended authority of St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles was transmitted by St. Peter to his successor in the See of Rome, and, when transmitted, assumed the shape of a Primacy of authority over the rest of the Bishops of Christendom.

¹ Freeman’s *Principles of Divine Service*, Introd. to Part II., pp. 84-6.

² *Ibid.* p. 41.

³ Freeman’s *Principles of Divine Service*, Introd. to Part II., pp. 245-54.

¹ Newman, *ubi supra*, pp. 148-52.—The plea of Infallibility may be seen very closely and minutely argued in Fullwood’s *Roma Ruit*, pp. 161-81.

(5.) It is pretended that the pretended authority so pretended to have been transmitted, and pretended to be of such a nature, has descended in regular succession to every Bishop of that See which St. Peter is pretended to have founded, down to the present day.

Shall I hesitate to declare that such a chain of frivolous argumentation—endangered as it is at every link by a fresh improbability—seems to me the very weakest instrument by which it was ever intended to support a serious claim? Let me briefly remind you that:—

(1.) *No Primacy of Authority* over the rest of the Apostles is anywhere in the Gospel given by our LORD to St. Peter. Look the sacred pages through, and, although you will find a hint in St. Matt. x. 2 that a priority of order was enjoyed by St. Peter, you cannot possibly pretend to infer therefrom that the same Apostle enjoyed any the least priority of authority. Simon Peter was but *primus inter pares*. Wherever there is order of sequence there must be priority and there must be posteriority; and, accordingly, in the catalogues of the Twelve Apostles, it is three times implied (St. Mark iii. 16; St. Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13), and once distinctly stated (St. Matt. x. 2) that among them came “*first, Peter.*” But, as I have already said, they were all twelve (to use the words of Cyprian), “*pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis;*”¹ “*endowed with an equal share of honour and power.*”

Again, that singular favour and honour was occasionally shown to St. Peter is certain;—in conjunction with St. James and St. John (as in St. Mark v. 37; St. Matth. xvii. 1; xxvi. 37 and 40);—to him in conjunction with St. John only (as in St. Luke xxii. 8);—to him singly (as in St. Matthew xvi. 15-19; xvii. 25-27; St. Luke xxii. 32; St. John xxi. 15-19). He is mentioned in a very remarkable way in Acts v. 15. But you surely cannot require to be reminded that *favour enjoyed* by an Apostle is not the same thing as *authority given to him*! To whom was greater favour shown than to St. John, “*the disciple whom JESUS loved*”? See St. John xii. 23-25, (consider xxi. 20); and xix. 26, 27; also xxi. 22; lastly, Rev. i. 1, 2, 10-18. Now, as Cyprian has pointed out, and as it has been a thousand times remarked since, the selfsame powers were conveyed by our LORD to *all* the Apostles, in St. Matthew xviii. 18, and St. John xx. 21-23. *All* had the

same Commission given them to teach, in St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 20.

On the other hand, St. Peter is conspicuous for his fall (St. Matthew xxvi. 69-74); for his inferiority in spiritual perception to St. John (St. John xx. 8, compared with St. Luke xxiv. 12; St. John xxi. 7); for his imperfect faith on a memorable occasion (St. Matthew xiv. 29-31). Once, when he spoke to our LORD, he received for answer—“*Get thee behind Me, Satan, thou art an offence unto Me.*”¹ At Antioch, St. Paul “*withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed;*” indeed, he rebuked St. Peter with a severity of language which must be admitted to be extraordinary, and quite irreconcilable with the notion that St. Peter enjoyed anything like a ‘Primacy’ in the Apostolic body. (See Gal. ii. 11-14). But the one passage which sets the question for ever at rest, is the account which St. Luke gives us in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. xv. 6-29) of the part taken by St. Peter in the first Council which was held at Jerusalem—A.D. 52.

You are requested to attend specially to this circumstance, because the transaction recorded took place subsequently to the Day of Pentecost,—belongs to the period when the Apostles were in the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical powers,—and exhibits them to us in their official character, engaged in the performance of one of the most august of their official acts. I will not enlarge upon St. Luke’s brief, but most significant and emphatic narrative. The Order of the Council proves to have been as follows:—(a) The Apostles and Elders, with others (v. 12), came together; (b) There was “*much disputing;*” (c) St. Peter spoke; (d) St. Barnabas and St. Paul spoke; (e) St. James (our LORD’s cousin), being the first Bishop of Jerusalem, and evidently President of the Council, summed up what had been delivered, and gave his sentence. *He* evidently—St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem—presided, of right, over the Council, and was supreme head of the Church in Jerusalem. With whatever respect St. Peter might reasonably have been regarded by all present, it is evident that *primacy of Authority* as yet he had *none*! . . . And so much for the Scriptural evidence on the subject. We cannot but conclude that no chief Ecclesiastical authority was ever given by our LORD to St. Peter, seeing that he not only is never related to have exercised any, but is even exhibited to

¹ The passage in which this sentence occurs will be given in full presently.

¹ St. Matth. xvi. 23.

us in the Gospel as one over whom Ecclesiastical authority was exercised.—I pass on.¹

(2.) The pretence that the Church of Rome was founded by St. Peter is not only destitute of foundation, but is demonstrably untrue. If St. Peter was ever at Rome (and I am aware of no valid reason for doubting that at some time of his life he was there,) it is manifest, both from the Acts of the Apostles and from St. Paul's Epistles, that St. Paul was there before him; while the Epistle to the Romans proves incontestably that the Church of Rome was not founded by St. Peter.

"But even if it was, the Church of Rome was no more entitled to supremacy on that account than the Church of Jerusalem. Nor was it more entitled than the churches of Ephesus, Thessalonica, and other churches founded by St. Paul, whose authority was not inferior to that of St. Peter. Still less was it entitled to this supremacy from the mere circumstance that St. Peter *presided* over the Church of Rome; for the same argument would give supremacy to every other church over which either St. Peter or St. Paul presided."¹

(3.) Equally destitute of truth is the statement that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Rome. For,—

(a) St. Peter being an *Apostle*, can never have been the *Bishop* of any individual see. Four notes of difference between the Apostolical and the Episcopal office are commonly enumerated, one of which is "universality of commission."

(b) Tested by an appeal to History, the worthlessness of the statement becomes apparent. The Catalogue of Bucherius (a document of the fourth century), after declaring that St. Peter became Bishop of Rome *in the next year after our Lord's death* (!) and that he governed that see for 25 years, adds that he was succeeded by Linus, whose episcopate lasted for 12 y. (or rather 11 y.) 4 m. 12 d.—But 25 + 11 = 36; which, added to A.D. 29 (the year of our Lord's Crucifixion), brings us to A.D. 65—which is precisely the year assigned to St. Peter's martyrdom! The supposed 25 years of St. Peter's Episcopate, therefore, belong not by any means to the years he presided over the Romish see; but (according to the showing of the most respectable of your friends) to the beginning of the period during which (according to Romish writers) he presided over the *Universal Church*!

(c) The favourite escape from this difficulty

is to feign that Linus was St. Peter's *vicar*: but (as the late learned President of Magdalen points out,¹) those same ancient catalogues on which we depend for the chronology of the early Bishops of Rome say nothing at all about the "vicarship" of Linus. They are express in the statement that Linus was *Bishop* of Rome.

(d) Neither may it be pretended that, in some way, St. Peter transferred the Episcopal office from himself to Linus: for Linus (since his episcopate lasted from about A.D. 54 to A.D. 65) proves to have been Bishop of Rome about the time when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, which was *before that Apostle's visit to Rome*, and, therefore, before St. Peter is pretended to have been there either.

(e) Lastly, the most venerable ecclesiastical traditions extant lend no countenance to the theory under review. Irenæus (A.D. 179) does not reckon St. Peter among the Bishops of Rome, neither does Eusebius (A.D. 320).

The last-named father does, indeed, state that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Antioch. The truth is the Churches of Antiquity, eager to identify themselves with the Apostles of CHRIST, caught at any tradition by which they could connect their origin with the chiefest saints. Hence the venerable fiction which we have been considering, by which it was sought to increase the fame and to establish the importance of the Romish See. True, indeed, it is that in later ecclesiastical writings the name of the Apostle Peter heads the series of the early Bishops of Rome. True that the Church of Rome by several of the Early Fathers is styled the "see of Peter," and the like. But vague, ambiguous phrases and rhetorical expressions like these, as any unprejudiced person of good understanding must perceive at a glance, will not sustain the weight which it is proposed to lay upon them, and to which, in truth, they lend no countenance. In a word, there is *no* reason for assuming that St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome at all; there is abundant reason for supposing that he was *not*.

¹ That venerable Divine, in 1848, called my attention to most of what is here stated, by reading to me, or rather making me read to him (for the print was too small for his aged eyes), a note in the fifth volume of his own *Reliquiæ*, p. 369. "You will find this worth your attention, sir;" and (lest it should flag) he kept tapping my shoulder while I read the words—"Et velim advertas, decantatos Petri viginti quinque annos ad episcopatum pertinere universæ ecclesiæ, non unus Romanæ," &c. &c. The President of Magdalen reprinted that note, with important additions and corrections, in 1853, in a valuable little tract, "De Episcopis."

(4 and 5). Without inquiring too curiously into the nature of the extraordinary privilege supposed to have been conveyed to the first Bishops of Rome, or into the manner of its transmission, it is obvious to insist that, if it existed at all, unmistakable traces of its existence ought to be discoverable in the earlier pages of Ecclesiastical History. If the evidence of Scripture is adverse; if Councils and Fathers, for many centuries, are not only silent, but even yield distinctly hostile testimony also, then (whatever other theory may be invented in order to prop up the unfounded claims of the Bishop of Rome to universal authority,) it is plain that the usual appeal to Scripture and Antiquity must be abandoned. Let us see, then, briefly how the case stands.

8. *Supremacy not recognized by Early Councils and Fathers.*

I suppose we cannot do better than turn to the history of the first four General Councils—Nicaea (A.D. 325), Constantinople (A.D. 381), Ephesus (A.D. 431), Chalcedon (A.D. 451)—and survey their Canons if we would ascertain in what account precisely Rome was held in those palmy days of the Church. Now it is a memorable fact that at the first Œcumenical Council (that of Nicaea) the Bishop of Rome was not only not present, but *he was not even represented*. Turn to the Canons of that and the succeeding Councils, and, so far from acknowledging the supremacy of the Romish See, it will appear conclusively that the reverend Fathers then assembled knew nothing at all about it. They prescribe the limits of the authority of individual Churches, and show jealousy respecting the independence of each several Province. “Let the ancient usages in Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis prevail” (say they); “that the Bishop of Alexandria have authority over them all—since this is also the usage with the Bishop who is at Rome. In like manner also as regards Antioch, and in the other Provinces, let the privileges of the Churches be preserved.” Cases of dispute are anticipated, and provided against. But nowhere is there so much as a hint let fall that Rome was the centre of authority, or enjoyed any kind of supremacy over the rest of Christendom.

Nay, the very contrary is hopelessly established against the seat of the Papacy by the 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

The 150 Bishops who had met at Constantinople (A.D. 381) having decreed that the Bp. of Constantinople should have next precedence

after the Bishop of Rome, on the ground that Constantinople was “New (or, rather, *young*,) Rome,”¹ the 630 Bishops who met at Chalcedon 70 years after, confirmed the decree in the following remarkable language: “We, everywhere following the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and acknowledging the Canon which has been just read of the 150 Bishops most beloved of God, do also ourselves decree and vote the same things concerning the privileges (*πρεσβεία*) of the most Holy Church of Constantinople,—Rome the Younger; for the Fathers, with reason, gave precedence to the throne of Rome the Elder, because she was the Imperial city;” [*not* (you are requested to observe) because she claimed to be Divinely invested with *Supremacy* over the other Churches of Christendom; *not* because she was traditionally accounted to enjoy any sort of Ecclesiastical *Primacy*; nothing of the kind. “The fathers with reason gave precedence to throne of the Elder Rome, because she was the imperial city:”] “and the 150 Bishops most beloved of God, moved by the same consideration, awarded equal precedence to the most holy throne of Rome the Younger, *reasonably judging that the city which is honoured with the government and senate should enjoy equal privileges with the elder Queen Rome*; and be magnified, like her, in ecclesiastical matters, having the second place after her.”²

The very opposition raised to this Canon by the Roman legates is important; for (1) that opposition was not based (as one would have expected) on the plea of an infringement of the privileges of the Romish See, but on quite different grounds; and (2) it established in the fullest manner the mind of the whole assembly (including the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Heraclea, and upwards of twenty metropolitans), who ratified their decree by a fresh vote. So that “this is beyond denial, that we have, so late as the middle of the fifth century, *the concurrent testimony of the largest assembly of bishops ever collected together*, that the claim for the precedence of the See of Rome in the Christian Church does not rest on the vain pretence of the Bishop of that See being the chief or sole successor of St. Peter, but simply and solely on this—namely, *that the*

¹ Τὸν μὲντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῇν νεῶν Ῥώμην.—Can. iii.

² For convenience, the English reader is referred to “The Roman Schism, illustrated from the Records of the Catholic Church,” by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, 1836, p. 42.

city of his bishopric had been the seat of the civil government.”¹

Scarcely less important, as bearing on the present question, is the 9th Canon of the same Council of Chalcedon, which ordains that—“If any clergyman have a matter against his own Bishop, or against another, let it be judged by the Synod of the Province. But if a Bishop or clergyman have a dispute with the Metropolitan of the Province, let him appeal either to the Exarch of the Diocese, or to the throne of Imperial Constantinople, and let it be there judged.”

Here is a canon of admitted genuineness, which was passed in the presence and with the approbation of the Roman legates; and to which the Bishop of Rome, when it was reported to him, offered no objection! “The undeniable meaning of it is, that from the decision of a Metropolitan and his Synod an appeal lay to the Patriarch of the Patriarchate in which the province was situated; or, if the parties preferred it, directly to the See of Constantinople, which is thus (apparently) by the authority of a General Council, *vested with greater pre-eminence than any other bishopric has ever received from the same source.*”²

What at least is quite certain, the total silence here as to any appeal to Rome, is conclusive evidence that, whatever the pretensions of that see may have been, they were wholly unrecognized so late as the middle of the fifth century.

It is worse than absurd to overlook testimony emphatic and considerable as this; infinitely more important than any strong expression of an individual Father, however learned. Cyprian (says a recent pervert), “speaks of the Church of Rome as ‘the root and mother of the Catholic Church.’”³ Cyprian cannot, with truth, be said to do anything of the kind. On the other hand, the 150 Bishops at Constantinople, in their synodical epistle to the Western Bishops assembled at Rome, declared that they “acknowledged the most venerable Cyril, most beloved of God, to be Bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, which” (say they) “is the Mother of all the Churches.”⁴ . . . The decrees of the first four General Councils were deservedly held in supreme reverence by the Universal Church. How shall it be thought credible that so very

important a circumstance as the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome could have remained unknown to those many hundred Bishops of early Christendom?¹ How, still more, is it conceivable that, knowing it, they should have met on four several occasions, at long intervals of time, and enacted Canons, the direct effect of which was to assert the independence of other dioceses, and to provide for the settlement of disputes, without any reference whatever to the supposed necessity of an appeal to Rome? How did it come to pass that the See of Rome was legislated for like any other see of ancient Christendom, without complaint or remonstrance on her part? or with remonstrance—which the rest of Christendom overruled and set aside?

But we need not linger over those early times; still less need we adduce the language of others concerning the early Bishops of Rome. We may come on boldly to the end of the sixth century, and hear the truth from the pious lips of one of the greatest ornaments of the Romish See,—Gregory the Great. Addressing the Emperor Mauricius (relative to the conduct of John IV., Archbishop of Constantinople, A.D. 582-95), Gregory says:—“It is plain to all who are acquainted with the Gospel, that by our Lord’s own lips the care of the whole Church was committed to St. Peter, the chief of all the Apostles; inasmuch as to him was said”—(then follows St. John xxi. 17); “to him”—(then follows St. Luke xxii. 31); “to him”—(then follows St. Matthew xvi. 18). “Lo, he received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; to him the power of binding and loosing was assigned; to him the care and headship of the whole Church was committed. Yet even he is not called ‘Universal Apostle.’ Whereas that right holy man, my fellow-priest John, seeks to be called ‘Universal Bishop!’ I am compelled to exclaim, ‘O the times! O the manners!’ . . . Who, then, is this, who, contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, contrary to the Canons, presumes to usurp and assume this new title? . . . If anyone in that Church arrogates to himself that name the whole Church will fall to pieces (God forbid!) when he falls who is called ‘universal.’ Far be that name of blasphemy, however, from all Christian hearts; whereby the honour of all other priests suffers diminution, while it is senselessly arrogated to himself by one.

“It was out of honour, truly, for St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, that by the venerable

¹ *Ibid*, p. 60.

² “The Roman Schism, illustrated from the Records of the Catholic Church,” by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, 1836, pp. 42-57.

³ Archd. Wilberforce, *Principles*, &c., p. 104.

⁴ Perceval, *ibid*, p. 32, quoting Concil. ii. 966.

¹ At Nicæa, 318 Bishops; at Constantinople, 150; at Ephesus, 200; at Chalcedon, 630.

Council of Chalcedon the said title was offered to the Roman Pontiff. But never did any one of my predecessors consent to use this title of singularity; lest, while a private title is bestowed upon one Priest, all the rest should be deprived of the honour which is their due. How comes it to pass that whereas *we* covet not the glory of this appellation, even when it is offered us, this man presumes to arrogate it to himself, though to him it has never been offered at all?"¹

There are not a few points worthy of attention in this passage. (a) The title of "Universal Bishop," so far from being confessedly the immemorial privilege of the Roman See, is, in the sixth century, claimed by the Archbishop of Constantinople. (b) The Bishop of Rome condemns his assumption of the title, not on the ground of its being an infringement of his own prerogative, but of the manifest *impropriety* of it, by whomsoever claimed. (c) It had never been claimed at all by the Bishops of Rome, but had been offered to them by the Council of Chalcedon. (d) Yet not as any admission of their acknowledged rights, but simply out of compliment to St. Peter, the reputed founder of their Church. (e) It had been declined when so offered, and had never been borne by any of Gregory the Great's predecessors. (f) Gregory rejects it with indignation, and something like horror, calling it a "name of blasphemy." Lastly (g), not least interesting as an inference from what goes before, is the distinction which the venerable writer, by implication, emphatically draws between the privileges accorded by our SAVIOUR to *St. Peter*, and *any* privileges (of which Gregory evidently knew nothing), supposed to be inherent in the *See of Rome*.

This last point is thought worthy of attention, because the circumstance of the entire absence of connection between the premisses, and the conclusion of the popular argument for the Papal Supremacy, is so strangely ignored by modern Romanists. Whatever is said in commendation of St. Peter in the Gospel is at once transferred, for some unexplained reason, to the occupants of the Papacy in perpetuity. Not only is the Romish Church called "the bark of Peter," but the *Pope* is identified with *St. Peter* himself. Remind a Romish priest that nothing is discoverable from Scripture to warrant the assumption that not to be in communion with Rome is not to be within the pale of the Church Catholic, and you are at once met with "Tu es Petrus," or "Pasce oves

meas," just as if those words had been addressed to Pope Pius IX.!

Really, to see the prominent place given to the text TU ES PETRUS, &c., all round the base of the dome of St. Peter's, and to hear its perpetual recurrence on the lips of Romanists, one is led to conclude that it must contain the pith and marrow of the whole matter.

It was under this impression that once (by the help of the Indexes) I went through as many of the Fathers as I could conveniently refer to, in order to ascertain what they made of the passage. The result of that inquiry effectually established the following proposition:—That there existed in no part of the ancient church any tradition which connected the text in question with the Romish See; or which favoured the claims of the Papacy, even in their most moderate form. For (1) A surprising number of the Fathers offer no interpretation of that text whatever; (2) Not a few of them expressly deny that our LORD on that occasion applied the word "Rock" to St. Peter at all! They interpret our LORD's words (strangely enough) of St. Peter's *faith*; or they declare plainly that the Rock spoken of is CHRIST. . . . The mere *silence* of many Fathers would have been enough to prove that there existed no ecclesiastical Tradition on the subject, but this express *denial* sets the question entirely at rest; (3) Some are undecided, as Chrysostom—who in one place says the Rock was "the faith of the confession;"¹ and in two places implies that St. Peter was the Rock;² (4) Those Fathers who consider (with Pearson and the whole body of our best Divines,) that our SAVIOUR meant that *St. Peter* was the Rock on which He built His Church—even they *never* let fall a word, either directly or indirectly, serving to identify St. Peter with the Church of *Rome*; or connecting the famous declaration which our LORD made to *him*, with the Bishop of the same See. Let me briefly establish what I have said.

Augustine, in his latest work,³ says that when he was a Presbyter he had, on one occasion, interpreted St. Matt. xvi. 18, as if the words meant that the Church was founded upon *St. Peter*; but, since that, he had often interpreted "this rock" of CHRIST, and taught that the Church was founded upon *Him* whom St. Peter

¹ Τουτέστι, τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Opp. vii. 548.

² Opp. ii. 300, vi. 124, 282.

³ *Retract.* Lib. I. c. 21. Vol. i. p. 32 B.

had confessed.¹ I am not defending Augustine for thus "retracting." I humbly think (in common with the most learned of English Divines,) that this eminent Father was mistaken in this particular. But I request you to attend to the deliberate dictum of Augustine—the greatest of the Fathers—shortly before the end of his episcopate in the year A.D. 430.

Only one other Patristic witness shall be quoted, but he is a most unexceptionable one, certainly. I allude to Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 590-604. This writer explains that in his opinion CHRIST is the "Rock" spoken of in St. Matt. xvi. 18.² He further declares that the words, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c., were addressed by our LORD to the Universal Church.³

9. The Testimony of Cyprian.

Such passages, coming from such a quarter, are really decisive of the question at issue; for how could Gregory, Bishop of Rome, be ignorant of the traditional interpretation of words which concerned his See so nearly, if any such traditional interpretation existed? But I must add yet another extract from a more ancient and far more important witness, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 250. His testimony on this subject has been often quoted, but often quoted incorrectly. I shall give his words at length, and request you to attend to the very important circumstance that they are not thrown out incidentally, but that they embody a grave and deliberate opinion. The following passage is found in the midst of a Treatise on the very question at issue, namely, *On the Unity of the Church Catholic*. Cyprian's words are:—"The LORD is speaking to Peter. 'I say unto thee,' (saith He,) 'that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed

in Heaven.' He builds His Church upon one: and although, after His Resurrection, He gives like power to all the Apostles, and says, 'As My FATHER hath sent Me, even so send I you. Receive ye the HOLY GHOST. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained,'—nevertheless, that He might make the Unity manifest, He ordained by His own authority the source of the same Unity, beginning from one. What Peter was, that certainly the rest of the Apostles were also, endowed with an equal share of honour and power; but the commencement sets out from Unity, in order that the Church might be set before us as one Doth he who holdeth not this Unity of the Church believe that he holdeth the faith? Doth he who striveth against the Church, and resisteth her, flatter himself that he is in the Church?"¹

I am at a loss to see how a primitive Father could have spoken more plainly or more emphatically against the Romish claims. Nothing can well be imagined more simple or more Scriptural than Cyprian's view. He is insisting (with St. Paul in a well-known place—Eph. iv. 5) on the *Oneness* of the Church, and appeals to "the origination of the Church, which was so disposed by CHRIST that the Unity might be expressed. For whereas all the rest of the Apostles had equal power and honour with St. Peter; yet CHRIST did particularly give that power to St. Peter, to show the Unity of the Church which He intended to build upon the foundation of the Apostles."²

If Cyprian had known anything of the modern Romish theory, how did it come to pass that he made no allusion to it on such an occasion as this?³

Identically of the same opinion with Cyprian was Augustine, whose very interesting and instructive remarks on this subject, (Augustine being so considerable a Father), have been

¹ As in the following passage:—"Superhanc ergo, inquit, petram quam confessus es, edificabo Ecclesiam meam. Petra enim erat CHRISTUS, super quod fundamentum etiam ipse edificatus est Petrus Ecclesia ergo, quæ fundatur in CHRISTO, claves ab eo regni celorum accepti in Petro."—Tract in Joan. cxxiv.

² Opera, vol. iii. p. 532 A. Compare the following passage:—"In petrá Moyses ponitur, ut DEI speciem contemplantur: quia nisl quis fidei soliditatem tenuerit, divinam presentiam non agnoscit. De quâ soliditate DOMINUS ait, 'Super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam.'"—Opp. i. 1149 B.

³ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 387 E.

¹ De Cathol. Ecl. Unitat. c. lii.—I have employed the text as recently established in the laborious edition of J. G. Krabinger (a learned Romanist.)—Tubingæ, 1853. 8vo.

² Bp. Pearson on the Creed, Art. ix.

³ Cyprian in another place (Ep. xxvii.) gathers from the same text of St. Matthew, not the Bishop of Rome's supremacy, but simply the Doctrine of Episcopacy; and Firmilian (Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia), addressing Cyprian in another epistle (Ep. lxxv.), in the most striking manner infers from our LORD's words—not Rome's supremacy (of which, indeed, he speaks in terms the reverse of respectful), but—that the power of remitting sins was given "to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they founded, (being sent by CHRIST), and to the Bishops who were their successors."

transferred in a note to the foot of the page.¹ A careless reader with Romish predilections would possibly carry away from a hasty perusal of the place the notion that Augustine is there delivering something highly complimentary to the See of Rome; and yet it is perfectly evident, both from the letter and from the spirit of the passage, as well as from its whole logical bearing, that the Church of Rome was not so much as in the learned writer's thoughts while he wrote. He meant what Cyprian meant, and no other thing. Both Fathers require to be largely interpolated in order to bring out the proposed sectarian teaching, and to graft a modern corruption upon the ancient stock.

It is much to be noticed, however, that the foregoing passage of Cyprian is one of the very passages on which Romanists most rely in support of their claim. How have they proceeded? Why, truly, by falsifying, in the most unprincipled manner, Cyprian's text. This subject is so important, and the passage in hand affords so apt an illustration of the controversial method of our opponents, as well as of the bad faith with which they habitually handle historical evidence, that I claim your attention for a few moments longer. Behold, then, the passage as it has been interpolated by those who make it their business to prove, in opposition to Scripture and to Fathers, "the necessity of one Head of the Church upon earth, and to show that the Bishop of Rome is that one Head by virtue of his succession from St. Peter."² What follows is transcribed *verbatim* from the Benedictine

edition of Cyprian's Works,—the spurious additions being indicated by italics and enclosed within brackets.

"Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico," &c. [*Et iterum eidem post Resurrectionem suam dicit Pasce oves Meas.*] Super [*illum*] unum ædificat ecclesiam [*suam et illi pascendas mandat oves suas.*] Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post Resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat," &c., "tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur [*et primatus Petro datur*] ut [*una*] Christi ecclesia [*et cathedra*] una monstretur. [*Et pastores sunt omnes, et grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur, ut ecclesia Christi una monstretur.*] . . . Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, [*qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit,*] in ecclesiâ se esse confidit?" . . . (pp. 194 5.)

You will, of course, exclaim (and certainly with reason), that I am making a large demand upon your good nature when I invite you to receive my simple assurance of what the true text of Cyprian is, in opposition to the Benedictine editor of its works. Baluzius (you will say) was a man of candour and judgment, and his edition of Cyprian was the matured result of his experience and learning. Is it likely that he would have adopted a corrupt text of an important passage like this?

Please to listen to a plain tale.

Baluzius did nothing of the sort. He easily convinced himself of the highly corrupt state of the foregoing passage, and rejected it accordingly, assigning his reasons for so doing (quite overwhelming they are, be assured!) in his notes.¹ But before his edition of Cyprian could appear, Baluzius died, at the age of 88, in 1718. It was not until 1724 that Denis de Sainte Marthe (Superior of the Benedictines of S. Maur) put the sheet into the hands of a nameless monk of the same Order; and this anonymous gentleman, in 1726, produced (as he himself informs us in his Preface) the edition of Cyprian which passes as that of Baluzius. Not a few

¹ "Inter [apostolos] pene ubique solus Petrus, totius Ecclesiæ meruit gestare personam. Propter ipsam personam, quam totius Ecclesiæ solus gestabat, audere meruit, 'Tibi dabo claves regni Cælorum.' Has enim claves non homo unus, sed unitas acceptit Ecclesiæ. Hinc ergo Petri excellentia prædicatur, quia ipsius universitatis et unitatis Ecclesiæ figuram gerit, quando ei dictum est, 'Tibi trado,' quod omnibus traditum est. Nam ut noveritis Ecclesiam accepisse claves regni cælorum, audite in alio loco quod DOMINUS dicat omnibus Apostolis suis." (Then follows St. John xx. 22, 23.) "Hoc ad claves pertinet, de quibus dictum est, 'Quæ solveritis in-cælo.' Sed hoc Petri dixit. Ut scias quia Petrus universæ Ecclesiæ personam tunc gerebat, audi quid ipsi dicatur, quid omnibus fidelibus sanctis." (Then follows St. Matth. xviii. 15, &c.)

Augustine has much to the same effect, in his Commentary on St. John, e.g., "Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia. . . . Si hoc in Ecclesiæ fit, Petrus quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam sanctam significavit."—*Tract. 1.* "Ei dicitur 'Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum,' tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem, cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus tanquam personam gerens ipsius unitatis. Ideo, unus pro omnibus, quia unitus est in omnibus."—*Tract. cxviii.*

² Bp. Pearson, *ubi supra*.

¹ See p. 545 of the (so-called) "Stephani Baluzii Notæ ad Cyprianum." The reasons were, that the bracketed matter (1) is not found in MSS. of Cyprian; (2) nor in the early printed editions; and (3) was unknown to the ancient bishops of Rome and others who expressly quoted this place in Cyprian.

things in the last-named learned writer's notes this unknown Romanist altered; (he would have altered more, if he could have done it "commode," he says.¹) and page 195, which contains the passage under consideration, *he had the immorality, just before sending the volume forth to the world,*² to cancel; substituting for the text which Baluzius had deliberately adopted, the interpolated text of the older editions,³ which you have already seen; which Baluzius had rejected; and which the editor of his labours knew to be spurious. . . . I trust I have said enough. You may convince yourself of the accuracy of every word I have stated by reading page i. and the beginning of page x. of the Preface—page 545 of the [garbled] Notes of Baluzius—and by examining the inside edge of page 195. . . . Verily, a cause which has to be supported by tricks of this disreputable nature must be a very rotten cause indeed!

Only one word more before I conclude. Will you be surprised to hear me say, that after such an instance of bad faith as this—and it is but a specimen of the method of your new friends!—I habitually distrust their citations? I desiderate a fresh collation of the text of the Fathers, (in all passages of a certain kind,) by men at least of common probity, if not of learning and candour. . . . And, with this, I finish.

10. Conclusion.

Farewell, Sir. I will not delay you even while I make a summary of what has been

¹ "Quinetiam necesse fuit (!) in Baluzii Notis non pauca mutare, ac plura essent mutata, id si commode fieri potuisset."
—*Ibid*

² This is proved by the statement in the Preface, p. x.; also by an examination of the pagination of the notes. It will be perceived that *two leaves* (i.e., four pages) were cancelled. The pages which intervene between p. 512 and p. 551 bear a *double pagination*; showing that these sheets were tampered with after the work was completed.

³ "Reposita fuere in textu, propterea quod servata fuerunt in omnibus editionibus, quæ in Gallia ab annis centum et quinquaginta prodierunt, etiam in Rigaltiana."—*Ibid*.

offered. But I can and do assure you that, in my small way, I have laid before you, (hastily and imperfectly indeed, but not unadvisedly, nor, as I think, with any material inaccuracy,) a body of evidence on the question, which you will find it very hard to dispose of.

Again farewell, Sir! You have urged me to forsake the Church of England and to seek admission into the Church of Rome. I have explained to you at considerable length why I cannot do so. I have done more. . . . "No man" (to adopt the noble language of Bramhall) "can justly blame me for honouring my spiritual mother, the Church of England, in whose womb I was conceived, at whose breasts I was nourished, and in whose bosom I hope to die. Bees, by the instinct of nature, do love their hives, and birds their nests. But, God is my witness, that, according to my utmost talent and poor understanding, I have endeavoured to set down the naked truth impartially. . . . And if I should mistake the right Catholic Church out of human frailty or ignorance (which, for my part, I have no reason in the world to suspect, yet it is not impossible, when the Romanists themselves are divided into five or six several opinions, what this Catholic Church, or what their Infallible Judge is), I do implicitly and in the preparation of my mind submit myself to the True Catholic Church, the Spouse of Christ, the Mother of the Saints, the Pillar of Truth. And seeing my adherence is firmer to the Infallible Rule of Faith (that is, *the Holy Scriptures interpreted by the Catholic Church*), than to mine own private judgment or opinions; although I should unwittingly fall into an error, yet this cordial submission is an implicit retraction thereof, and I am confident will be so accepted by the Father of Mercies, both from me and all others who seriously and sincerely do seek after peace and truth."

Your obedient servant, ———

May He who by His Blessed Son
Did Adam's fall retrieve,
And freely pours His Spirit on
All that in Him believe,—
Preserve His Church from error free
And snare of base hypocrisy:—

Deliver her from Teachers false,
Who 'gainst His Truth rebel,—
Preach doctrine which the mind enthralled
By superstition's spell;

Who for traditions of their own,
Christ's solemn last command postpone!—

Who with His Mysteries would toy,—
His Word behind them throw,—
The young and frivolous decoy
With Pharisaic show,—
Cloak'd with humility's pretence,
Commit presumption's great offence:—

From all who Anti-Christ would serve,
May Christ His own true Church preserve!

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART II.—(*First Division.*)

PRIMITIVE TRUTH RESTORED.

"What time the evening-shadows fall
Around the Church on earth,
When darker forms of doubt appal;
And new false lights have birth;
Then closer should her faithful band
For truth together hold,
Her last devices to withstand,
And safely guard her fold.

O Father, in that hour of fear
The Church of England keep,
Thine altar to the last to rear,
And feed Thy fainting sheep;
May she the holy truths attest
Apostles taught of yore,
Nor quit the Faith by saints confest,
Though tempted ne'er so sore."

THE RESTORATION TO PRIMITIVE TRUTH HISTORICALLY TRACED IN THE RESISTANCE OF
ENGLAND TO PAPAL USURPATION.—FULFILLED IN THE REFORMATION.—*By the late*
*Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Cox, Bishop of Western New York.*¹

SECTION I.—THE CHURCH OF OUR FORE- FATHERS.

1. *Identity and Continuity.*—Let me now invite you to a survey of the history of the Anglican Church, its origin, its subjection to the Paparchy in the Middle Ages, and, finally, of its restoration in the sixteenth century. We shall see that from its origin until now it is the same identical Church,—no more another now than the man who has been a prodigal, and who has regained his home and his patrimony, is other than the embryo that was once in the womb, the babe that once drew nurture from its mother's breast, the youth who declined from his parental example and teachings, and the sufferer who, amid the filth and the starvation of the swineyard, came to himself, and said, "I will arise and go to my father." The Anglican Church was primitive and pure; she became enslaved and defiled; she regained her liberties, she washed and is clean. But she is none other to-day, as to individuality and identity, than she

was when Italians were sent to put chains upon her; when she shook her chains, in defiance, as she chafed under them; when she lay down and slept awhile, baffled and degraded; or when, at last, she woke and broke from her fetters, and began to be herself again; until now God has given her to many nations and set her footsteps in the seas, and enabled us to say, "Her sound is gone out into all lands, and her words unto the ends of the world." Such is the outline of her history, which I propose to make clear and readily recognized by the illumination of truths which have been too little understood.

2. *Periods to be noted*—Three periods should be primarily noted: that of (1) the Primitive British Church, that of (2) the Early English Church, and (3) that of the Later English Church. The Norman epoch (A. D. 1066) is the turning point in Anglican history in its relations with Rome. Thereafter, we note three periods again: that of (1) the Transition to Papal Subjection, that of (2) the Paparchy Established, and (3) that of the Restoration. As to the Primitive British, a few additional words must suffice.

THE PRIMITIVE PERIOD.—Lucius, one of the

¹ From the "Baldwin Lectures,"—delivered by the Bishop in the University of Michigan, U.S.

British chiefs, is said to have been the first Christian king; but the legends of Edessa,¹ if they are to be credited, would deprive us of this glory. He lived in the time of Aurelius, when, had he been known to the Romans, he could hardly have escaped the crown of martyrdom. St. Alban, who suffered in Diocletian's world-wide massacre, is reputed the first British martyr. In A.D. 314, before the Nicene era, we note the presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles, a fact which seems to me to account for the Easter usages to which the British Church so tenaciously adhered. These bishops found them corresponding with their own traditions in the churches of Pothinus and Irenæus. In A.D. 446, "the groans of the Britons" attest their inveterate sufferings from barbarous Picts and Scots; and in A.D. 449, the arrival of the Saxons enables us to date the Early English period from the middle of the fifth century. Invited to come in and drive out the Picts, our forefathers, the Angles and Saxons, took their pay by settling in the delightful lands they had defended. In the Isle of Wight and the opposite coasts settled the Jutes. Essex, Wesssex, and Sussex tell the story of the Saxon immigration, and the Angles took the rest of the eastern coast into custody northward and far above the Humber. Such are our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and I am not very proud of their conduct. But if they proved treacherous allies of the native Christians, they were pagans, who knew no better; and feeble as were the Christians, they turned upon them at times and gave them a terrible threshing. Gildas, their own British chronicler, reproaches them as believers for not preaching to the Saxons, whom we may now for the first time call "the English," the Gospel of peace and love. The Saxons continued heathen till converted by the missionaries of Gregory.

His interest had been excited by the appearance of fair-haired boys from England in the Roman slave-market. "If only they were Christians," said the holy man, "not Angles, but Angels, they might be called." When he became bishop, as if remembering where Pelagius came from, he sent to convert them Augustine, a namesake of the great Bishop of Hippo.

3. *The Early English Period.*—The Early English² period opens with the seventh century, say A.D. 601. Augustine repaired to France to

be consecrated by the Bishop of Arles (Virgilius), who was assisted, according to the Nicene canons, by two other bishops, of whom the name of one only has come down to us; that of Ætherius, Bishop of Lyons. He succeeded from St. John, through Polycarp, Pothinus, and Irenæus, as the thirty-second bishop of that most primitive and illustrious see. Thus Augustine became the first Bishop of Canterbury, deriving his apostolic office from the churches of Ephesus and Smyrna, both mentioned in the Apocalypse, and saluted by an epistle from our ascended Lord Himself with exceptional tokens of approbation. Great gratitude is due to Gregory for his nursing care and faithfulness in planting the Church of England; but we must not think it strange that the relations thus established between England and the great Apostolic See of the West led to consequences not in themselves happy, nor even canonical.

When Augustine first learned that there were already Christians in Britain does not appear; but his first impressions of them were doubtless not very favourable. He learned that they were an unlettered race, who still kept Easter by the ancient, but now uncanonical, uses of Smyrna and Ephesus. For these had been overruled at Nicæa, by universal consent. Were the Britons deliberate schismatics? He doubtless imagined they were, but this was a mistake. The Britons had been so long cut off from commerce with other churches, that they had never received from Alexandria the annual computation. Gregory himself did not know of their existence, and it seems to me probable that they kept on in the way received by Irenæus from Polycarp, and which Eborius and his companions had learned from Lyons and Arles to regard as lawful.³ Especially would they be likely to adhere to their old customs, so long as the Patriarch of Alexandria failed to communicate with them, as the canons prescribed. This was their misfortune, not their fault.

4. *Augustine.*—A Conference. — Augustine obtained a Conference with some of the British bishops, and it was held under a tree which remained till comparatively recent times, and was known as "Augustine's oak." What a meeting! What but Christianity could have afforded any common ground for such a conference! There were the aborigines of the soil, and here the robber Saxons; there the ancient Church of

¹ See *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. viii. p. 647.

² Not to be understood of Architecture.

³ See *supra*, § 2.

Caradoc and Pudens, of Claudia and of S. Paul's own missionaries, and here was a new-comer, who called himself Bishop of the English, and seemed to them in league with their old enemies against them. In answer to prayer, Augustine was thought to have wrought a miracle, which excited their fraternal respect; but they answered, with dignity, that "they could not depart from their ancient customs without the consent of their own churches."

5. *A Second Conference.*—At a second conference, Augustine's bearing and conduct were offensive to these very primitive people. Yet he proposed no terms of union other than such as we should approve. They were to adopt, "not as our custom, but as that of the Universal Church," certain compliances with the local Roman and Apostolic Church, (1) in the administering of baptism, and (2) in the keeping of Easter. Further, (3) they were to act jointly with him in preaching to the English nation the word of God. They refused consent, chiefly because of his overbearing manner. And here he seems to have forgotten what was due to himself and them, for he threatened them with the divine displeasure. When, some ten years later, King Ethelfrid with a great army fell upon them and massacred them in great numbers, the Saxons looked upon this terrible event in one way and the Britons in a very different one.

An ancient Welsh document relates that the answer of the British clergy was made on one occasion in the following words, by Dinoth, an abbot:—

"The British churches owe the deference of brotherly kindness and charity to the Church of God, to the Roman *Papa*, and to all Christians. But other obedience they do not know to be due to him whom you call the *Papa*. As for ourselves, we are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who, under God, is our spiritual overseer and guide."

We must acknowledge with grief, the failure of missions and bishoprics which Augustine founded. There were terrible relapses; some of the bishops retired to France; the old idolatry returned in divers places. The Anglican Church had shrunk to the dimensions of the single county of Kent, when once again it revived, and for a time spread over the north-eastern counties, under good King Edwin. But again there came a relapse. In Lincolnshire, where a great work seemed begun, the churches went to decay, and so continued for years. It

became manifest that Augustine's work must all be done over again.

6. *Iona and its Missions.*—But for thirty years (A.D. 633-664) a more primitive and a more successful work had been carried on among the Northern English, by Scots and Picts, the old enemy, now Christianized by the zeal of Columba and his missions that went forth from Iona. King Oswald restored the cathedral at York. Aidan, a saintly bishop, fixed his missionary see at another Iona, Lindisfarne, on the coast of Northumbria, which was long known as the Holy Isle. The bishopric was afterwards enlarged, and settled as the see of Durham. Finan, who succeeded to Aidan, recovered very much people to Christ. A bishop was set over Lichfield, and another was restored to London. Nobody can read the beautiful tributes which Bede pays to the Northern bishops, with whom he differed on so many points, without the conviction that to Iona and to Lindisfarne, and to the meek and loving spirit of their missionaries, the ultimate conversion of all England is chiefly due. At one time only one bishop of the Latin rite was left in the island. And so it came about that this rite was observed only in Kent and a small part of the South, while the converted North adhered to the Gallican rites, or others of very primitive use, brought into the Pictish churches from Ireland. To heal the differences occasioned by such diversity, a synod was summoned (A.D. 664) at Whitby, in Yorkshire.

7. *Counsels of Unity with the Church in Britain.*—And very interesting and truly Christian in spirit were the discussions. Bede attributes the Easter rules of the Northern Britons to the causes I have already instanced, and excuses their non-conformity in this respect, acknowledging their true faith and piety in the spirit of their observance of rules they had received from primitive times. Though the immediate results were not unanimously adopted, this synod unified the churches in a good degree; and soon after (A.D. 667), such a desire for the settlement of affairs was reached that the Northerners came to an agreement with their Kentish brethren, and elected Wighart Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to go to Rome and receive consecration there. This measure was very wisely conceived. The English Church exercised its own rights of election; but the failure of Gregory's mission having become a scandal, it was fitting that "the Pope of the city of Rome," as Bede and Alcuin call

him, should be informed of the better state of things now existing,—of the growing unity of the Church in Britain, and of their desire to be in unity with the Apostolic See. Unhappily, as we might think, Wighart died at Rome in a pestilence before he could receive consecration; and, very pardonably perhaps, Vitalian, the patriarch of the city, resolved to find a proper person to be the English metropolitan, and send him out as his missionary. This was an unfortunate precedent, interfering as it did with the elective franchise of the English Church, and tending to impair its autonomy. But God overruled all for good.

8. *The Mission of Theodore.*—He chose Theodore, a native of St. Paul's own city, Tarsus, and consecrated him Bishop on the feast of the Annunciation, A.D. 668. It was, perhaps, a concession to the North British churches to send them an Eastern bishop, who could best persuade them to adopt the Nicene rules of Easter. But, as a restraint upon him, and to keep up the Latin side of the controversies, Vitalian gave him a sort of archdeacon in Adrian who accompanied him. It was in A.D. 669 that he arrived in England, to reconstruct and to "set in order the things that were wanting." He was cordially accepted, and became, in fact, the second founder of the Church of England. No one of his predecessors is to be compared with this truly great and holy man. Nevertheless, he had marked faults and infirmities, and was not always considerate in dealing with what, no doubt, he considered as yet a mere mission among a rude and half-Christianized people, "well-nigh severed from the whole world."

9. *Perilous Innovations.*—It has been necessary for me to go largely into the character of the Primitive British and the Early English Churches, in order to free later questions from the difficulties with which profound and unpardonable ignorance has encumbered the matter. We now come to the end of the seventh century. The island has been Christianized from the Apostles' times. Its ultimate conversion and the Anglican Church, as a unit, result not from the Latin mission, but from Nicene churches, coming southward in their simplicity and purity from Iona and Lindisfarne. During this whole period the churches have enjoyed the insular privileges secured by the Cypriote canon to all churches so situated. The coming of Theodore was marked by one circumstance which shows how jealous were the native churches of all foreign intrusion. Augustine

and his successors had leaned too much on Rome as their natural base of supplies, and this had doubtless increased their difficulties. A thorough and immediate identification of themselves with the native Christians would have worked better. Grace had been given to others to repair the breach, and to heal the old wounds. But Theodore's consecration with an implication that he was to be their "metropolitan," when they had elected Wighart, and without waiting for their action in the choice of another, was an infraction of discipline; more especially as the Church of England had never recognized as yet any metropolitical power whatever in the see of Canterbury. Wilfrid, now Bishop of York, had proved this, by going into France to be consecrated, which would have been resented by the then Bishop of Canterbury had he possessed any canonical right to consecrate the bishops of England. This same Wilfrid had seen the importance of accepting the Easter usages enjoined by Nicæa, and had favoured unity with the Latins of Kent and Surrey; but in the circumstances he showed, perhaps, only a proper self-respect by refusing attendance at Theodore's synods.

10. *Compromises.—The Council at Hatfield.*—However, by the humility of St. Chad, who represented the Northern churches, things were so far harmonized that he became Bishop of Lichfield, and Wilfrid was appeased, so that all things were ready for harmonious action. A synod was called at Hertford by the authority of the Saxon princes, where the old canons were examined and local canons passed. By these Theodore was virtually accepted as the first Metropolitan of the Church of England; according to the canons, that is, and not by any authority of a foreign bishop. To show Theodore's own convictions on the subject, in which the churches and the local princes sustained him, he refused all recognition of Agatho, Bishop of Rome, when he presumed to interfere in the matter of a bishop deprived of his see. He did much more, and in a more important matter: for whereas Honorius, Pope of the city of Rome, fell into the Monothelite heresy, and was subsequently condemned as a heretic, Theodore summoned a council (A.D. 680) at Hatfield, just at the time when the sixth and last general council was held at Constantinople, for the same purpose, in which this heresy was condemned. This council of Hatfield marks a great point in the Anglican history; for it thoroughly recognized the Nicene Councils and

Constitutions, and all the councils oecumenical, placing the united Church of the Britons and Saxons on the unequivocal base of Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity.

In this happy estate Theodore the Great, as he may justly be called, left the Church of England, when (A.D. 690) he rested from his labours. He was nearly ninety years of age, and had sat in his see two-and-twenty years. He founded schools, increased learning, and left scholars who were masters of the Latin tongue not only, but of the Greek also, the native tongue of Theodore himself. To such schools we owe the precious life and labours of Bede, and of the great Alcuin, of whom we shall presently hear. So stood the Church of our forefathers at the close of the seventh century.

11. *The Venerable Bede.*—We enter the new century at the date of Bede's ordination in the thirtieth year of his age. He loved the Latin churches and the see of Rome, to which he felt that the Saxons owed their Christianity, and his fidelity to this sentiment amounted in him wellnigh to a passion. But it was to the canonical dignity and character of the Apostolic See that he was attached. He owed it no subscription. In the year after his ordination to the presbyterate, an English council took occasion to declare that "No decree of English archbishops and bishops should ever be altered by any decrees of the Apostolic See." This was precisely the position of Dinot and the British bishops in their answer to Augustine. The greatest men of this age, and those most attached to the Latin rites and usages, re-affirmed this position two years later at a conference in Yorkshire; adding a strong defiance of any foreign power presuming to interfere with what the synods of the national Church had decreed.

Now went forth Winfrid (or Boniface) on his great mission to the Franks, and the light of England began to illuminate the world. But many things in England itself began to awaken the anxiety of Bede, who reflects upon them with prudent reserve, and says, "Time will show." Egbert, the patron of Alcuin, was now Bishop of York, and Bede complains to him of the great ignorance of the peasantry, sending him copies of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the vulgar tongue, which he entreats may be used by the clergy in teaching the people. Here was in rudiments our own Catechism begun. And, indeed, now were the seeds of a subsequent restoration planted; for, in re-

proving the corruptions of the monasteries and other evils which afterwards arose, he writes like a reformer. He was one of the greatest doctors of the age, and he met his death on Ascension day, May 25, A.D. 735, with his pen in hand, translating the Gospel of St. John into English. In the cathedral of Durham you may see his tomb and his epitaph:—

"Hic jacent in fossa
Bede Venerabilis ossa."

"Here lie 'neath these stones
Bede the Venerable's bones."

12. *Alcuin.*—It is gratifying to an Anglo-Catholic that he may identify in this epoch the first movement of the Church of England towards her present position in Christendom. Nobly had she earned her hegemony by the exceptional spirit of her history in this century so degenerate elsewhere. To her Winfrid, apostle and martyr of Saxony and the Rhineland, Charles knew that he and his Franks owed their origin as Christians. The "Low Countries" also, and their see of Utrecht, so honourably distinguished even in its decay, were the product of English missionary zeal and intrepidity. What Alexandria was at Nicea, England was at Frankfort. What Athanasius was under Constantine, that our Alcuin was under Charlemagne. The council of Frankfort was called by this great King of the Franks, without any idea of waiting for a summons from Adrian, the Roman bishop. Nor did Adrian interpose any remonstrance, even when it overruled him and nullified his obsequious and heretical consent to Irene's dogma. This all-important fact proves that the Roman patriarch was not yet a "pope." Nobody dreamed that he alone could summon councils; none held that his approbation decided doctrine, or that communion with him was the test of Catholicity. Charles conducted himself in this business, from first to last, as the imperial bishop,—the *episcopus ab extra*,—doing what Constantine had done before him. But in things spiritual Alcuin led the council, under the Holy Spirit.

This great light of the eighth century was born at York and nurtured in theology under Egbert, its learned and pious archbishop. Egbert is the link between Alcuin and Bede the Venerable, who seventy years previously had illuminated our Saxon forefathers with the sunbeams of his godliness and learning. A darker age was soon to follow; but Alcuin now did a work for England and for

Christendom which enabled the immortal Alfred, in the succeeding century, to repel in some degree, by his own piety and genius, the ignorance and barbarism to which for a time his clergy were about to succumb. Alcuin had early attracted the admiration of Charles, who, while he yet signed "his mark" and could not write his name, invited him to the Frankish court, made him the preceptor of his household, learned all that he knew of science and theology under his mastership, and made him the conscience-keeper "whom the king delighted to honour." In defeating an attempt to revive Nestorianism he became conspicuously chief at Frankfort, where for the second time he refuted the heresy of Felix, Bishop of Urgel. It is hardly to be doubted that Charles summoned the council of Frankfort at Alcuin's suggestion.

It is to be noted as concerning Frankfort: (1.) That it is an index of "the goodness and severity of God," in dealing with a degenerate Christendom. (2.) That it is a token of His fidelity in "reserving to Himself" many millions of men who "had not bowed the knee to Baal." (3.) It shows us just where the churches stood on the eve of the great disruption; how terribly the Latin churches had been diminished; how marvellously the Church of England had been raised to influence, and was permitted at this crisis to sow the seeds of her subsequent restoration, and to bear a testimony which she was destined to reclaim as her heritage for ever.

SECTION II.—THE DARK AGES.

1. *The Dark Ages distinguished from the Middle Ages*.—The Middle Ages extend from that memorable Christmas, A.D. 800, to the year 1500, when Charles-Quint was born. This period was not all dark, by any means; but what we may fairly call the Dark Ages are here included, and may justly be considered as extending from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1400; from the pontificate of Benedict IV. to that of Benedict XIII., Antipope at Avignon. You observe these convenient "dates of anchorage," and the economy of using the names of two Benedicts as terminal figures. And these names stand for facts that may well stigmatize the included period as dark. For the first Benedict marks an epoch when the crime of Nicholas, with his decretals, was bearing its natural fruit, and the see of Rome was given over to the sway of impiety the most frightful, while the other Benedict denotes the schism consequent upon the removal of the Popes to Avignon, and all the

scandals involved in one series of popes at Rome and another in France, mutually excommunicating and anathematizing one another, and what is worse, damning the unhappy people who respectively adhered to this pope or that, because in their utter bewilderment and consternation they were unable to know which of the two rivals was God's vicegerent, without communion with whom no flesh could be saved. If these ages are not justly denominated the "Dark Ages," I know not what to call them.

The predominance of the Institutions of Charlemagne is the characteristic of the Middle Ages: the Dark Ages are those in which the Institutions of Nicholas grew and overgrew the whole state of society in Western Europe, culminating in evils intolerable to the Paparchy itself.

2. *Pope Nicholas and the Decretals*.—When Charlemagne the founder of "the Holy Roman Empire" came to his end, even a temporal umpire of the West was found only at Rome, and as the East was very soon forgotten, all the spiritual power of its great patriarchs was absorbed by him. It wanted only some man of genius, alike ambitious and unscrupulous, pushing his way to the throne of Leo and Gregory, to find all things prepared for an entire revolution in Western Christendom. He had but to put his foot on the canons, to ignore the East, and to assert himself the Bishop of Bishops, to find support in the necessities of the new Empire, in those of subordinate kings, and in those of the churches, now cut off in all practical affairs from their Eastern brethren. Such a man was Nicholas (A.D. 858), and he made himself the first practical Pope.

The facts I maintain as to the formation of the Papacy are conceded by recent and by older historians of repute. But they fail to state the irresistible conclusion: there was no "pope," strictly speaking, before Nicholas. (1.) Leo the Great was not a pope when he was rebuked and overruled at Chalcedon. (2.) Agatho was not a pope when the last Ecumenical Council anathematized Honorius; when he, like his successors, accepted it. (3.) Gregory was not a pope when he called the asserter of an ecumenical bishopric a robber of the rights of all bishops, and a forerunner of Antichrist. (4.) Adrian was not a pope when Charlemagne called the Council of Frankfort, overruled his decisions, and sustained by the entire West, convicted him of heresy in accepting a false dogma from a woman and her pseudo

council. (5.) Nor, to come to the times of him who crowned Charlemagne, and made a new era for East and West on that memorable Christmas day (A.D. 800),—nor was Leo III. a pope when he pleaded before Charles as his subject and his judge; when he offered him personal “adoration”; when he lived and died his subject, and saw him, without remonstrance, exercising pontifical powers, compared with which the *Regale*, as afterwards understood by Henry VIII. or Louis XIV., shrinks to insignificance. (6.) Finally, there could be no pope while this mighty patriarchate was still nominally subject to the canons, and in full communion with the East, which knew him only as an equal.

“Since the days of Gregory I. to our time,” says one of his contemporaries, smitten with admiration for the truly imperial genius of Nicholas, “sat no high-priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to him. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign.” We have seen that Gregory, noble and pre-eminent as he was, was not a “pope”; and here we have the fact, dropping from the pen of one who knew all about intermediate Bishops of Rome, including Hadrian and Leo, that Nicholas was *something which they were not*. All writers allow that he left the Roman see something *essentially different* from what he found it. All acknowledge that he effected a revolution in the churches of the West, and carried his conduct to such a pitch towards the East that they cried out against him for arrogating to himself and his see what was *never heard of before*. For the first time the Roman Bishop made himself the *sine qua non* of all thought and action in Christendom; the centre and criterion not only of unity, but of communion with Christ Himself. As such he excommunicated the Easterns; they returned the compliment, and excommunicated him. These relations were not absolutely final, but they were never repaired by any permanent restorations. There was now a new power in the Church of Christ. The Easterns never accepted it for an hour. But it was fastened on Western Christendom, not as a theory, but as a fact. It was no more a dignity, but a despotism; not a titular papacy, but the Paparchy. There was a Pope in the West, and his power was thenceforth a reality, developing into a supremacy like God’s.

The “Pope” now existed in one who swept away antiquity, and all councils and canons which he did not fancy. The instrument by which this prodigious revolution was effected

was “the forged Decretals.” All men now acknowledge that they are forgeries, but by whomsoever made, Nicholas brought them forth, appealed to them as authentic, and proved by them that all the Bishops of Rome, from St. Peter down to him, had ruled the Church absolutely by their decrees. The age was unlearned: the Decretals were not subjected to the tests by which learning even in its elements might have refuted them. They vanished like smoke when the art of printing showed what they really were.

But all through the Middle Ages they overawed the West, kings, bishops, monks, saints and sinners alike, and this fact is the apology for St. Bernard and others, who at heart were reformers, but could not refute such testimony. For they passed into history as genuine; they became parts of the canon law; they practically abrogated all the œcumenical canons, they created the pseudo œcumenical canons and the pseudo councils that enacted them; they enabled successive pontiffs to raise their pretensions higher and higher, “deceivers” no doubt, but yet “being deceived”; they made an honest fanatic of Hildebrand, who never doubted his right to speak for God and as God, and who in the eleventh century made the name of “Pope” peculiar to himself, forbidding its application to the patriarchs of the East; and after him they made Innocent III., who turned the fanaticism of the Crusades against Christian men. In a word, they are responsible for all that has made havoc of the churches, East and West, and that perpetuates their schisms at this hour. Every one of these positions rests on irrefragable evidence; on facts not denied, but alas! not kept before men’s minds.¹

¹ It is all-important to bear in mind the unquestioning submission of the West to the Canon Law with which Gratian identified these forgeries. They knew no better. Since their exposure, however, they have been adopted and re-enacted, and made the framework of the modern “Roman Catholic Church.” This is shown in the letter of Edward Ffoulkes to Cardinal Manning.

The Decretals, out of a canonical Patriarchate and a merely titular Papacy, created the Paparchy. Thus abolishing the Catholic Constitutions, they mark Nicholas I. as the founder of the Papal System, with the “Holy Roman Empire” as its *œcumene*. It is a Western fiction and a Western schism; and Nicholas is clearly the first “Pope” in history, as we now use that term. I shall cite the Jesuits themselves in proof.

In their *Etudes Religieuses* (No. 471, p. 392), as quoted in the original French by Mr. Ffoulkes, in his Letter to Cardinal Manning, written while he was himself a Roman Catholic, they make a candid statement which I translate as follows: “The pseudo-Isidorian *reform* (that of the false Decretals) was good assuredly, for it was adopted by St.

3. *An Illustration of "Papal Survival."*—And if you ask how it comes that, after such frauds are once exposed to the scorn of the universe, the Papacy still survives and even enlarges its pretensions in our own enlightened day, the answer is sufficiently plain. Did you ever see stone masons turn an arch? They make a framework out of refuse wood, of laths and scuttlings, anything that comes to hand; a few nails suffice to hold them together; they set it in place on abutments well prepared, and then they begin to work in stone. They soon erect the arch and set the key-stone and build upon it, — a bridge, or a castle, or a tower that reaches to heaven. Then no longer any need of the framework; a beggar may kick it out and turn it into fuel to boil his soup; but—the arch remains for ages. So the Decretals have disappeared, but that arch of pride, the Papacy, stands the firmer because of all that has been built upon it. The laws and usages of Europe, the manners of nations, the superstitions of the ignorant, the piety of the devout, the diplomacy of monarchs, the thrones of empires, and empire itself, all must fall together, if the arch be suddenly destroyed. And then the arch itself is old and interesting; it is ivy-clad and green, with associations of poetry and romance. A thousand motives conspire to make men sustain it; and stand it will and must, till nations discover that truth and right are the only supports for what humanity

Nicholas in A.D. 865, and by the Eighth (*Œcumenical* (Roman or Western *Œcumené*) Council in A.D. 870. It was confirmed by the Council of Trent in A.D. 1564, and for nine centuries has been the Common Law of the Catholic Church"; i.e. the Church which ceased to be Catholic by these very acts.

Here then is the origin of the Paparchy in 865, and the foundation of the existing "*Roman Catholic Church*," so called, when, just seven hundred years after Nicholas, adopting the new creed of Pius IV. (subsequently formulated) they made these Decretals the base of another novel organization.

But let us see what the Jesuits say further. Here is their comment, recognizing the fact that Nicholas revolutionized the West, and detached it from the Catholic Constitutions. They say: "But the ancient discipline (of Nicea and the great councils) was good also, because for the eight centuries previous—the Church had known no other." Up to that day, then, even the titular "Popes" of the West had professed to be subject to the Nicene Constitutions, and to be bound to enforce and to obey them. These Jesuits add, that "the Christian world has been the dupe of a mistake for seven hundred years"; that is, the honest mistake of Gratian when he forced into the Canon Law what was originally a "premeditated lie." It took three centuries to turn it from a Papal imposture into Western Law.

Now, if the Church of England succumbed, functionally but not organically, to such an imposture for four hundred years, what is more evident than the fact that her Restoration to Catholicity was effected, under Warham, when her Convocation with such unanimity rejected the false Canons and reverted to the Nicene?

requires,—for what law and equity and order must find indispensable. So long as those old abutments of imperial despotism and popular ignorance remain, the old arch will hold. But thank God, His Providence is contriving reforms, and providing resources, against changes that must come. They are working gradually, but surely, to their glorious result; let us be faithful to duty and love truth in our generation, and leave the rest to Him who has promised, and who is Faithful and True.¹

4.—*The Decretals in Operation.*—Just when the Basilian dynasty established itself in the East, the erection of the Paparchy threw the Eastern churches out of open communion with the patriarchate of Rome. In the Orient no harm followed. The Basilian era was prosperous in proportion as it had nothing to do with the Popes.

But to confine ourselves to the Latins, we must note the significant fact that the triumph of the Decretals over the ancient Catholic Constitutions was followed by a period of unparalleled infamy in the Roman patriarchate and of consequent corruption wherever its influence was felt. Here then is a dilemma: either the work of Nicholas was a genuine and just advance of the see of Rome to the position which God designed for the development of His Church, or it was a wicked apostasy from apostolic order and organization. If it was the former,—if Nicholas had placed himself and his successors where Christ meant that they should stand,—the most blessed results should follow. But precisely the reverse is the case. The evils that were immediately bred of the new order of things,—of the system, that is, which was based on the forged decretals,—these evils were so enormous and so lasting, that even the most besotted defenders of Ultramontane Romanism give up all apologies.²

Take the epoch of the Dark Ages which I have denoted. Says an eminent Italian chronicler, "The throne of humility and chastity (i.e., the throne of St. Peter) became the object of all ambition, the recompense of all crimes, the refuge of all abominations." Even Cardinal Baronius (A.D. 1588) is forced to speak of the tenth century in such words as these: "The Holy Roman Church was as foul as could be. Harlots, superlative alike in profligacy and in

¹ Rev. xlx. 11.

² Littledale's chapter on "The Wickedness of the Local Church of Rome," may well be referred to. And see Ffoulkes's letter to Manning on this head also.

power, governed at Rome, appointed bishops, and intruded their paramours into the see of St. Peter." To escape the awful conclusions he can only invent a theory, in which De Maistre has followed him, that the Popes made by Theodora and Marozia must be discarded from the catalogue. If so, by parity of argument, thirteen Popes are to be stricken out of the succession, and so for sixty years there must have been no one legitimately in St. Peter's chair—so called. The period of these two generations Baronius thus characterizes: "Who can venture to affirm that persons thus basely intruded by prostitutes were lawful Roman pontiffs?" He says: "The canons were buried in oblivion; . . . the ancient traditions under the ban; old customs, sacred rites, and usages of election, quite abolished. Mad lust, relying on worldly power, and incited by the spur of ambition, claimed everything for its own. Christ was then in a deep sleep in the ship; . . . and what seemed worse, there were no disciples to wake Him, . . . for all were snoring. You may imagine what sort of presbyters and deacons were chosen as cardinals by these monsters." Let me mention here, that Roman cardinals were the product of this same period when "the ancient traditions were under the ban," and when "the canons were buried in oblivion." They are the creatures of a worldly court, and often are not even nominally in Holy Orders; yet they pose as "princes," and presume to direct the conduct of the most venerable bishops.

A recent writer, Dr. Littledale, has quoted Genebrard, Bishop of Aix (A.D. 1597), as most justly extending this era of infamy much further than Baronius does. According to him, it reached over a hundred and fifty years, during which, he says, "about fifty Popes have been apostatical rather than apostolical." If we reckon one hundred and sixty Popes after Nicholas, then nearly *one third* of the whole succession have been such apostates. By their own reckoning from St. Peter, nearly *one fifth* of those who have been the infallible oracles of the Most High, and communion with whom is requisite to salvation, are thus painted and described by writers of the Papal communion. No one can wonder that the effigy of Pope Joan sits portress at the gate of this Nicolaitan period. Account for the strange history as you will, it betokens the abominations of the period of which she is a landmark: it coincides with the apocalyptic prophecy, "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast."

5. *King Edgar and Dunstan*.—All this was imported into England, where Dunstan, alas! was introducing many things unknown to Bede and Alcuin. Even King Edgar, who, though not a severe moralist, was a saint if compared with the pontiffs of his time, has recorded his ties imony against them. "We see in Rome," he says, "only debauchery, licentiousness, and drunkenness; the houses of priests are the shameful abodes of harlots, and of worse than these. In the dwelling of the Pope, they gamble by day and by night. Instead of fastings and prayers, they give place to bacchanalian songs, lascivious dances, and the debauchery of Messalina." God knows how I hate even to name these things afresh; but when, in our own times, a pontiff has decreed, and made it dogma, that Popes like these were all *infallible* in setting forth the oracles of Divine truth, I ask, with sorrow of heart, "Is there not a cause?"

6. *The Latin Churches*.—But amid all these horrors, the Latin churches, in spite of the despotism that dominated them, were yet, as such, a portion of the one Holy Catholic Church, and God's Spirit lived in thousands of saints, who, as best they could, still walked with God and kept His way. Remember, there was no "Roman Catholic Church" at this period, substituting itself for the Church of the Creed and of the old Councils. Hence, these Latin churches were Catholic churches, and the Paparchy including "the Court of Rome," a mere worldly machine, was an artificial system superimposed by the Decretals, defiling them as by a leprosy, but not destroying organic life, nor yet healthful functions of grace, which were fruitful of good works.

SECTION III.—THE LATER ENGLISH PERIOD.

1. *From A.D. 800 to A.D. 1066*.—Thus we reach the epoch which closes the history of the early English period, at the memorable date of Charlemagne, A.D. 800. In that same year Egbert began his reign. He nominally was the first King of England; but we may practically reserve that title for Alfred the Great.

Between this date and the Norman invasion, A.D. 1066, which was the epoch of Hildebrand, lies the later English period, during which England itself began to be created, in its constitutions and laws, by the action of the Church. The bishops established the State, "as bees make the honeycomb"; but the State never

established the Church of England. She was the precedent condition of the State itself. In the preceding age, Ina, king of Wessex, speaks of the nascent Parliament as having concurred, in its three estates, in enacting the laws. He enumerates: "My bishops, and all my eldermen, and the *eldest witan* of my people, with a great gathering of God's servants." Such was the "Witenagemot," or assembly of the Wise.

2. *Alfred, the Head of our Race.*—Alfred revised and collected the laws of his predecessors, rejecting, with the advice and consent of his *witan*, what he could not approve, but modestly inserting nothing of his own, because "he could not foresee what might be good for such as should come after him." The incursions of the Northmen kept this great prince busy, all his days, resisting their ravages. They made a "dark age" for England; but, at all his intervals of respite, he was not less active in his literary pursuits, promoting learning, encouraging piety and study among the clergy, and with his own hands translating Holy Scriptures and good books for his people. He lived through the ninth century, and expired in the first year of the tenth. I have quoted a saying of King Edgar's about this horrible century. In his reign, Dunstan became Archbishop, and brought in many Italian monks, by whom the sorest evils were soon inflicted on the Church. The ascendancy of the Danes and the reign of Canute deserve careful study; they promoted somewhat, at a dangerous period, the influence of Rome, where the Paparchy was now growing to enormous proportions, amid not less enormous corruptions. Edward the Confessor is revered as a Saxon saint and a true Englishman; but Earl Godwin ruled the land, and his son Harold succeeded. All things had prepared the way for a new era; and, after a brief reign of forty weeks, the battle of Hastings gave the realm to William the Norman.

3. *The Anglican Church and the Papacy.*—Let us see where the Anglican Church stood on the eve of its enslavement to an alien aggression. The idea of a "Papacy" was familiarized; but it was the indefinite conception of a great Canonical Patriarchate, in the apostolic city of Rome, to which filial deference was due. It was a Papacy, but not a Paparchy. Elsewhere the Decretals had done their work more effectually, but England was Nicene, and not Roman. It was free in spirit, and, as yet, in form.

Observe that the canon of Holy Scripture, the

Creeeds, the Episcopate, were identical with those we have now. There was no doctrine of Transubstantiation; the communicant received in both kinds; there was no forced confessional. The clergy were mostly married men. The whole scholastic system of theology was non-existent. There were gross superstitions, but no false dogmas. Avoid reading into these times any ideas distinctively more modern, and bear always in mind that the Catholic Church still meant what it means in the Nicene Constitutions. It took five centuries more to produce such a monstrous conception as that of "the Roman Catholic Church,"—a local church that is claiming to be identical with the whole Church Universal.

4. *The Anglo-Norman Period.*—The new period is that of the Anglo-Normans, but it includes the century of transition, which was not complete when the Angevine dynasty came in. We shall only note the great changes it created in the Anglican Church, and the debasement of its Nicene position.

It introduced an entirely new class of ideas, for with French and Italian priests came a Latinizing process which, by and by, subjected the Anglican Church to the Roman pontiff; never so, however, as to rob it of its identity as the Church of England, or to absorb it into the Italian, or Ultramontane, system of passive subjection. The terribly sincere Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) was now carrying the assumptions of the Decretals to their logical consequences, and in him the fraudulent decrees of Nicholas reached their highest mark. Gregory endeavoured to establish a universal Paparchy. This level of culmination was maintained by the ferocious Innocent III. (A.D. 1198), and subsequently till we reach the fourteenth century under Boniface VIII., the last of those despotic pontiffs who successfully enforced the Decretals. The reaction was then begun. But it was precisely when the Hildebrandine epoch was successfully transforming the Latin churches into a system of ecclesiastical satrapies, that England was Normanized. Hildebrand sanctioned the invasion of William. His purpose and policy are evident. This remnant of the Nicene Constitutions must be absorbed. He who forced Henry, the Emperor, to kneel at his gate amid the snows of Canossa, and whose new position was marked by an edict claiming the title of "Pope" as no longer to be applied to other patriarchs or bishops, now proposed to subject England to the Paparchy.

5. *William I.*—I have not called William “the Conqueror,” for our forefathers were not conquered when Harold was overcome. It was a duel between two claimants of the English throne, neither of whom had a well-defined right. But William was the nominee of Edward the Confessor, and came in as his regular successor, swearing to maintain the laws and institutions of the English, which, with all his rude and cruel ideas, he did in many respects quite effectually. I do not wholly share the feeling of those who see in him only the brutal “Bastard” and despot. Happily, he was bred in the Gallican school of ecclesiasticism, and had imbibed some ideas from Charlemagne, as we shall soon see. What St. Louis did for France in a later age, William allowed the Church of England to do, promptly and vigorously, at this crisis. In fact, when Henry VIII. was called upon by the estates of his realm to “reassume” the ancient rights and privileges of his crown, he did little more than revive the laws of the Church and the land, as they were maintained at this time, even under the pontificate of Hildebrand. This will soon appear from the facts I shall note.

6. *The Foreign Archbishops.*—During the four Anglo-Norman reigns, there were five Archbishops of Canterbury. The first two were Italians; the other three were Frenchmen. By education and in habits of life the Italian primates were, of course, more or less Normanized; for Lanfranc and Anselm were taken from the monastery of Bec. To make way for the former, Stigand, in heart a *non-juror*, after four years, was deposed. William would not be crowned by him, but gave that honour to another. He belonged to the Anglo-Saxons, and did not fancy the invasion; but he was not, apparently, what an English primate should have been at such a moment. It is important, and very creditable to William, to note that, besides Stigand, only two or three of the Anglo-Saxon bishops were deprived.

7. *The Great Lanfranc.*—For Lanfranc I feel a tender and almost affectionate respect. He was a humble-minded, but, all the more, a great bishop. Born in Pavia, he had been nurtured in Ghibelline ideas; he was therefore, naturally, of Hincmar’s school, and accepted the traditions of Frankfort. The Decretals, it is true, had now during two centuries been transforming the Latin canons, and he no more doubted their authority than he did that of the Gospels. He was a personal friend of Hildebrand, and loved him. All the more may we wonder that he

successfully opposed that gigantic creator of pontifical despotism, and stood in the eleventh century under William I. just about where, in the sixteenth, we shall find Archbishop Warham with his convocation under Henry VIII.

Let us note some of the landmarks which Lanfranc would not suffer even Gregory (Hildebrand) to remove. Hardly had William seated himself on his throne when Gregory made his first move of aggression. William was in debt to him for encouraging his invasion, and he had invited Gregory to accept his reward. Consequently two Roman cardinals appear on the scene as Legates, and were bold enough to introduce an unprecedented assault upon Anglican liberties, summoning the bishops and clergy to a council at Winchester. Here Stigand was deposed, most uncanonically.¹ However, Lanfranc waited for no bulls from Gregory, but was duly consecrated by eight of his comp provincials, thus perpetuating the ancient succession. Nor did he wait for a pall from Rome to assume his authority as a metropolitan. Note, therefore, that even under Hildebrand no such formalities were of any account in England. Palls had been sent since Augustine’s time, but with no other apparent motive than that of patriarchal recognition. But if William had paid off Gregory in a matter which suited his own convenience, when he wanted to get rid of Stigand, he was now inclined to show himself an English king, and to resist further aggression. The papal legate, Hubert, in the name of the pontiff, demanded two things,—(1) the payment of Peter-pence, said to be in arrears, and (2) homage, as from a vassal to his suzerain. William, perhaps, did not know that Peter-pence, as such, had not been paid by former kings. Under them the tribute was paid for the support of their own English college at Rome. Nevertheless, he was willing to settle the cash account without dispute. As to the homage, he growled out a reply worthy of the bluff Harry Tudor: “Homage to thee I do not choose to do; I never promised it, nor do I find that it was ever done by my predecessors to thine.”

8. *Lanfranc, an Anglican Primate.*

Gregory had relied on Lanfranc to support this claim, and he now reproached his friend, as forgetting the feelings he had formerly professed, of devotion to him and the Roman see. If William was an English king, Lanfranc now

¹ Like Sancroft, under William III.

rose to his position as an English primate, and replied, "I am ready to yield to your commands in everything according to the canons." Here was the noteworthy difference between the *Papacy*, as interpreted by Gallicans and Anglicans, and that *Paparchy* which Gregory was trying to stretch over all the churches, but of which England as yet knew nothing. This latter could not be, even nominally, reconciled with Nicene canons. Lanfranc further said, that he had advised William to do as the Pope desired, adding, however, curtly and tartly, in the true Anglican spirit: "The reason why he utterly rejects your proposal he has himself made known to your legate orally, and to yourself by letter." This was not what the tamer of kings and superiors could put up with from an Anglican primate. Thank God, he found in Lanfranc one who would not go to Canossa. It is most important as a landmark to note the pontifical assumptions and the Anglican position at this juncture. Thus then wrote Hildebrand to Lanfranc: "Take care to make your appearance at Rome, within four months from this date. . . . Thus may you make amends for a disobedience we have so long overlooked. If these apostolic mandates are unheeded, . . . know this for certain, *you shall be severed from the grace of St. Peter*, and utterly stricken by his authority; . . . in other words, you shall be wholly suspended from your episcopal office." What happened? Here was the Paparchy (A.D. 1081), and where was Anglicanism at that date? Dean Hook tells the whole story in a line: "The Archbishop of Canterbury *did not go*, and Lanfranc was not suspended."

9. *Cypriote Autonomy*.—In other words, the Church of England was still a Nicene Church, and stood upon the ancient canons. It was just at this time that the Emperor had called a council at Brixen, in the Tyrol, which, in the spirit of Frankfort, had deposed Gregory and elected an anti-pope calling himself Clement III. Note, then, another proof that neither the Church in England, nor its primate, imagined that communion with the Pope was requisite to Catholic communion; for in this great matter Lanfranc took no pains to be in communion with Gregory, nor was he even influenced by Gregory's threat of excommunication "from the grace of Peter" to seek relief under the rival pontiff. To foreign inquiries upon the subject he returned this cool and truly English reply, as if with the Cypriote canon in his mind: "*Our Island has not yet rejected Gregory*, but

it has not decided upon tendering obedience to Clement; when both sides have been heard, we shall be better qualified to come to a resolution in the case."¹ He speaks with calm indifference, but rather as an umpire than as a subject. There are abundant proofs that, even at this date, the Anglican Church was everywhere recognized as maintaining an exceptional position, other than that of the Latin churches connected with "the Holy Roman Empire." Seventeen years later, at the Council of Bari, A.D. 1098, when Anselm's spare and modest figure was hidden from Urban II, at a humble distance from his throne, he cried out, "Anselm, father and master, where art thou?" When he very meekly advanced, the pontiff gave him a privileged seat, and added, "We include him indeed in our *œcumene*,² but as the pope of another *œcumene*." Whatever meaning he may have attached to his almost prophetic words, it is evident that he regarded him as a patriarch, and as somewhat which others were not. Lanfranc, I suppose, speaks of "our island" in that very sense: *orbis alter*, another *œcumene*, no part of the Roman Empire.

10. *Anglican Liberties Asserted*.—Under William and this great primate what were called Gallican maxims two centuries later were thus laid down as Anglican liberties:—(1.) The Carolingian position of the royal supremacy was maintained; the king, like Charles and Constantine, was *évêque au dehors*, the principle afterwards restored under Warham, and less practically reaffirmed under Louis XIV. just six hundred years from the times we are now considering. Yet fools and knaves affirm perpetually that this was an invention of Henry VIII. (2.) If two or more popes were claimants of St. Peter's throne, *the right of choosing his pope* was vested in the king. This defeats all such ideas as were formulated at Trent, or decreed by the late pontiff. (3.) When the true

¹ Under the Cypriote privilege, the Church of England maintained her autonomy till the time of Henry II., and never lost it, altogether, under the succeeding reigns. After about four hundred years of usurpation, the Cypriote Canon took lasting effect again under Henry VIII. By this canon, the eighth of Ephesus, *all insular churches* are exempt from jurisdiction of the Patriarchates. And, apart from this, the second Canon of Constantinople ordains that "churches among barbarians must be governed according to the customs prevalent with their ancestors." This meets the case of the Church of England even in the days of Theodore of Tarsus, its second founder. So also Canon XXVIII. of Chalcedon.

² "Orbis" seems here to have this significance. See William of Malmesbury (ed. Migne), p. 1493.

Pope had been thus ascertained, none of his briefs or bulls were to be published in England till approved by the king. (4.) No ecclesiastic, if summoned to Rome, should be permitted to obey without the king's permission. We have seen by Lanfranc's conduct that he may have dictated this safeguard against papal aggression. (5.) The Church of England, in council under the primate, might make no canons without the royal consent. (6.) The Anglican Church in council, with such consent, might regulate her own officers and prescribe her own liturgy. Under this ancient immunity the "Use of Salisbury" was now set forth as a model, and to this the Church of England reverted at the Restoration under Elizabeth. Note the essential identity of the Church under William I. and under the later Tudors.

11. *The Great Anselm*.—Anselm, who succeeded Lanfranc, was more of an Italian, and, though a great theologian and a holy man, he was a mischievous primate. Nobody makes more mischief than a saint at heart, who is practically wrong-headed. The new king enforced the Anglican liberties, but the primate compromised them as far as he could, though he had received his investiture from the sovereign in contempt of the Roman court. Moreover he had received his consecration from bishops not then in communion with the pontiff, whom he at the time, and the king afterward, called "the true Pope." In Anselm this is most noteworthy. When, at a later date, he compromised himself in concessions to the pontiff, the bishops and clergy of England, in the true spirit of A.D. 1530, declared that, rather than concede the temporal supremacy to the Pope, they would expel Anselm and "break off all connection with the Roman see."¹ To the Pope himself the king wrote a letter, deprecating any assumption on his part "which would drive him to the extreme measure of renouncing all intercourse with the see of Rome." It is clear that the Paparchy had not quite clutched England into its grip. For this no thanks to Anselm, who induced William Rufus to give up more than was due, in the matter of investiture, though not by any means all that Rome claimed. Still, when a Roman legate landed at Dover, to exercise legatine powers over Eng'and, arousing a universal outcry against such an unheard of papal aggression, Anselm maintained the Angli-

can liberties, and packed the legate off to Calais in summary disgrace.

12. *Intrusion of Legates*.—12th Century. After the decease of this holy man, whose mistakes were honest convictions, derived from his training and from the times in which he lived, the see was kept vacant for five years, though administered by Ralph d'Escures, Bishop of Rochester, who was then elected to the primacy, after an extraordinary contest, in A.D. 1114. We are now in the twelfth century, and this action is most significant of contempt for the popedom, for which two claimants, if not three, were struggling. The Anglican bishops would not have another Anselm; the king enabled them to choose one who was resolved to maintain the Anglican liberties. Soon after, he asserted his prerogative, and recognized Calixtus II., a Frenchman, who proved as treacherous to England as any Italian could have been. Ralph lived to crown the next Norman king, and William of Corbeuil succeeded to the primacy. A contemporary says, "Of his merits nothing can be said, for he had none." The state of Europe was frightful: Pope and Antipope, between whom all Europe was under an anathema, were now literally in arms, and one of them in person was contending as a soldier. Then came a melancholy concession. The new archbishop permitted himself to be appointed the papal legate over England and Scotland, for he was weak enough not to see that, while this seemed to place him under no legatine superior, it was placing the Church of England in new relations to the Papacy. He crowned Stephen, and was soon after succeeded by Theobald, the third abbot of Bec, who had been called to the English primacy. This primate also accepted a legatine position, thus letting into England the Paparchy by the thin end of a wedge that was destined to be driven deeper and deeper by sledge-hammers. In the next reign we shall see the consequences. The next legate, as might have been foreseen, was not the primate.

13. *Stephen, and the Code of Gratian*.—Our period includes the reign of the first Plantagenet, when the Decretalist system became dominant in England under the new code of Gratian. The reign of Stephen had been inglorious, but he sustained the principle of his predecessors, when he refused to permit his bishops to leave the kingdom on the summons of Eugenius III. to his council at Rheims. Theobald disobeyed him, and was punished; but, good man though he was, he shows what peril there is in trusting

¹ Anselm (ed. Migne), iv. 4. p. 203. See also Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. ii. p. 239.

great and sacred interests to pious imbecility. The Anglo-Norman dynasty ends in an ignominious surrender of principles which were soon found to have subjected it to all the fraudulent impositions of Nicholas. These were just now framed into the canon law by Gratian, and what were claims before were henceforth canons, overriding all that Anglicans had known by that name. The landmarks, however, had been providentially set up, and the Anglican liberties were recognized by Pope Paschal himself, when (A.D. 1118) he complained to the bishops and clergy of England of their independent spirit in the following words: "Without advising us, you determine all ecclesiastical affairs within yourselves; call councils by your own authority; without our consent give sees to bishops by translation, and suffer no appeals to be made to us." Yes, precisely so, thank God! And so stood the Anglican Church in the second half of the twelfth century, and all this she regained in the sixteenth; which proves that the Paparchy held its usurped sway over the Church of England only for four hundred years, more or less,—years in which it was never undisputed nor even unambiguously received. Leave out these four centuries, and we have fourteen of Nicene freedom, and, in good degree, of Nicene truth and purity. Which, then, is the church of our forefathers, and which the old religion?

SECTION IV.—SUBJECTION TO THE PAPACY, AND THE ELEMENTS OF RESTORATION.

1. *The Transition to Papal Subjection yet Incomplete.*—Out of Lake Leman comes the "arrowy Rhone," beautiful as light from the clear blue sky. You may have stood on the little promontory where the Arve issues forth to meet it,—a red torrent from the Alps, once the crystal of melted snows but now arrayed like a papal legate. How the purer river writhes and refuses to be tainted! how the red ruffian presses and pushes it to the wall! Still the Rhone keeps up the contest as best he may. For a time he holds his own, but, alas! the red wins, and the sapphire disappears. What is visible to the common eye is no longer the blue Rhone, but only the blood-coloured Arve. Is the nobler river lost? By no means. It becomes the Rhone again, and rolls on superbly, through the broad lands where Irenæus planted the Gospel, under the walls of Lyons and Arles, and so to the sea. Behold a parable, that illustrates the Nicene Church in England, in her original glory and in her restored identity.

We have not yet reached the point where the stream runs red, precisely. To drop the figure,—we must give a full century to the mischief done by the Norman primate who became a nominal "legate," and so let in the foreign element.¹ As yet the struggle is kept up. The Normans are pushing the English aside, and they give way little by little. Here comes the first Plantagenet.

2. *The Plantagenets.*—But it was still the Normans under another name. When Henry II. has reigned twelve years, the Norman century is complete, and so is the Transition Period. Its landmark is found in the date of the "Constitutions of Clarendon"; not their acceptance in A.D. 1163. but their arrogant rejection in behalf of the Papacy two years later. Let us see how things stand, just here.

The moment of Henry's accession is marked by an event till then without example, and never duplicated since. An Englishman is made Pope, Nicholas Breakspear his honest Saxon name, but he is known as Adrian IV. Such an event was enough to turn the head of every ambitious priest in England. What might not happen next? The son of a London merchant, who had mingled his blood with that of a Saracen wife in the veins of his boy, proved just the character to be fired by such an event. The lad was sent to Italy for his education, where he had for his tutor that Gratian who compounded the Decretals with the Canon Law. This remarkable youth had become the Primate of all England when he subscribed the Constitutions; but in two years he not only recanted, but excommunicated everybody that maintained them. But England did not recant. The Constitutions were destined to grow with her growth, and strengthen with her strength. There was in them a principle of life; they proved that native liberties died hard,—nay, were not doomed to die. The Constitutions were not pillars of the Church, but they were buttresses, and shored up her holy walls from outside. In the conflicts that followed, we cannot wholly sympathize with either party. Henry had prescribed the Constitutions, because they strengthened his powers to control the Church, under colour of the old Anglo-Saxon constitutions. Becket resisted his encroachments on the Anglican liberties; and so far so good. But he did so to transfer us, hand and foot, to the Papacy, which was now a Paparchy also, wherever the new Canon Law was received. Such was the crisis, and

¹ *Supra* §. 12.

thus the Constitutions of Clarendon become a landmark of vast significance. Feeble in themselves, they yet embodied the free principles of Frankfort and of Alcuin, capable though they were of abuse under a bad king. Enough, Becket detested them. With papal approval, he mounted the pulpit on Whit-Sunday at Vezelay, in France, and with dramatic pomp pronounced his anathemas. He read the Constitutions, and excommunicated the King's ministry who had framed them. The bells were rung backward, crosses turned upside down, and torches extinguished. King Henry was called upon to repent, or to expect a like anathema upon his own head.

3. *The Submission to Papal Subjection.*—The Hildebrandine policy had triumphed, and the Anglican Church was under the Paparchy. No need to follow out the tragedy of the personal conflict between prince and primate. Every schoolboy knows how Henry at last compassed the murder of Becket, and with what heroic fortitude he fell. Our pictured primers of history made even childhood familiar with the penitent Henry, prostrate at Becket's tomb, and flogged on his bare back by grinning monks and acolytes. No doubt he deserved it, and possibly kings were not made any worse by finding that there was a power on earth that could "lay their honour in the dust." Hence the fallacy that enables a certain class of writers to eulogize the Popes. They miss the point. The horse, to be revenged on the stag, in *Æsop* was delighted to call in a man and to submit to the saddle, while the man punished his enemy. This done, the horse was greatly obliged to his rider, and wished him farewell. But no, he was saddled for life, and stalled besides, a slave to his deliverer. So, at this period, whoever called in the Pope to punish a tyrant soon found that he had a rider on his back whose little finger was heavier than a prince's loins.

Before this long reign came to a close, one incident is a token of vitality. The primate Baldwin was arrogantly overruled by the pontiff, so sudden was his assumption of power over the metropolitan. The good primate took no notice of the aggression, but legates were sent from Rome with mandates, inhibitions, and excommunications. The parochial clergy rose to uphold their primate, and fearlessly proclaimed to their flocks that such a sentence from foreign parts had no force in England. Yet the yoke of the Decretals was upon her. Not by any action of hers, not by any defi-

nition of pontifical powers or rights, but passively, she became as the strong ass of Issachar, "couching down between two burdens,"—the burden of the Norman invaders and the far heavier pack of the papal usurpation.

4. *Two Forces in Conflict.*—Henceforth we have two organized forces in conflict, more or less, without rest, for four centuries. I cannot affect neutrality in such a quarrel. When, in all the light of what followed, I find the foreign usurpation uniformly labouring to destroy the Nicene Constitutions, the ancient liberties of the Anglican Church, the purity of the Holy Gospels, and the dearest rights of humanity in the household and in the state, I take my stand without a doubt as to the right. These conflicts are my conflicts. My forefathers fought them out in my behalf. In the long struggles of the Anglican Church I read the history of our own Church, and my spiritual and intellectual origin. I am identified with past generations, and with all who frame their thought. Here are my own antecedents. If I had lived in those times, I should have been involved in all the difficulties of my sires. I should have shared their ignorance, their honest credulity, their enslavement to the Decretals, their gross superstitions. How should I have acted? Where should I have been found? Thanks to God, I lived not then.

Here comes in room for humility, charity, and large consideration. I see three classes of characters: (1) honest, faithful men, no wiser than their age, doing their best in the gross darkness, and feeling after light; (2) men, apparently bad, and working for worldly ends to make night darker and bad worse; and (3) elect spirits, called of God to be witnesses for Him, according to their ability, and to work out deliverance for His people. Here, then, I must "judge righteous judgment," or "judge nothing before the time." I must hesitate to condemn my brother man; but I must not restrain my sympathy with all that has contributed to my precious inheritance of light and freedom, and all spiritual riches in Christ and His Gospel. I hate lies; I hate power based upon imposture; I hate the corrosions and corruptions which divested the Latin churches of their Nicene character and their ancient liberties. This is the spirit which inspires me to speak, and in sympathy with which I ask you to trace the Anglican Restoration to its sources, and to follow me thence till it is crowned, by the marked providence of God, not merely with success, but with such developments of strength

and of fruitfulness as have made our restored estate a blessing to mankind.

5. *Innocent III.—The Paparchy Established.*—After the Lion-hearted Richard comes the great crisis of the West. Lothaire had just mounted the papal throne as Innocent III. By him what Nicholas created and Hildebrand's credulity developed with logical force into Titanic proportions was rendered yet more practical, and was augmented by theological decrees more corrosive than had yet been imagined. Provincial canons were elevated into dogmas of the faith; subtleties of Aristotle, coloured by Averroes, were made the base of his new theology. Even Gregory VII. had not accepted transubstantiation, but now it was to be identified with worship and enforced as doctrine. Worse than all as an instrument of papal despotism came the torture of confession, no longer voluntary, but bound upon conscience by penalties of excommunication and the refusal of Christian burial. The "ear of Dionysius" was appropriated by a Christian pontiff, and he proclaimed it to be the ear of Him "to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid." Kings and queens, princes and peasants, must obey. Every soul in Western Christendom was now brought into personal relations with the power to which the Decretals had led them to believe all power was given. The keys of life and death, of heaven and hell, were in his hand; he could dispense the divine rewards and chastisements with arbitrary sovereignty. Western Europe was thus reduced to one great parish, in which he alone was rector; all bishops and priests were but his curates; he was universal bishop and lord paramount over the souls and bodies of men. To fulminate cruel excommunications and to lay national churches under interdict was his pastime. He assumed all the responsibility for devastating whole races when he turned the crusades against Christians, and devoured by fire and sword the unhappy Vaudois and Albigenses.¹ Under an imbecile and unprincipled king, England was now to share in the blessings of such "another gospel."

6. *King John.*—But one happy event gave things a better cast for the future. Normandy fell to the French kings; troops of Normans went to look after their estates and this foreign influence began to wane. When Charles I.

packed off "his Mounseers,"—the French priests who had tormented his life by meddling with everything in his house, from the scullery to his queen's bed-chamber,—he closed his despatch with the words, "And so the Devil go with them." I cannot adopt such language in the imperative mood; but indicatively, I think much evil went with the Normans, though, as they left King John, there was sure to be no particular need of any other personal attention to mischief-making. By strong reaction, the Anglican spirit revived; and what Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the King to illustrate his lucid intervals, began to be indeed the rising spirit of the Church and people. To the papal legate, he is made to say:—

"Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous
To charge me to an answer, as the Pope.
Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of
England

Add thus much more,—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions. . . .
Though you and all the kings of Christendom
Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,
Dreading the curse that money may buy out,
And by the merit of vile gold, dross, dust, . . .
Purchase corrupted pardon of a man,
Who in that sale sells pardon from himself,
Yet I alone, alone do me oppose
Against the Pope, and count his friends my
foes."

Shakespeare makes no mistake in putting this ambiguously into the mouth of "England," at the crisis, which, in spite of the Pope and the King together, gave us the *Magna Charta*.

7. *Archbishop Langton.*—The best thing Innocent ever did was done by mistake; for he made Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury. To do this he set aside all laws, human and divine, annulling the King's appointment and the election at Canterbury; so that this best gift to the Church of England came by one of his worst acts of iniquity. He had known Langton in Paris, where they were youths together, and hoped his old friend would prove the tool of his further aggressions. In this, happily, he was mistaken. However, for a time the mischief made head. John would not accept Langton, and the whole kingdom wakes up to a sense of its enslavement, when it finds itself subjected to a papal interdict. "As for sermons," says the witty Fuller, "laziness and ignorance had long before interdicted them; but

¹ This is shown by Michelet in a frightful note to his Introduction, (p. cxli.), where he cites his proof that Innocent accepted with enthusiasm the whole responsibility for the massacres of the Vaudois, etc.

now no prayers, no mass, no singing of service. Millions of simple souls were thus made to suffer for loss of all the means of grace; no church bells rung, church doors were shut; no sacraments could be ministered save in special cases to the dying; none could be married; none could have Christian burial. Corpses were thrown into ditches without prayers, nor could Langton's intercession for his people prevail with the pontiff to have service once a week in parish churches. Even "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," but here was the sole shepherd of Christ's sheep on earth far more cruel than they. The King had offended him: he takes from a whole unoffending people the means of salvation. For a whole year this reign of terror went on. The English nation, panic-stricken, began to feel where they were, and "from what height fallen." But Innocent had lately excommunicated the Roman Emperor, and now he absolved all subjects from allegiance to King John, excommunicated him by name, and gave to any invader, with absolution from all his sins, a licence to conquer England and make it a dependency of some foreign crown. Five years such a state of things continued, when the scenes so wonderfully dramatized by Shakespeare became history. He had received his crown on the Feast of the Ascension; and now a hermit of Yorkshire broached the terrible prophecy,

" . . . in rude harsh-sounding rhymes,
That, ere the next Ascension day at noon,
His highness should deliver up his crown."

8. *England a Fief of Rome.*—Anselm had opened the door to the next step, and Pandulph appears on the scene,—an Italian legate, as the consequence of an English one. On Ascension day, King John on his knees resigns his crown into the hands of the legate, "granting to God and the Church of Rome, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to Pope Innocent III. and his successors, the whole kingdom of England and Ireland." For five whole days Innocent was sole king of England, Pandulph holding the crown for him. Then, in consideration of immense promises of tribute, John received it back to be held by him, but only as the Pope's vassal. This was enough. The spirit of the early English revived. The barons demanded of John a restoration of Edward the Confessor's laws and the liberties of Church and State which he had sworn to observe. But when he had promised to do better, he refused of course to keep his

promise. This just suited Innocent, and so the Pope took his vassal under his protection, and sent another legate, who with bell, book, and candle excommunicated the nobility not only, but the primate himself. He was with them, and in fact at their head. The interdict had been removed; but curses and excommunications were the blessings which Rome still showered on the land.

9. *Magna Charta.*—It is amid these scenes, and under the worst of princes and the most cruel of popes, that liberty begins to reappear. Stephen Langton drafts *Magna Charta*, and its first sentence reads thus: "The Church of England shall be free." Mark that,—“the Church of England,” her identity not forfeited. Her ancient liberties are reaffirmed, and with other immortal principles of right, the primate and the barons, at Runnymede, in sight of Windsor Castle, force the wretched King to accept and confirm them. Of course he complies, and of course he retracts. The Pope sustains his vassal, and annuls the Great Charter. Just so; but all the more, it lives; it grows and strengthens; it makes *terra firma* for the English Constitution to this day; the eventual rejection of the Paparchy is involved in it, and we in America, under the common law and our own constitutions, are the inheritors of its blessings.

10 *Henry the Third.*—Henry III. accepted his crown under conditions made by John, somewhat modified indeed, but with promise of tribute. But he afterwards confirmed *Magna Charta*, and Stephen Langton made him keep his promise for a time. He tries to evade his pledges, but over and over again he is brought to book. He invites a legate into England to "reform the Church"; that is, to make it more subservient to the pontiffs. Groans and grumbings are heard, and the legate withdraws. From this reign we receive that sturdy expression of attachment to "the common law," as we now call it, *Nolumus leges Anglie mutari*. So spoke our forefathers to King and Pope alike. Even Henry remonstrates against papal exactions; but when the threats of the pontiff extort eleven thousand marks from the clergy, his avarice is satisfied for a season. Langton dies, but the great Bishop Grossetête survives to perpetuate his spirit. He exposes the fact, that foreign priests sent into English benefices by the Pope gorge themselves with church revenues more than three times as great as those of the Crown.

The Plantagenets produced two or three of the worst kings that England ever knew; but the others were all great in their several ways, and the dynasty, as such, has bequeathed inestimable blessings to our race. Under the feeble kings, the people grew strong; the nobler Plantagenets, for one reason or another, worked with the people in a long, determined resistance to the Paparchy. Thus, with momentary intermissions, was kept alive a continuous assertion of the ancient liberties, summed up in the first sentence of the charter,—“*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit.*”

11. *Two Edwards.*—In Edward the First we come back to the name of the Confessor, so dear to Anglo-Saxons, as one of themselves. And Edward himself, with all his Angevine faults, reflects in some particulars the spirit of his people. He is inclined to be more than half an Englishman. In subduing Wales and humbling Scotland, he is not merely wielding the hammer of the despotic aggressor, but is making England out of Saxons and Britons, welding all into unity, and, as the remote effect, creating Great Britain. In his day the Paparchy passes into the “privy paw” of Boniface VIII., who “came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog.” His was the memorable bull *Unam Sanctam*, which defined as “necessary to salvation that every human soul should be subject to the Pope of Rome,”—of which more by and by. He was hateful to the French king, whose creature, Clement V., consigned his memory to infamy, and strove to abolish his very name. The Lord took the affair into His own hand, and thereafter the power of the pontiffs began to decline. Boniface had found Edward too stout for him even in his pitch of pride. When he claimed Scotland as his own fief, and ordered Edward to sink his claims and withdraw his troops, the heroic sovereign disdained his pretensions. More than that, Edward’s Statute of *Mortmain*, limiting the accumulation of property by the “dead hand” of corporations, was perhaps the first practical retaliatory blow that the Paparchy felt from England. His poor son was sent to Wales to be born, and became the first Prince of Wales by this cunning stratagem: for Edward had promised the Welsh a “faultless prince, and a native of their own soil.” See the portraits of father and son in the matchless “Bard” of the poet Gray, which every student of English history should learn by heart:—

“Mark the year and mark the night
When Severn shall re-echo with affright
The shrieks of death, through Berkeley’s
roof that ring,
Shrieks of an agonizing king.”

Such the end of the second Edward’s ignominy. His reign is marked, however, by the rise of a brilliant star in the horizon of darkness, for now was born John Wiclif.

12. *The Third Edward.*—Of the papal usurpation says quaint old Thomas Fuller, “It went forward until the Statute of Mortmain. It went backward slowly when the Statute of *Provisors* was made under Edward III.; swiftly when his Statute of *Premunire* was made. It fell down when the Papacy was abolished, in the reign of Henry VIII.” Thus he refers to the times of the third Edward two of the great moves which were fatal to the Paparchy. The stout Tudor could have done nothing without them: so that the Reformation did not actually begin when he fell in love with Anne Boleyn.¹

Grossetête—but as the Normans have gone home, we will now talk English, and call him by his honest Saxon name of Greathead—was a century before his time when he exposed the enormous abuse of Papal “Provisions.” By this artifice, the Pope provided for his favourites, Italians or Frenchmen, and named them for bishoprics and the like before they fell vacant. As soon as the incumbent died, in marched the intruder and claimed the place for its revenues, neglecting souls and corrupting the clergy by bad example. Greathead protested, and strove to reassert Anglican principles of autonomy. He thus maintained the principle, and what could not be done then was practicable now. To the blow against Mortmain came next the staunch Anglo-Saxon thrust at the foreign usurper, called the “Statute of Provisors.” Three years later came the *Premunire*, forbidding appeals to Rome under heavy penalties. In temporalities, the Reformation was begun already. From an eminent English jurist² I quote as follows:—

“The nation entertained violent antipathies against the papal power. The Parliament pretended that the usurpations of the Pope were the causes of all the plagues, injuries, famine,

¹ The divorce of Queen Vashti might almost as well be made the starting-point for a history of Henry VIII. as that of Queen Katherine. But, the beaten track is still plodded over in new books, as well as in journalism.

² Stevens, editor of *De Lolme*.

and poverty of the realm, were more destructive to it than all the wars, and were the reason why it contained not a third of the inhabitants and commodities which it formerly possessed; that the taxes levied by him exceeded five times those which were paid to the King; that everything was venal in that sinful city of Rome. . . . The King was even petitioned by Parliament to employ no churchman (*i.e.* no ecclesiastic) in any office of state, and they threatened to repel by force the papal authority, which they could not, nor would, any longer endure."

The clergy had been largely involved in the papal invasions, and under kings who favoured them often sided with the pontiffs. So it had been under the former Edwards. Just now the Commons were incensed against the Pope, and the King courted his favour to balance himself against the rising spirit of popular independence. We must note all these things if we would understand how thoroughly the progress of Reformation in England was original with England; how it began and was making headway nearly two centuries before Martin Luther was heard of. In temporals, as I said, the work was begun already. Now let us observe its spiritual history.

13. *Spiritual Progress*.—"In England and by Englishmen," says an old Latin writer,¹ "the scholastic theology had its origin, made its progress, and reached its zenith." Alexander Hales (A.D. 1244) writes his "Body of School Divinity" at the command of Innocent IV. Aquinas and Bonaventure were his disciples. To him succeeds the illustrious Roger Bacon, philosopher, naturalist, and divine, whose foresight of chemistry and other sciences made him a magician in the eyes of his fellow Franciscans. The Pope shut him up in prison. John Duns Scotus comes next: truly an imperial genius, belied by his name in two ways, for Scotus means an Irishman, and *Duns* means that he was no *dunce*. The Thomists and the Scotists became two schools after his day. Baconthorpe is to be noted (A.D. 1346), because he maintained at Rome, in spite of derision and insult, the great principle that was long after to reach its practical application in England,² that "the Pope has no right to give dispensations for marriages unlawful in Scripture." Here rises up the bold figure of William Occam,³ who defended

the Emperor against the Pope, saying, "Protect me with thy sword, and I will defend thee with my words." All that was needed by the Crown of England to protect itself two centuries later, when the Paparchy was expelled, is laid down by this great divine. The armory of the Anglican Restoration was becoming formidable to Rome already. But, last of all, let me name the holy Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury in whom Alcuin seems to revive, and Bede the Venerable as well. If Pelagius was of British origin, now in this great man ample amends were made by the later Church of Britain; for he not only maintained the doctrines of grace against the Semi-Pelagianism that Rome has more recently made into dogma, but his life was an illustration of divine grace from first to last. He was the mediæval glory of the Anglican primacy, and was called the *Doctor Profundus*, from his great learning and deep thinking. Chaucer, forty years later, ranks him with Boethius and with St. Augustine.

14. *Oxford Men*.—All these were Oxford men, and all of that old Merton College which every visitor beholds with reverence as he walks in Christ-Church meadows. But it is important to note how boldly and freely they disputed on points which Rome itself had not yet presumed to crystallize into her enormous "Code of Belief," the product of her Trent Council. Thus Scotus founded the Realist, and Occam the Nominalist school; both were Franciscans. But after the great Dominican, Aquinas, who was a liberal Realist, we ordinarily find the Dominicans of that persuasion. I only note in passing, how the position which Alcuin gave to the Anglican Church was maintained by great Anglicans even in these ages. Note also how strongly the influence of English Schoolmen was exerted for a better future. Occam seems to have foreseen it; he says of his works, "By means of our preludes men of future times, zealous for truth, righteousness, and the common weal, may have their attention drawn to many truths upon these matters, which, at the present day, remain hidden from rulers, councillors, and teachers, to the common loss."

15. *Greathead*.—Observe the continuity of spiritual and truly Anglican life in the Church of England. In such an age as that of Henry III. and Innocent IV., see Greathead contending alike against prince and pontiff, not as a proud ecclesiastic like Becket, but as a spiritually-minded lover of souls, and of Christ, their

¹ Alex. Minutianus. See Fuller, ii. 250.

² There was no "divorce" of Queen Katherine properly speaking, because there was no marriage. It was a case of incest, licensed by Pope Julius for money.

³ A.D. 1327.

Saviour. He might even better have been named. Greatheart. Poet, man of letters, intrepid pastor, and defender of the faith,—conceding a Gallican primacy, but resisting pontifical supremacy,—he is the very ideal of a Catholic, as far as in his day it was possible to be. Books were rare; learning was fettered: the canon law was based on fables which none could confute. But there he stood, a figure monumental. Bulls from Rome fell harmless at his feet. The University of Oxford bore witness concerning him, after he began to be called St. Robert: "Never for the fear of any man had he forborne to do any good action which pertained to his office and duty. If the sword had been unsheathed against him, he stood prepared to die the death of a martyr." To such a man, standing up for truth and right while pontiffs were "making havoc of the Church," and while kings were surrendering England in vassalage to their remorseless grip, how much we owe under God. Truly, what the Lord said of old of "Jonadab the son of Rechab," He seems to have said for the Church of England: "She shall not want a man to stand before Me for ever."

16. *Wiclif*.—We come to Wiclif. He was the first mover for Restoration in England, who, as Occam had prophesied, saw something of the length and breadth of its meaning. To him we owe it, under God, that the Anglican Church took care of herself, as a continuous church, in continuous reforms, and made no sudden break even with Rome. To him, the Continent owes its "Reformation," so called; for it began with his pupils, and was only directed into the ditch of divisions and of failure by the perverted genius of its great but wrangling doctors. Of this by and by; but I wish you to observe that nothing can be more the reverse of truth than to begin the Reformation with Luther, and to import it into England, as if England borrowed her work from his, or modelled it after any man's ideas, or after any other standard than "Holy Scripture and ancient authors."

Now (A.D. 1362) the Norman-French ceases in the law courts. Two of the greatest men of genius that England ever knew took up the English in its elements just here, and made it into language. Chaucer created its poetry, and Wiclif its prose. Well has it been noted that in its very origin it was devoted to the Restoration, and identified with its spirit. Chaucer in the court, Wiclif in the university, and honest Piers Plowman from among the people, consecrated its earliest syllables to the revival of the Anglo-

Saxon Church; and when Wiclif had given to our race the first English Bible, he had laid the corner-stone of all that has since given us the lead in Christendom. Blessed be God for this baptism of the English tongue. From its beginnings it is wedded to Truth; and it remains, of all the languages on earth, the hardest to yoke with the tug-team of Falsehood, the most incapable of being forged to falsehood or welded with a lasting lie.

17. *The Popes of Avignon*.—Go back to Boniface VIII., and his decree that "it is necessary to every human soul to be in communion with the Bishop of Rome." This discovery was not made dogmatic by Rome itself till he formulated it,¹ and immediately the bolt fell. God reduced it to the absurd instantly, by making it for nearly a century impossible for anybody to know who or where the Bishop of Rome might be. He raised up Philip the Fair, king of France, to force the Popes out of Rome into his kingdom. Philip burned one of the bulls of Boniface, refused to recognize him as Pope, and influenced Benedict, his successor, to reverse many of his decisions. It is hard, therefore, to see how this can be reconciled with any belief in the infallibility of either pope. For nearly seventy years we have rival popes, one at Rome and another at Avignon, and nobody knows to this day, which was the true pope and which the pretender. The captivity of Avignon ended in A.D. 1377. But things grew worse again instantly; for now intervenes what is called the "Great Schism" of the Papacy, extending from Urban VI., A.D. 1378, to Nicholas V., A.D. 1447. An assortment of popes and antipopes thus divide the allegiance of the Western churches for one hundred and fifty years well-nigh. When poor Joan of Arc was asked, as a test of her orthodoxy and her inspiration, to say which was the true pope, "What!" she answered, "is there more than one?" The innocent peasant heroine did not even know her peril. According to Boniface and Pius IX., the millions who knew not where to find the infallible judge of controversies, and made mistakes in all that period, are inevitably damned. But what is a "judge of controversies" worth, when, in a controversy so vital to human souls, nobody knows where to find him? In view of this dilemma, John Wiclif made up his mind that it was not the will of Christ that "every soul should be in communion with the Bishop of Rome."

18. *Wiclif's Antecedents.*—Reflect who and what this heroic spirit was. The successor of the Schoolmen in Merton College, and the glory of the University, he knew all the scholastics could teach him, and much more besides. He was a natural philosopher and a canonist. Few knew any Greek till the next century, but he was an expert in the Latin Fathers. In A.D. 1374 he is a doctor of theology, and about fifty years of age. He had been already honoured in the University in other ways. It seems probable he had been a member of Parliament, and sustained the remonstrances of the barons and others against the Papacy. As an ardent patriot, he resisted the papal nuncio in A.D. 1372, when he came to bleed the land and the Church of England for his master. In 1374, he is sent on a diplomatic embassy to Bruges, with Sudbury, Bishop of London, and with—

“Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster.”

Thus Wiclif became a personal friend of a prince of the blood, and found him a useful protector. In the King's Jubilee year (A.D. 1376), met “the Good Parliament.” At this moment Wiclif was the pride of his countrymen and in the zenith of his influence. He soon made enemies, because he undertook the great work for which God had raised him up. Less popular he became, no doubt; but vastly more mighty with his age, and useful to his country not only, but to the human race.

19. *The First Citation.*—Wiclif was made rector of Lutterworth by gift of the King in A.D. 1374. When the Parliament of A.D. 1377 was opened, we find him summoned before Courtenay, Bishop of London, at St. Paul's. Accordingly, there he stands, like another prophet, tall and spare, in a black gown and girded about his loins. Portraits represent Alcuin in just such a costume. He wears a full beard, but his fine forehead and features are enlivened by his clear and searching eye. He is supposed to have borne a staff in his hand. The Duke of Lancaster appeared with him, and certain friars who were bachelors of divinity. He was politely offered a seat, but the Bishop of London insisted that he must stand. Old John of Gaunt fired up, and had so sharp a quarrel with Courtenay that the session was adjourned before Wiclif had uttered a word. The Lord stood by him and comforted him, no doubt; but he could only look on in mute astonishment, equally ashamed of his bishop and of his fiery protector,

who had not done him any good. Wiclif was sustained by his University, when Sudbury, his old colleague at Bruges, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was called upon by the Pope to proceed against him. Bulls came thick and fast from Gregory XI., complaining that the Anglican bishops were lukewarm. The Pope complained of Wiclif and the evils of his teaching, and added: “So far as we know, not a single effort has been made to extirpate them. . . . You English prelates, who ought to be defenders of the faith, have winked at them.” He was equally polite in his complaint to the University, and he invoked the King to bestir himself. The Mendicants had drawn up nineteen propositions from his voluminous writings, which they made “exceeding sinful,” by their way of putting it. Long afterwards the Jesuits made out one hundred and one heretical propositions from the harmless pages of the pious Jansenists; and just so any malignant spirit could extract from Massillon himself nineteen propositions to prove that he was the author of the French Revolution. Here let me say, once for all, that Wiclif was as little responsible for the Lollards as Massillon is for the Jacobins. Their founder, Peter Lollard, suffered death at Cologne two years before Wiclif was born. It would be nearly as just to attribute the Chartistists of 1848 to the influence of Canon Kingsley.

20. *Lambeth.*—The University resisted the bulls, and complained of their violation of the constitution. When Sudbury mildly replied, that he refused to lay violent hands on their doctor, and merely proposed to institute an inquiry, they acquiesced, and consented to co-operate. The offender, though not as a prisoner, was cited before the primate at Lambeth. He obeyed, and one can see him as he stands in that venerable chapel, where our first American bishops knelt to be consecrated four hundred years later. Well do I know the spot, for I was lodged within a few feet of it at the last Lambeth conference, and daily went in and out to worship there. This solemn history (and oh how much beside!) often rose before me in the dead of night, as I lay awake in what is called “the Lollard's Tower.” All London was on his side, and anon the crowd clamoured about the doors, when, to the unspeakable relief of Sudbury, came a rescript from the Queen Mother, the widow of the idolized Black Prince, for a stay of proceedings. The primate, with a gentle admonition advising him not to do so again, allowed the doctor to go back to Lutterworth.

He is said to have helped this result by modifying some of his expressions. This may have been a mere modifying of what the friars had charged. If he did more, it only proves what I have often insisted upon in behalf of the other party, and what may be urged in behalf of the good Sudbury himself, and of all earnest writers, in times of great movements, viz. : They hardly know where they stand themselves, between practical duty and theoretical views of truth.

21. *The Friars.*—When the great endowed orders became grossly corrupted, the Friars originated, with the good purpose of imitating the poverty of Christ and reviving religion among the people. Great was the good they seemed to do, when first they came into England. The Popes, who had no taste for poverty or for primitive preaching, became their enemies, and the pious Bradwardine had to defend them. He bears his unanswerable testimony to their zeal and fidelity to the souls of the masses. The parochial clergy had neglected their duty, and every Franciscan was a sort of Wesley, doing what others had failed to do. But this soon passed away. The friars came into England exempted from all control of its bishops, and able to defy the parish priests. The new system of confessions threw immense gain into their hands. Even great men were glad to confess to strolling mendicants, who passed by and could not daily stare them in the face. Hence the intense hatred between the friars and the rectors, whose canonical functions they usurped. In the end, the Popes used the friars for their own purposes, and the rectors became more decidedly anti-papal. Chaucer takes their part you remember. His portrait of the "Pardoner" is one of the most remarkable word-pictures in all poesy. His hair, yellow and hanging smooth like "a strike of flax," overspreading his shoulders; his voice small as any goat's; no beard; his wallet brim-full of pardons, "from Rome all hot." He had a bit of Our Lady's veil, and a rag of the sail of St. Peter's boat,—

"And in a glass he had a pigges bones.
And with these reliques, when that he fand
A poor person dwelling upon land,
He gat him more money in a day
Than that the parson got in months twaie.
Well could he read a lesson or a story,
But all the best he sang an offertory,
To win silver, as right well he could."

22. *Wiclif's Death and Character.*—Wiclif has been charged with beginning his reforms by at-

tacking the friars. The reverse is the case, and we can only account for it because, as identified with the parochial clergy, or meaning to be so, he was wise enough not to take up a quarrel which had become so degraded. Nevertheless, as time went on, he was forced to expose the Mendicants, and they were his envenomed assailants. A third time Wiclif was cited before his superiors to answer for himself, and on this occasion at the Chapel of the Black Friars, which has been gratuitously imagined a special token that his judges took their part. Again, however, our hero was preserved from harm; again he took his staff and trudged back to Lutterworth, to go on with his translation of the Scriptures. This great work appeared in 1382. In 1384, as he was devoutly worshipping in his parish church, on Innocents' day, and just as the consecrated host was elevated, he fell in a paralysis. On the last day of that year his spirit returned to God who gave it.

Let the great poet, who knew him well, bear his testimony to so great a benefactor of mankind, in his inimitable portrait of a good priest, in the days of Edward III. and Richard, the last Plantagenet. "A better priest there is none anywhere."

"Thus Christ his lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taught,—and first he followed it himself."

Chaucer knew the man, and draws him to the life; but one loves to believe that thus, in the darkest period of our dear mother Church, there were not a few good shepherds of the flock of Christ. It is also a tribute to others of the parochial clergy of the time.

23. *An Estimate of Wiclif's Work.*—In estimating this great doctor's work, let us first observe what he did not do. He raised no sect; he set up no school; he obeyed his bishop's citations; he turned his court influence into no private source of profit; he lived and died the faithful parish priest. Nay, he departed not from the law as it then stood in England, and while he denied the corporal presence,—I might say, *because* he had so modified its significance,—carried out conformity to the letter of the law in the ceremony of uplifting the Eucharistic Body and Blood. In all this, his testimony to restoration, not reconstruction, as his principle, is invaluable. He was no hot-headed iconoclast; he was doing God's work, as God gave him light, and he waited God's guidance as to what next. So by slow degrees, patiently, and as by one who cleanses a golden vase that has

been defiled and bruised and daubed with vulgar colours, the Anglican Restoration went on from strength to strength.

24. *His Mistakes.*—Next, as to his mistakes and errors. I grant he made many, as who does not? How could it have been otherwise, emerging from such darkness, stunned by many voices, confused by the quarrels and divisions of Schoolmen, without any help such as our day affords, and in the very nature of his task forced to review his impressions, revise his work, and to change, from time to time, his original conclusions? Let us reflect on the divisions of theologians at Constance and Basle, and, above all, at Trent, when books had been already multiplied by the press. Nay, go back to Augustine himself, to Jerome, to Tertullian, to Origen. Who shall cast the first stone? Who is perfect? Was not St. Peter himself withstood by St. Paul, "because he was to be blamed?" How could so immensely voluminous a writer, whose works came forth during a long life and in a period of transition of unexampled agitations,—how could he fail to have written many things which he himself, at the end of life, could not approve? Two things let us note: (1) some of his worst mistakes came from St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and from Aquinas himself; and (2) among his contemporaries who was so free as Wiclif from all that runs counter to the rule of Vincent and the Holy Scriptures? He no doubt regarded the Episcopate as an ecclesiastical rather than an apostolic institution. So taught the Schoolmen, to depress the bishops and exalt the Popes. Calvin himself learned Presbyterianism from Aquinas; for, stern logician that he was, he inferred that, if bishops were only the Pope's vicars, and not Christ's, they must go with the Pope. When he taught that presbyters are the highest order of divine appointment, that is just what Rome taught him. Afterwards she made this into a dogma at the Council of Trent, and in her Catechism she teaches Presbyterianism at this day.

25. *The Good Things we Inherit.*—But the great question remains, What is the positive good which we trace to him? I go back to the negatives first cited, and claim them all as an example of moderation, and humility, and godly patience, which furnish an example to all reformers, and which convict those of the Continent, whose course was widely different, of great responsibilities for the failure that ensued. He was a man of genius, as really so as Calvin or

Luther; but he raised no sect, he made no Wiclifites. We owe it largely to him that the Anglican Church follows no human lawgiver, is tied to no Schoolman, and has no "Code of Belief."¹ Enough that, with long and patient hopes of a reformed Papacy, he at last was led to the just conclusions which the Church of England reached more slowly, as to its unscriptural and uncatholic character. When to all this, without dwelling on his share in creating our language, one adds his thorough awakening of English consciences, and the stimulus he gave to intellect at such a period, it is enough to demand our homage. But far more is his due. His grand work was the translating of the Bible. Before the art of printing had multiplied books and made such work easy, he gave the Scriptures to every English Christian as his birthright. But hardly second to this was his resting the work of restoration, not on any scholastic system, but on the Holy Scriptures. He stood on the rule of Vincent, in point of fact, and he made it, as I shall yet show, the radical and glorious criterion of the Anglican Restoration, when compared with the Reformation on the Continent.

26. *A Period of Delays.*—Behold the wisdom of Providence in arresting the work just there, till the revival of learning and the deeper convictions of pious men were better prepared for its completion. Now came the Wars of the Roses, so terrible, but so necessary to what was for the common weal. Under the house of Lancaster—usurpers who strove to propitiate the pontiffs—came the infamous statute for burning heretics. It was overruled to make the

¹ Concerning "Codes of Belief," De Maistre has expatiated eloquently, as follows: "If a people possesses one of these *Codes of Belief*, we may be sure of this, that the religion of such a people is false." This he says because he imagines the *Thirty-nine Articles* to be a creed,—a code required of all men as a condition of salvation. But such is not the case, and so his maxim harms not us: but it is fatal to the creed of his own communion. For the Council of Trent has set forth the most enormous system of scholastic subtleties ever digested into a *Code* by the human mind. And all of this is professed as an article of the Faith in the Creed of Pius the Fourth, as follows: "I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the Holy Council of Trent. This true Catholic Faith, *without which no one can be saved*, I do freely confess and sincerely hold." Here we have a *Code of Belief*, indeed, such as De Maistre pronounces necessarily false. I am forced to adopt this conclusion. Not the Anglican, but the Romanist, puts a code into his creed. And think what this code involves. "without which no one can be saved." Millions who cannot write or read are forced to receive even its infinitesimal definitions, some of which not even the wisest men can understand.

Paparchy more detestable than ever. Then the clash of arms :

“Long years of havoc urge their destined course,
And through the kindred squadrons mow their way.”

Yet these were the years when men had time to reflect as well as to fight, and to ask what they were contending for. Dean Hook observes sagaciously of Richard III., that “he had not observed the signs of the times, nor perceived how the spirit of the age was changed. Christianity even in its corruption had been silently doing its work. War was no longer regarded as the only honourable employment, and the hearts of men were softened.” Womanhood, too, as he observes, was assuming a new place in society. In short, the Holy Scriptures had begun to be read and loved.

27. *Our Great Benefactors.*—According to the ennobling principles I am now illustrating, we should be just as truly in sympathy with the Anglican Church of those days as of our own times. We take our stand, it is true, with the progressive churchmen of those days,—with their patient reforms, as well as with their bolder conflicts with evil. With Wykeham, that far-seeing spirit of Edward the Third’s day, we may rejoice to claim kindred. This great architect, as founder of schools and colleges, was undermining the monasteries, which had become an anachronism. To him succeed Waynflete and Fox,—the latter in a notable instance illustrating my point under the first Tudor. When he thought of founding a monastery one of his brother bishops remonstrated : “Why build and provide for housing monks, whose end and fall we may live to see? . . . Provide for the increase of learning, and for such (men) as shall do good to the Church and the commonwealth.” Fox became the founder of schools accordingly, and especially of that college in Oxford which produced the very model of such men as had been described, the judicious Hooker. Of this sort were not a few when Erasmus came to Oxford to study Greek. Let me name with special reverence Dean Colet, who founded St. Paul’s school in London. Surely, the better day was already begun. With the reign of Henry VII. we cannot now concern ourselves; but in him the old Britons come again to power. Gray’s genius seizes on their Welsh name, and welcomes the Tudors as the ancient race coming to their own again :—

“All hail, ye genuine kings, Britannias issue,
hail !”

God had indeed a work for them to do, worthy of Gladys and of Linus; and whether they willed it or not, He made them instruments of the greatest blessings to our race, overruling their very crimes for the good of His Church and for mankind.

28. *The “Cinque-Cento,” — 15th Century.* — We magnify the *Cinque-Cento*, and use this term with reference to the fine arts too exclusively. I borrow this convenient term for the age that brought with it the elements of all we now enjoy, in letters and arts, in civilization, in freedom, in the restoration of truth to the nations, and in a genuine Reformation to our English forefathers.

At the opening of this age, we find John Huss confessor to the Queen of Bohemia. Note that; and this also : the infamous statute for burning heretics is enacted in England, under which Sawtré perishes as a Wiclifite. Jerome of Prague is studying in Oxford. Tamerlane enters Bagdad and Damascus, and prepares to invade Asia Minor. In A.D. 1409, there are not less than three Popes, cursing and excommunicating one another, and men in nations for their respective adhesions. In A.D. 1412, Huss burns a papal indulgence, and he and Jerome denounce the traffic in such things. This was a century before Luther imitated them. Shortly after, Huss himself is burned at Constance, and Sigismund earns infamy by betraying him. The Council of Constance revives the traditions of Frankfort, and deposes the Pope. It has its glory and its shame. It burned Jerome of Prague after Huss, and ordered Wiclif’s bones to be cremated and scattered. This Council closes in A.D. 1418. We soon reach the romantic episode of Joan of Arc; the Papal schism is closed by the heroic action of the Council of Basle, which continues the traditions of Frankfort, and deposes another Pope.

And here we may turn to the more gratifying field of Art and Literature. We have seen that in England the death of Chaucer marks the limit of a long period of night watches. To him and to Wiclif, who greeted the day dawn, and reflected it as from mountain tops, we owe the English language and the glorious beginnings of its literature, in prose and poetry.

But the glory and the shame of the century remains to be told. Providentially the art of printing and all the progress of the age circle round its noontide; a crisis which proved a

blessing to mankind, as it created the revival of learning and insured the reformation of religion, the exposure of the Decretalist and other Papal frauds, the study of Holy Scripture in the originals, the abasement of the Papacy, the advance of freedom and of constitutional law, and the illumination of the world. Again the Gospel came forth from the East. All these blessings were wrought out of an evil, in itself most disgraceful and menacing to Christendom: the fall of Constantinople in A.D. 1453, and the planting of that cancer in the breast of civilization, the unspeakably abominable Turkey in Europe.

29. *Light out of Darkness.*—The Greeks were driven out of their capital, but they brought learning to Florence and to Rome. Now were the Greek Scriptures read once more, and the Fathers began to be printed and studied. Luther's great gift of the Bible to Germany must rank as second to the restoration of the Greek Testament by Erasmus. Aristotle's alloy in Christian theology began to be deprecated, as Plato began to be loved. The Greeks who had fled to Italy before the downfall had enabled Nicholas V. to found the Vatican Library, and now libraries began to be multiplied. It was well; for, as the century came to its end, the Papacy had returned to its vomit and to its wallowing in the mire. The age of Theodosia and Marozia was revived again under the infamous Borgia (Alexauder VI.), and Rome continued to be the hot-bed of ecclesiastical crime and debauchery, when a young Augustinian monk came, and saw, and went away to conquer. Michael Angelo was painting the Sistine Chapel with a parable which the Papal Court was too stupid to comprehend. He wrote *Tekel* on their walls, and reminded them that prophets and sibyls alike foretold the Last Judgment. He portrayed its awful menace before their eyes, and scrupled not to put popes and cardinals among the damned. Some whined when they saw their own portraits in the terrible caricature, but they were too torpid to comprehend the length and breadth of such a prophecy. A day of retribution was close at hand. God was arising to shake terribly the earth.

SECTION V.—THE DAWN OF FREEDOM FROM PAPAL TYRANNY.

1. *The Epoch of Wolsey.*—Where Wiclif left the spiritual work we find the whole Anglican Church ready to take it up and complete it in Queen Elizabeth's day. The first prayer-book

of Edward VI. would better attest where he stood. Not till then was the Church of England reformed theologically. What happened under Henry VIII. was merely the reassertion of those temporal rights and liberties of which Rome had divested our forefathers. Certain modifications of existing practices and doctrines were indeed attempted, but they amounted to little more than Rome herself has had to tolerate ever since the Council of Trent. Henry himself never ceased to burn those whom Rome accounted heretics. His laws would have sent to the stake every Anglican bishop, priest, and deacon who accepts the Anglican prayer-book. Whatever he was, he was bred in Rome's school; his life was fashioned after that of princes most in her favour; and if he was not a better man than he should be, which of the Popes, his contemporaries, set him a better example? His character I abhor; for it reflected all that Rome had been doing for the corruption of princes for centuries. All that we have to do with him is to note that his quarrel with the Pope reversed the policy of the kings of England, who, since the Plantagenets, had favoured the Paparchy. Not one of them had possessed a strictly legitimate claim to the crown, and they needed the support of Rome to prop up their thrones. Now came one who, whatever his faults, was the most resolute and courageous prince in Christendom. It is of no consequence to our case whether he was right or wrong in his personal quarrel. A conflict arose which, after years of patient waiting, enabled his people and the Church in her convocations to call upon him to "re-ume" what the Plantagenets had so often asserted, what even under "the Roses" and the first Tudor the Church had not suffered to be forgotten, and what Henry now enforced by an appeal to the actual law in the old statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire*. By these, the legatine position of Wolsey and others was shown to have been illegal and void from the beginning; and basely as Henry may have treated the Cardinal, whom he tempted into his false position, the crisis had come when the Church had to speak out or perish. Cruel as were the circumstances, her voice came in terrible earnest,—the old refrain, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*,—We will not let our laws be changed.

2. *Restored Rights.*—As for Wolsey, how beautifully Shakespeare has summed up his good and bad, putting it into the mouth of such a "chronicler as Griffin"! Let us hear what a modern

Roman Catholic thinks of him. Mr. Pugin says that he was "a greater instrument in producing the English schism than the arch-heretic Cranmer himself. . . . By his vexatious exercise of his legatine power, he caused the spiritual authority of the Roman pontiff to become an odious and intolerable burden; by dissolving religious houses, he paved the way for the destruction of every great religious establishment." Pugin might have added, that, by persecuting the married clergy, while he himself was raising illegitimate children, he faithfully represented the contemporary Popes, and so made even Henry look respectable. But let us note what that Bluebeard really permitted the Church to do. It is often stupidly said that Henry made himself "Head of the Church," refusing to give that dignity any longer to the Pope. The facts are, that he did nothing of the kind. He asserted the old temporal headship which Adrian had recognized in Charlemagne and the Nicene Fathers in Constantine; nothing but what Gregory the Great had recognized in the miserable Phocas; nothing but what the Popes long afterwards allowed the Gallicans to recognize in Louis XIV.; nothing but what, though just then eclipsed by legatine assumptions, had been steadily kept up and maintained down to these very times by the law of the land. Again, this headship or "supremacy," was never the Pope's, for his supremacy had never been recognized in any way, theologically or legally. It was still maintained that Christ was the only Supreme Head of the Church, and nothing but temporalities admitted of any earthly supremacy. Accordingly, the headship of Henry was limited when the whole convocation voted as follows (*nemine contradicente*): "Of the English Church and clergy, we recognize his Majesty as the singular protector and only supreme governor, and so far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head." How far was that? No further than had been conceded to Constantine as *episcopus ab extra*. The unreformed Henry and his daughter Mary used this form; but when we come to Elizabeth and to the theological restoration, she herself objected to its ambiguity. It then received its true interpretation in the only form that has been lawful for three centuries: the English sovereign is simply styled "supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil." And this was precisely what, during the entire Paparchy, the English kings had always legally claimed and been able to de-

fend against Rome by laws of Church and State.

3. *The First Step to Restoration.*—And here let us recall the fact, that all this was done by the unreformed Church of England. Henry was himself as much a Papist as the late Victor Emmanuel. But he and many divines had fallen back on the old idea of a papal primacy, under the ancient canons, and were determined to restrict the Pope to what he had been before the days of Nicholas. So utterly undefined, indeed, had the *chimera* been through all the Middle Ages, that there was now room for all manner of theories as to what the Pope should be. They who restored the King's rights to govern his own kingdom without foreign meddling differed widely as to the position to which the Papacy was now replaced; but Gardiner and Bonner themselves voted for this measure. The Paparchy was at an end, but nobody yet dreamed of detachment from the Papacy. And all this was done under Archbishop Warham, who died in full communion with Rome. To quote a recent writer, himself of that communion: ¹—

"It was done in a solemn convocation, a reverend array of bishops, abbots, and dignitaries, in orphreyed copes and jewelled mitres. Every great cathedral, every diocese, every abbey, was duly represented in that important synod. . . . One venerable prelate (Fisher) protests; his remonstrance is unsupported by his colleagues, and he is speedily brought to trial and execution. Ignorantly do we charge this on the Protestant system, which was not even broached at this time. His accusers, judges, jury, his executioner—all Catholics; the bells are ringing for mass as he ascends the scaffold."

This is all true. I venerate old Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More no less. They would have abhorred the late Vatican Council: they believed in a theoretical papacy, and they were never "Roman Catholics."

4. *Another Step.*—The second step, less noted, was a bold stand made by the convocation, under lead of the bishops, for limiting the royal power over their convocations. It ended in compromise, but was a landmark of what the Church understood as her inherent rights, and could not surrender voluntarily. So far under Warham. The next step, however, rose to the position of Frankfort and of Constance as that to which the Papacy was put back. In A.D. 1534, "the old doctrine was affirmed that a general council represented the Church, and

¹ Mr. Pugin.

was above the Pope and all bishops, the Bishop of Rome having had no greater jurisdiction given him by God, in the Holy Scriptures, within this realm of England, than any other foreign bishop." Cranmer was now primate, and this was progress to full Cypriote independence and to Nicene ideas of the "ancient customs" which ought to prevail. Mark also, all this was done by the Church. No act of Parliament had touched the matter. The "act of Parliament religion" was first seen under Pole and Queen Mary.

When it pleased God to summon King Henry to His own judgment, we must observe how his case was regarded by others. In France, it must have been felt that he had simply carried out Gallican principles to an unprecedented extent; yet without any scruple, and in contempt of Rome, a mass for his pious soul was performed with all ceremony at Notre Dame, in Paris, by order of Francis the First. How things stood before the later sessions of the Council of Trent, in the minds of men of the time, is evidenced by this striking fact. It had hardly opened its work, of seventeen years, when Henry died.

5 *The Sequel.*—In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the theological reformation was undertaken, and too hastily pressed forward. It pleased God to arrest it just when it might have been imperilled by influences from the Continent, and blessings came in disguise to England when the pious and princely youth passed away. It remained for the short-lived reaction under Mary to give England once more a taste of papal usurpation, and the fires of Smithfield and of Oxford burnt out of the souls of Englishmen the last traces of any lingering fealty to the Roman see. Once more a papal legate entered England, and an act of Parliament overruled the deliberate action of the Church. The legate was only a deacon,¹ yet he assumed by papal authority to grant absolution, and that not only from papal censures, but from sins! Thus, a deacon presumed to absolve a whole house of bishops and their priests! Queen Mary adopted and used her father's title of "Head of the Church." In her reign, nothing seems to have been done canonically, if we judge by ancient usages; but

Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury by the royal mandate, which was a confession of her supremacy, and that of her father, too, as Catholic and lawful.

6. *The "Bloody" Queen.*—Poor Mary! She will ever be remembered as "the Bloody," yet the blood clings to the skirts of the legate rather than to hers. To him, and to her Spaniard husband, the infamous Don Philip, we must trace the martyrdoms; they reek of Alva's spirit, and of Torquemada's. Vain is the attempt to balance them by Calvin's cruelty to Servetus,—a holocaust by a kid!² Widely different were the dynastic barbarities of Henry and Elizabeth; the sufferers under the Queen were traitors and assassins, who would have made a St. Bartholomew's massacre in England if they could. Hundreds perished in Mary's reign for offences technically political; but over and above these, hundreds of her victims were martyrs. We except the saintliest of them all, that lovely child of seventeen, the charming, the brilliant Lady Jane. Innocent and holy, she died for treason,—not hers but her father's. The martyrs were "five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four skilled artisans, one hundred husbandmen, and twenty-six women." Not a Calvinist in the world but blushes when Servetus is mentioned, not a Puritan but avenges the Quakers, not an Anglican who does not abhor the cruelties of Elizabeth; but Rome glories in the rivers of blood with which she has flooded the nations. She has painted the Paris massacre at the very doors of her pontiff's private chapel as a triumph of the Church; she sung *Te Deums* and struck medals for the slaughter of the Huguenots. Rome never repents.

7. *The Martyrs.*—Thank God, since He willed it so, that the Anglican restorers died not in

¹ It is surprising that such an act, by a person in *denon's* orders only, has not excited more remark on the gross ideas about absolution prevailing in the Roman Court. The deacon's functions are "non-sacerdotal;" yet, when put into the College of Cardinals and made a legate, the bishops and all orders of a nation kneel before him for sacramental absolution. The Marian schism exhibits nothing Catholic.

² The impertinence of quoting this shameful act against Calvin, as if it balanced the sweeping off of nations by Innocent III. and the wholesale blood-shedding of Alva, ought to be apparent to common sense. Yet, under colour of the false liberality of our times, how constantly we find journalists and others remarking that, if Rome persecuted, so did the Calvinists and others. In a few detestable instances, such facts, it is true, disgrace the Reformation, and our Restoration also. But (1) they were exceptional and not systematic; (2) they were the lingering results of cruel laws, which we owe to the pontiffs and to the kings who sustained their persecutions; (3) and they have been repented of, abjured, and abhorred universally. But the Roman persecutions were as vast as those of the Caliphs; were accepted and glorified as triumphs of the Church; and they have never been disclaimed, but, on the contrary, are justified to this day, and the right to renew them is asserted by modern pontiffs.

their beds, but like Polycarp, at the stake ! Five bishops sealed their witness with their blood, and breathed out their spirits confessing Truth in the flames. To them we owe, under God, all our blessings of freedom in the state, not less than in religion. We are free to breathe, and speak, and write, and cherish our home, and worship God amid luxuries of devotion, because they counted not their lives dear to them. Not without faults and frailties ; they themselves had persecuted perhaps ; but in times of unparalleled trial they came to a triumphant end. When they advised others to fly for their lives, they heroically stood by the ship. I should as soon think of reproaching St. Peter for his fall, as Cranmer for his momentary fright. How memorable his confession in St. Mary's ! how unflinching the hand he laid upon the flames in the High Street of Oxford ! There honest Hugh Latimer, with the faithful Ridley, had lighted the candle that shall never cease to illuminate our race. How gloriously they preached Christ out of their pulpit of fagots ! Those sermons were eloquent beyond rhetoric : they shall never cease to thrill the hearts of Christian men, good and true like them. Nor let poor Hooper be forgotten,—a doubting Didymus in some lesser things, but a true confessor at the last, and a hero, confessing Christ in the fire amid his agonizing and praying flock at Gloucester. Much more may we praise the intrepid Ferrar at Caermarthen. Wales had historic claims to this glory, and the Romanized bishop that burned him was the namesake of Pelagius, her only historic shame. But to Ridley, so far as man can judge, belongs the more graceful palm and the more starry crown. To this great spirit we owe what was best and deepest in the fruits of Cranmer's learning. He restored the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, the doctrine of Ratramn, and the ancient doctrine of the Anglican Church, as testified in the Saxon homily of Ælfric. That doctrine is the corner-stone of liturgic science, and qualifies all worship. Hence, to this profound divine and holy martyr I ascribe more than to any other our incomparable Book of Common Prayer, the first book of Edward the Sixth, so called, reproduced in our American Liturgy. Who can estimate its value ? It came forth with the Bishops' Bible,—next to the Bible the greatest boon to our race. In these gifts the Restoration was already complete, in all that was of its essence. The Marian martyrs sealed it with their blood. Like a precious coffer of gold, subjected

to the furnace to purify the last remnant of its dross, the Church of Linus and of Gladys,¹ of Alcuin and of Alfred, came forth from the fiery heat restored to its virgin beauty, a " vessel of honour, fit for the Master's use."

SECTION VI.—PRIMITIVE TRUTH REGAINED IN THE REFORMATION.

1. *The Accession of Elizabeth.*—The Restoration was complete when Elizabeth succeeded Mary. Complete, not finished. Nothing which the Anglican Church has ever regarded as essential to her restored condition was wanting when King Edward died. Her " Articles of Religion " are not a " Code of Belief," nor have they ever been made terms of communion to her children, or when she has offered her maternal breast to strangers. To us in America she granted the episcopate and full communion, with no stipulation whatever as to the Articles ; nor did we ourselves adopt them till the first year of this century. We were without them for twenty years. I am not undervaluing them ; they require no apology ; they are Catholic doctrine ; but as they are popularly represented they are quite another thing.

2. *The Marian Schism.*—The reign of Mary was, of itself, a very important stage in the process of clinching and securing the work that had been done. The legatine intrusion of the deacon, Cardinal Pole, and the undoing by Act of Parliament of what the Church of England had done in synod, was a schism. God is wiser than men. To revise results and to secure them, and once for all to make the heart of England ready to ratify the rejection of the Papacy, no process could have been more effectual than this experiment of reversal. This reign wrought the casting out of devils. It was the last assault of papal usurpation,—the expiring convulsion of the Paparchy in the Church of our forefathers. Poor Mary and her kinsman and primate almost at the same hour gave back to God their kindred spirits :

" Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.

Close up their eyes and draw the curtain close ;

And let us all to meditation."

Like Cardinal Beaufort, in Shakespeare's inimitable portrayal, so perished the delusion of the

¹ Concerning Linus and Gladys, see " Ante-Nicene Fathers," vol. iii. Elucid, ii. p. 108, and the references there : also, viii. p. 641 : and, for a very interesting summary, Lewin's " Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. pp. 394—397.

Decretals in England. Her Church stood, once more, on the old foundations; her metropolitan throne rested on its canonical foothold, the Cypriote Constitution,¹ and the "ancient usages" of Nicæa. Her lawful episcopate survived in full measure; in England sufficiently, in Ireland more largely. How marked the providence that left the Primacy vacant at this solemn moment! It was wisely and opportunely filled by the consecration of the godly and well-learned Matthew Parker.

3. *The Restored Autonomy.*—Go back to our own history, after our episcopate was established, for an illustration of the case as it stood with the new primate. We had a prayer-book to revise; a theological framework to arrange for the education and guidance of the clergy, and many minor matters to set in order by provincial constitutions and canons. None other was the actual situation in England at this crisis. The Second Prayer-Book of Edward had hardly been in use when the Marian schism intervened. Revision and completion were the first requisites. The creeds were an all-sufficient theological base, but they had been so overlaid by scholasticism and by pontifical decrees, that a reform of the received system was necessary. In Henry's time, and subsequently, conflicting experiments had been tried, but they were experiments only. The "Bishops' Bible" was the one all-important and munificent bequest of that transitional reign. It is a monument of the Biblical character imparted to our reforms by Wiclif himself. The Germans, who have only lately awakened to their own obligations to our great Reformer, accuse him truthfully with not understanding "Justification by Faith"; that is, of course, as they understand it. But what they esteem a defect is indeed his glory. The Scriptures, with "reason and authority" for their interpreters, were made by Wiclif the corner stone of Anglican Restoration. The Reformers of the Continent risked all on Scholastic subtleties, beginning with Luther's maxim

that "Justification," as he defined it, is "the criterion of a standing or falling church." The consequences are significant as they are immense. A Scriptural reformation was Catholic Restoration; the Scholastic reformation could only end in ecclesiastical suicide, and in the evolution of endless divisions and conflicting sects.

4. *The Articles.*—But, at such a moment, when the Latin churches were committing themselves more and more inextricably to school doctrines which had been enlarged and shaped into dogmas and unlimited refinements upon the Faith, and when the Protestant Reformation was given over to like speculations, as yet indeterminate and embroiling its leaders one with another, it was impossible that Scholasticism should not be at work among the profoundly learned and thoughtful scholars and divines of England. When we look at the case as it thus stood under Parker, we may wonder, indeed, at the issue. Revising the draught of Cranmer and Ridley, and reducing their Articles to *thirty-nine*, he gave us, substantially, what we still retain. What are they? Not a "Code of Belief," in any sense, though they include the Creed and the definitions of the Œcumenical Councils. A correction of school doctrine, by Scripture and antiquity, is found in twenty-six articles beginning with the ninth. Viewed apart from these, they amount to a *rejection of Scholasticism* as a system, and a strict limitation of Scholastic teaching to certain theses. The age was rife with Scholastic discussions. It was impossible that Anglican divines should have no opinions about them. Their public teaching, however, was hereby restrained in a practical manner, within certain bounds, allowing freedom of inquiry and of thought, but setting metes and safeguards to controversy. In this view, I admire the Articles. They practically eliminated Scholasticism from the domain of conscience and made us free, as Truth only can. After the debates of a century, in which they furnished an escape-valve for the spirit of disputation, it was left for our great theologian, Bishop Bull, to secure what Hooker had promoted, a practical end of controversy. In his "Defence of the Nicene Creed," he illustrated our Catholic position so admirably as to win the homage of Bossuet and the whole Gallican Episcopate. In his "Harmonia Apostolica," he refuted the Lutheran and Calvinistic theories, and placed the exposition of our Articles upon a sure foundation. The famous Seventeenth Article ignores the crucial point of Calvinism and Ar-

¹ Under the Cypriote privilege, the Church of England maintained her autonomy till the time of Henry II., and never lost it, altogether, under the succeeding reigns. After about four hundred years of usurpation, the Cypriote Canon took lasting effect again under Henry VIII. By this canon, the eighth of Ephesus, *all insular churches* are exempt from jurisdiction of the Patriarchates. And, apart from this, the second Canon of Constantinople ordains that "churches among barbarians must be governed according to the customs prevalent with their ancestors." This meets the case of the Church of England even in the days of Theodore of Tarsus, its second founder. So also Canon XXVIII. of Chalcedon.

minianism alike, and leaves the outline of truth indeterminate as to causation. This enables all Scriptural minds to accept it. As diversions and gymnastical exercises, the old discussions will never wholly die out; they exist in the nature and the moral faculties of the human mind. But they no longer ensnare or enslave men's consciences. The results fully justify the wisdom and purpose of the Articles; nor, so long as St. Augustine is remembered and studied, can they ever cease to be useful.

5 *Their Catholic Core.*—In the Sixth Article is embodied the great Nicene principle of our Restoration; and in the Thirty-fourth, to say nothing of others, we have the pith and marrow of the Vincentian Rule practically applied. The Sixth I must quote in full. It is on "The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," as follows:—

"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

This golden Article merely imitates the great Councils, putting the Scriptures on a throne in the midst of the Church, as the oracle of Christ's infallible Vicar, the Holy Ghost. It was accompanied by the golden canon which affirms Vincent's rule, and restricts preachers to the word of God, and what "the Catholic Fathers and old bishops have gathered from its teaching."

6. *The Formation of the Trentine Church.*—Thus the English Church was restored before "the Roman Catholic Church" was in existence. I must thank the French *savant*, Quinet, for a suggestive statement of facts which demonstrate what professed historians have too generally overlooked. The spirit which Constance and Basle had striven to eliminate was made at Trent, as he says, "the very Constitution of the Church." In other words, Trent created a new Constitution, organizing what remained of the Latin churches into a Western spiritual and temporal empire,—a provincial church claiming to be the whole Church. Quinet observes, that "the artifice consisted in making this change without anywhere speaking of it. . . . From that moment Popedom usurps all Christendom."

He notes how craftily all the notes of the old (Ecumenical Councils were got rid of. The East and the North were almost equally want-

ing;—Italian prelates, one hundred and eighty-seven; only two German bishops; Spaniards, thirty-two; Frenchmen, twenty-six; and the voting changed from Churches to individuals, a vote for every member of the Council personally, so that the Italian bishops swallowed up all the rest. The French were so ill-treated that their ambassadors left the Council. The Spanish bishops were virtually driven out. "*Exeant, Let them go,*" shouted the Italians. "*Laynez, the Jesuit, became the soul of the Council, and, reaction against the North prevailing over every other idea, the organization of the Church assumed a new form.*" In other words, the modern "Roman Catholic Church"—a gigantic sect, but a sect only—was thus created. It emerged from that portentous conventicle of seventeen years' duration with only a vestige left of the Latin churches, as such. They had been absorbed, or rather they were caged in the iron framework of a new and anomalous union. France, refusing the discipline and accepting only the new creed subject to Gallican interpretations, preserved the Gallican "name to live," while doomed to die. And so a new church emerged from the Trent caldron, (1) with a new Canon of Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha, as equal with the Prophets; (2) a new Creed, that of Pius IV.; (3) a new "Code of Belief," necessary to salvation, embracing all the interminable definitions of the Trent Council; (4) a new system of church polity, in which a presbyterian theory of the ministry is made dogmatic,¹ and the Episcopate is no longer recognized as one of the Holy Orders; (5) a new main-spring of vitality, wholly sectarian in its character, namely, the consolidation of the Society of Jesuits with the new Constitution, in such manner as to make their General its practical lord and master, and the Pope himself only the mouthpiece of their decisions and decrees.² From absorption into this sect, and all the ruin and debasement which have followed in every

¹ The Schoolmen, writing down the bishops to write up the Pope, (see Aquinas, *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 1055 *et seq.*, ed. Migne, and Peter Lombard, tom. i. p. 394,) seized upon some passionate expressions of Jerome, which appear to have been copied by Augustine, and theorized, against all antiquity, that the Episcopate, though an order in the hierarchy, was not of itself one of the Holy Orders. The bishop was only a presbyter acting in a given place as a vicar of the one Universal Bishop at Rome. Calvin, educated in Scholasticism, shared this view, and accordingly, in rejecting the Papacy, he supposed the Episcopate must go with it. Yet he deeply felt the value of the *primitive Episcopacy*, and professed himself in favour of it, if only it might be had. See his *Institutes*, *Opp.*, vol. viii., ed. Amstelod., 1667, p. 60.

² Viz.: "The Power behind the Pope."—*Ed.*

nation that has accepted it, the Nicene Church of England was saved as "a brand plucked from the burning." Such was "the arrow of the Lord's deliverance," when Queen Mary died, and Don Philip went to found the Inquisition and prosecute his cruelties in Spain and the Low Countries. These he had designed for England when, by the Divine Providence, Parker became Metropolitan, exclaiming, "Lord, into what times hast Thou brought me?"

7. *Retrospect.*—Let me now go back to events from which all this came forth, and see whether Germany and Northern Europe owe not all their troubles to half-way measures, and to their blind refusal to proceed as England did in the line of Restoration. Let us note how, by refusing to hear the voice of Wiclif, they incurred the revolutions of Luther and the despotism of Laynez. Wiclif's light had not been hidden under a bushel: it began to illuminate Europe before he died. The Universities of Europe were a great exchange for the commerce of learning and of thought. From the Moldau young scholars came to the Isis; Oxford and Prague were in close relations in Wiclif's day, and when Anne of Luxembourg, "the good Queen Anne," arrived in England to marry King Richard, she was attended by a retinue of learned youth and accomplished men. These found Wiclif and his doctrines the talk of the Court, the Church, and the Universities. The "great Evangelical Doctor" had just published his Bible, and manuscript copies were multiplied. It is known that Queen Anne herself became a Bible reader, and a lover of Wiclif's name and person. She survived him for ten years, and on her death her attendants returned to Prague with Wiclif's books, and impressed with his great idea of giving free circulation to the Holy Scriptures. In A.D. 1397 came back from Oxford that brilliant youth, Jerome of Prague, a Bohemian knight. He brought with him books and parchments, copied by his own hand from Wiclif's writings. He showed them to John Huss, destined to be the Wiclif of Bohemia; but he was no Wiclif then. After reading one of the proscribed books, he advised Jerome to burn it, or to toss it into the Moldau. But from that moment the study of the Evangelical Doctor became more general, and it electrified Bohemia. The century of discovery and invention opened with this movement.

Happy had it been for Germany and for Bohemia too had these master-spirits been allowed to open and control the Continental Reforma-

tion. It would then have proceeded, probably, as in England, upon the lines of Restoration; for these illustrious men were Catholics, not sectarians, and to the last they prompted no subversive measures. I love them as Anglicans at heart; by which I mean true Catholics, who would have guided their fellow Catholics of Europe into the paths of Nicene revival and orthodoxy. But just here things took a decisive turn in another direction. The justly celebrated Gerson, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Paris, eminent for his learning and his piety, gained the control of the reforming demands of Europe. The Popes of Avignon and of the schism that followed, for one hundred and fifty years, had kept the churches and the nations in perpetual broils, demonstrating the folly of pretending that the Paparchy was a bond of unity. Moreover, the vices of these popes and antipopes, with their licentious courts, had become an abomination that "smelled to heaven." No words can do justice to their immoralities, except those of their contemporaries, who not only saw them, but shared them. The groans of the Latin churches were universal; an outcry for a reformation of the Church "in its head and its members." Gerson was in no respect in advance of his age; he was a Gallican, but a Scholastic and a fanatical Nominalist; he was the honest dupe of the canon law, which means of the forged Decretals. He accepted, therefore, an ideal papacy; not at all the Paparchy as it then existed. As a Gallican, he fell back upon the principles of Frankfort, supposing that, if the Popes could be put back to what Charlemagne found them, all would be well. His great scheme was to make Councils supreme; to empower them to depose a bad Pope and elect a new one; and, in general, to recognize no other supreme authority in Christendom. How plausible! Here was the great Nicene doctrine saddled, and, as it proved, rendered abortive, by the Decretalist whim that there must be a Pope of some sort. However, so far and no further could Gerson and the Gallicans proceed. Just here also stood Sir Thomas More and dear old Bishop Fisher, when the tyrant Henry took their heads off for not going further while he was disposed to do so. In other respects Henry and they stood together; they learned this policy of Gerson.

8. *Two Points set Right.*—Perhaps I have sufficiently illustrated my points, as to the Anglican Restoration and the "Reformation" of Luther. (1) The Anglican work begun and

was wrought from within,—begun under Wiclif, who only brought to a focus what had been continuously maintained by Anglican witnesses, from the Norman invasion onward, and what was resumed, and brought to the issue of a restored autonomy, under Henry, and Edward, his son. (2.) The German Reformers lighted their candle from England; there could have been no Luther but for Huss and Jerome, the disciples of Wiclif. How absurd and illogical, therefore, is the conventional instruction of our school histories, and even of Church historians, who treat of our Anglican Reformation as if it began with Luther's burning of the Pope's bull! They make it an importation from Germany, if not from the Diet of Spire, where the Lutherans were called Protestants.

9. *Political Protestantism.*—But let us not fall into vulgar mistakes about the Protestants. As a political cause, my sympathies are with the Protestant heroes and sufferers. Theologically, I cannot go with them, although the worst mistakes of Calvin and Luther are venial as compared with the Council of Trent, its monstrous "Code of Belief," and its daring dictation to Christendom of a new Creed, equalizing the mere novelties of Pius IV. with the Nicene symbol, making it more practically *the* Creed, and not less essential to salvation. In the conflicts and wars it generated, my heart is with the lost cause of the Calixtines and the Huguenots. I had rather be with the poor "winter king" of Bohemia, than with Louis XIV. ravaging the Palatinate, desolating the Rhineland, and revoking the Edict of Nantes. Yes, and who would not choose death with Coligny, rather than share with Catherine de Medicis and the pontiff that awful account with God for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day? To come nearer to our own times, recall the sorrows and sufferings of the godly Jansenists, the nuns of Port Royal dragged out of their graves, like Wiclif, and their chaste bodies exposed to the worst indignities, while their very roof was torn away from the heads of the survivors, their walls levelled, and their names covered with anathemas. Gracious Lord! that a Church should call itself "Catholic" which was too narrow for a Pascal, an Arnauld, a Nicole,—nay, too narrow for Bossuet and the old Gallicans, whose condemnation at the late Vatican convention was as real as that of Wiclif at Constance, and whose bones would just as certainly be exhumed and cremated, were it possible just now to execute such an *auto-da-fé* in Republican France.

10. *Reflections.*—Let me pause a moment for a reflection. It has often struck you, perhaps, as I have had to recount the history of events that disgrace our holy religion, to ask, "Where is the religion of Christ, and what is it doing for the world in times like these?" This anxious inquiry was anticipated and answered by the Holy Ghost, when He said, "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal,—the Lord knoweth them that are His." In every age, it is evil that forces itself on the sight; it is the worst of men that make themselves seen and heard. But always, if there are such as Judas, there are such as Stephen; if there are persecutors, there are heroes; if there are murderers, there are martyrs. Meantime, thousands of humble and holy men and women, humble-minded peasants and Christian children, are living the life of faith and love, and dying the death of saints, unnumbered and unknown. The great prophet supposed that he alone was left in Israel, a true worshipper; but the Lord said there were seven thousand besides him that had not "bowed the knee to Baal." Even in the days of Annas and Caiaphas, there were such priests as Zacharias and Simeon; such holy women as Elizabeth and Anna; such "Israelites indeed" as Nathanael. Let us be sure that in the dark places of earth, as now, so always, God has had His hidden saints, who have not been hid from Him, and whose faith overcame the world.

Then, as to the vulgar mistakes about Calvin and Luther. Giants they were indeed in those days; Scholastics even when they quarrelled with Scholastics, and their worst errors came from the Scholastics. Such were Calvin's Presbyterianism and the reactionary ideas of Luther, that made Solifidianism. Calvin's predestinarianism had a similar origin, and his terrible logic about infant damnation is Scholasticism, which is now hardened into Creed by Rome itself in its Trent theology. I must own that the spirit of Melancthon is that with which I find my own heart entwined, almost exclusively, when I study the Protestant Reformation. Erasmus might possibly have renewed the influence of Huss, and directed the movement on the Continent, had he been more in earnest, less fond of his jokes, and less afraid of the stake. He had not taken his ideas from Wiclif; he was rather a pupil of Gerson, and the arrogant dictation of that "pope in the bosom" which Luther owned he carried, made Erasmus recoil.

At intervals the influence of this new class of reformers was felt in our affairs. The floods of Continental violence rolled like a tidal wave against the fast-anchored Church and isle of England. Here and there are holes which it gnawed and fissures which it opened, but our rock threw back the broken billow and repelled it as from a fortress of adamant. Had the counsels of Gerson prevailed in England, our fate would have been involved with the Continental Reformation; or else we should have been swallowed up by Trent. See how the Inquisition and the extinction of the old Mozarabic spirit of freedom has brought down what was the greatest of kingdoms, imperial Spain, to the dust. From all this, the Lord delivered us. England was not swamped in Protestant sects and schism. She escaped the net of the Jesuits at Trent. She became the most Catholic Church in Christendom.

11. *Recent Reaction—Romeward.*—Our own time has seen a revolt in England alike against reason and Holy Scripture and the Providence of God. Men who owe all that gives them weight and influence with contemporaries to their training in the Church of England, and to the moral nutriment they drew from her maternal breasts, have ungratefully “lifted up their heel against her.” It is the greatest scandal of an enlightened age; it is an indictment of human nature itself in its better estate. In the name of common sense, what is it they would have, when they regret the Anglican restoration? Do they regret the death of Mary, and wish the Spanish Armada had restored her reign of blood, set up the Inquisition, and done for England what Alva did in the Netherlands? Do they grieve in their hearts for the failure of the last Stuart to restore the Paparchy? Can they then lament for him whose treachery insured the ruin of the dynasty, from which Charles I. prophetically withdrew his blessing in case it should ever depart from the teachings of Hooker¹ and the catholicity of the Church of

England? Again I ask, What would they have instead of the blessings our race has inherited from the Marian martyrs, and which have made us the envy of the world? Had England copied Spain, would that have been wisdom? or France, in her half-reforms? Look at the Spain of to-day and the France of the last hundred years. Is there more of the Gospel in these countries, or in Italy, fast by the Papal throne, than in England, with all her faults? Oh! it is in the “States of the Church,” I suppose, blotted out from the map of Europe by an indignant civilization, that we lost the kingdom of heaven, when it “came nigh” unto men! Is it such a Sardis they would make the soul and centre of English Law and Gospel for all generations? But enough! “Let them alone,”—as Scripture said of one joined to his idols. Let us go on to secure to children’s children the inestimable blessings they are too besotted to understand, too ungrateful to enjoy.

12. *The Contrast.*—And if we would estimate aright the difference between a Catholic Restoration and a Protestant Reformation, let us know them by their fruits. The difference was radical, at the outset, as I have shown: Scripture and antiquity inspired the one and governed it; the other risked all upon Scholastic theologies. Now, I do not like to speak unkindly of our Christian brethren in Germany and Switzerland, and therefore I shall merely refer you to authorities for light upon the subject. Ranke will show you how it came to pass that popes regained nearly half of all that they had lost, and Kahnis, that excellent Lutheran of our own times, will tell you more than I care to recall of the history of German Protestantism in its operations upon mind and heart, and in its destructive work upon national churches. On the other hand, look at our mother Church of England! “There she stands,”—poor as the second temple compared with the first, if we contrast her with the pattern in the mount, but, in spite of all, “beautiful for situation,” and fast making herself “the joy of the whole earth.” See what the Lord has done for her, in these latter days! Look at her daughter Church in these States, and at her colonial children.

¹ When King Charles demanded a private interview with his judges in the Painted Chamber, he said, “The child which is unborn may repent it,” i.e., a refusal of his request and a hasty judgment. (King Charles’s Works, p. 417, London, 1735.) His appeal so touched the court, that, but for the browbeating of Cromwell, a motion would have been made to allow what was asked. Think, then, of all that followed in 1680, in 1688, and down to 1715 and 1745, in fulfilment of the prophecy. But let nobody suppose that the disinheriting of his unworthy son James II. would have been regretted by the King. He made it a condition of his blessing to his children, that they should “perform all duty and obedience to their Mother, . . . and to obey the Queen

in all things, *except in matter of religion.*” commanding the Princess Elizabeth particularly, in that particular, “upon his blessing, never to hearken or consent to her, but to continue firm in the religion she had been instructed and educated in, what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor Church under so severe persecution.” See Lord Clarendon’s “History of the Rebellion,” book x. p. 68, and book xl. p. 230, ed. Oxford, 1707.

The Romish missions were vigorously prosecuted, in the spirit of the Propaganda: look at them! Look at Mexico, and Hayti, and Brazil! We find a parallel to that which Christ Himself rebuked, when He cried woe to those who "compassed sea and land to make one proselyte." To England, in another sense, and for different ends, God has said, "Possess thou the east and the west." Yes, truly, "her sound has gone forth into all lands, her words to the ends of the world." And where does she stand as related to her fellow Christians, alike Protestants and Romanized Latins? I appeal to one of her most persistent adversaries, to the Ultramontanist De Maistre. After all he can say against her, yet he allows, "She is *most precious*." If ever Christendom is to be reunited, he thinks the movement must proceed from her. He recognizes her as the mediatrix who can lay her hands upon both parties; for, as he says, "with one hand she touches us (Roman Catholics), and with the other the Protestants." If this be her mission, as De Maistre supposes, "truly she is most precious." He owns the truth, at last, which Rome has so perversely tried for centuries to gainsay.¹

13. *The Fall of the Papal Throne.*—Even Laynez could not have conceived of the ultimate results of the mastery he gained for his Society at the Council of Trent. In that Council his manipulations subverted the Latin Episcopate, reducing it to a mere Papal Vicariate: his policy has since reduced the Papacy itself to a mere mask for the "black pope," the General

¹ "She is most precious; for, like a chemical medium, she possesses the power of harmonizing natures otherwise incapable of union. On the one hand, she reaches to the Protestant; on the other, the Roman Catholic." (See De Maistre, Opp., vol. i. p. 27.)

In amplifying this thought, I have elsewhere expressed myself as follows: "Her charity, indeed, is made her reproach; but she follows apostolic example in this, as in other things. She dictates the creeds, she prescribes a Scriptural liturgy. This she must preserve, as they have come down to her as an inheritance from the purest ages of the Gospel; but she refuses to make more narrow the old Catholic way of salvation. She dares to say, and none but a Catholic Church can say so much, 'Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded, and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you; nevertheless, wherein we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.' Thank God, this was the spirit of her Reformation. In a scholastic age she was reproached by the Calvinists on one side, and the Romanists on the other, because she utterly refused to erect a Code of Belief, as they did, or to split metaphysical hairs and bind humanity, like the giant in the fable, by Liliputian webs, a bond-slave to scholastic subtleties. This is the secret spirit; the Catholic spirit has nothing of it." From a Sermon preached in Montreal.

of the Jesuits, the autocrat of the "Roman Catholic" world.² The rod of its nominal despot is really held by him; his military forces submit with the "passivity of a corpse," and obey with the activity of Napoleon's flying artillery. The pontiff, be it Pius IV. or be it Pius IX., is merely a voice to send forth the oracles of the Society. But by its fatal blunder, when it bolstered up the feeble *Pio Nono* to issue his late decrees, it committed the Roman system to an irreparable breach with all antiquity, and the end is not yet. It dealt a death-blow to Gallicanism, which can no longer exist in communion with the Papacy, but its sting was like that of the serpent which strikes venom into its victim with a fury that destroys itself.

At that same moment when in his "Synod of Sacristans," amid darkness that might be felt, amid thunders and lightnings that made the foundations shake around him, the pontiff proclaimed himself Infallible, there went forth a voice, "yea, and that a mighty voice," which instantly took effect. His last temporal support perished at Sedan; and the temporal royalties of the Papacy perished with it. The voice said, "Remove the diadem and take off the crown; . . . exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high." Men fail to see the meaning of contemporary events, because they read not history, nor the word of God. But it is a great thing to be alive when so quietly, and by means apparently so insignificant as the red shirt of Garibaldi, is wrought a change that Emperors and nations have struggled for in vain. Since Pepin gave the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Roman patriarch, in A.D. 754, the Bishops of Rome have been "princes of this world." The fall of the "Holy Roman Empire," under Napoleon, carried this logically with it, but "the mills of God grind slowly." We have seen a consummation which may be momentarily defeated by diplomacy, but the thunderbolt has fallen. For the first time in a thousand years, not a single power in Europe is identified with the Papacy. The Syllabus has made it impossible for kings and people to submit to its yoke. The "Old Catholics" may seem a feeble folk, but the testimony of Döllinger and his noble allies is as imperishable as that of Wiclif. Some of us may live to see fresh struggles for Ultramontane supremacy, but the issue is inevitable. An epoch of prophecy has been signalized: a new era begins with hope.

14. *Nicene Constitutions Imperishable.*—The

² ("The Power behind the Pope,"—Editor.)

Nicene Unity of Christendom is impishable, and God has protected it everywhere among the nations. By its canon of threefold concurrence in ordinations, the historic episcopate is woven into a net-work, instead of drawn out in a chain where one broken link ruins all. It is impossible that the Apostolic Succession should fail where this law is observed. So the canon of Holy Scripture and its sacred text have been maintained and preserved. The Nicene Creed is thus perpetuated, and the Christian year is guarded by the Paschal Canons of the Council. Thus, and by other providential contrivances, it is a most striking fact, that *organic* unity has been maintained even where *functional* unity is lost. There is a fundamental Unity, and all men see it, between Greek and Latin and Anglican Christians, because the Nicene foundations alike underlie them all. Even Trent, though it nearly smothered Nicene vitality beneath accumulated fables, has left the whole basis solid underneath. Hence it is, that, in spite of new dogmas and of all the Roman superstitions, many "*Roman Catholics*" live on the old bases, while they outwardly conform to the new.

How I have blessed God, that millions of the peasantry, nominally conformed to Trent, know very little practically of its heresies. Simple folk! They know the Apostle's Creed, and have read the Nicene, and can sing pious hymns; so that, like Goethe's Gretchen before her fall,—yes, and even when they fall—they love to worship Christ and to trust in Him for salvation. Now, what is held alike, and from the beginning, by Greeks and Latins and Anglicans,—that is Catholicity, and in that we all consent. The specialities of each communion are not Catholic, and with them we are not called to communion by Nicene law. Woe to those who erect local and provincial specialities into articles of faith, and cast out brethren for not accepting them. That Church which refrains from narrowing the limits of Catholic communion, and includes all who would have been included at Nicæa, is therefore the most truly Catholic. Where is it found? Judge ye.

15. *Practical Unities*.—Our Anglican desire for Unity is no ambitious longing for "lordship over God's heritage." It is pure and "unfeigned love of the brethren" for Christ's sake. Leaving Him to be the only umpire and judge, I have enjoyed through a long life the Unity I have illustrated, in practical ways, among foreign churches, "no man forbidding me." The Catholic spirit renders it impossible to

wear the fetters of a sect. Only less does it forbid a life virtually sectarian, which is cooped up in one's local or provincial church. The whole Church of the Creed is ours to live in. No pope can hinder us. Often have I knelt at the altar of St. Peter's in Rome, and in almost all the great cathedrals of Europe. On such occasions I have recited the Nicene Creed, and offered our Anglican prayer "for the good estate of the Catholic Church." While they have mumbled their mass in an unknown tongue, I have prayed God to accept what He found acceptable in it, and have read in my prayer-book the service for the day. This I have done in the chapel of the great St. Bernard, as the sunrise gilded the surrounding pinnacles of the Alps; and when my guide over the mountains knelt at a wayside shrine, I bowed myself before the Invisible God of Catholic worship, looking up to the clear blue sky, and begging the Lord to bless my peasant brother,—mysterious symbol of millions of simple souls, who for a thousand years have bowed down to images, because so willed the Empress Irene. Surely He who loved the Samaritans loves and accepts these our brethren, who call upon Him out of a pure heart, though ignorant and once polluted perhaps as Rahab, who was "justified" in spite of her ignorant lie. For "Mercy rejoiceth against judgment." Among Christians of the Greek rite I have enjoyed much closer and sweeter communion; have been received into their chancels, as they have been received into ours, accepting their brotherly recognitions, and uniting in such portions of their Liturgy as are truly ancient and Scriptural. Prematurely, we should not go further. The Holy Spirit will accomplish the rest. Thank God, none of the ancient churches have lost the Truth. They have added to it; but the line is drawn between Truth and modern additions. In the latter we have no part nor lot; in all that is Catholic we are in practical communion with our brethren the Latins and the Greeks.

16. *The Parable of Patmos*.—This principle of Unity is given us in the vision of Patmos,—the Master amid the churches. Observe how corrupt were some of the seven: yet, so long as He did not destroy them, but patiently awaited their return to first faith and first love and first works, He walked amid their golden candlesticks and held their stars in His right hand. So He teaches us to be in communion with Sardis itself, though not with her pollutions.

And when we look at home, well may He ask, How are we better than others? But give me leave to love the precious Church of my fathers, in which, emancipated from such trammels as sects impose, I live in all the Christian churches and in all the Christian ages; read the Fathers as my fathers; keep the Christian feasts, and travel through all the Christian year, in sweetest sympathy and ennobling communion with "the past, the distant, and the future." No man can rob a Catholic of this gift of God,

this life in the universe, this expansion of heart and mind and soul to the Catholic thought of which God is the author. It is high as heaven, and deep as Hades; it lifts us to the heavenly choir; it unites us with all who "sleep in the Lord Jesus." Oh how blessed the privilege of him who can say with the saintly Bishop Ken, "I live and die in the communion of the Catholic Church, as it was before the disunion of East and West, and as it stands distinguished from all Puritan or Papal innovations"!

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Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART II.—(*Second Division.*)

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

Ye holy Fanes of England,
Ye old Cathedrals blest,
Beware again the Spoiler,
And the days of your unrest.
For not the haughty Roman,
Could make old England bow,
But the children of her bosom
Are the foes that trouble now!

All ye who pray in English,
Pray GOD for England, pray!
And chiefly, thou, my country,
In thy young glory's day!
Pray GOD those times return not,
'Tis England's hour of need!
Pray for thy Mother—Daughter,
Plead GOD for England—plead.*

SEC. I.—THE CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION,—OUR ONLY TRUE BOND OF UNION.—
BY THE VERY REV. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D.,
DEAN OF CHICHESTER.

It would be a work of supererogation to insist on the important duty incumbent upon all who are commissioned to preach the Gospel, and to act as the governors of the Church of Christ, of maintaining the truth and the whole truth as it is in Jesus—of declaring all the counsel of God. By the injunction of this duty, the highest of our mental faculties and the most vigorous of our intellectual energies are all enlisted on the side of religion, and our lifetime is to be employed either in ascertaining the will of the Almighty or in vindicating his ways to man. But so long as differences shall exist in the capabilities and powers of different minds, it will be scarcely within the circle of possibility to avoid, in the discharge of this duty, some diversity of opinion, and, in consequence, occasional discussion and debate; nor has it ever been the wish of the Church to silence such discussion or to proscribe all difference of opinion. Coincidence of opinion, even in points which are not fundamental, is, of course, desirable, but it is not to be laid down as one of the necessary terms of communion. It is to a wish and endeavour to secure a perfect coincidence of opinion that we may trace the formation of many religious sects; and on this account it is that the persons composing each separate sect are comparatively few in number, while the sects themselves have, like meteors, glared for a time and then sunk into nothingness.

The system of the Church has, on the contrary, always been to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, by insisting, not on an identity of subordinate opinion, but simply on an *identity of principle*. Within certain prescribed limits she has always permitted a considerable latitude of opinion. Beyond those limits are the regions of heresy; within them she permits her children piously to inquire and fearlessly to discuss. Unless this latitude were permitted, one of two things would inevitably follow; either all discussion would cease, and the result would be a spiritual stagnation and apathy, than which few things can be more injurious to the cause of truth, or discussion would always lead to a breach of communion and split us into factions and sects. By those who agree in principle, certain data are assumed as indisputable, and so long as those data are honestly acknowledged, much difference of opinion is allowable, but in either advocating or refuting an opinion under these circumstances, no one has a right to speak of his opponent as a heretic, since heresy means, in fact, the denial of the acknowledged data.

Much confusion has been caused in the minds of men by their supposing that the religionists of England are to be divided, so far as principles are concerned, into two classes only, whereas, in point of fact, we are divided into three;—the Churchman, who may, from his avoiding the errors of the two opposite extremes, be called both a Protestant and a Catholic; the Romish Dissenter or Papist; the Protestant Dissenter

* Adapted from *Christian Ballads*, by the Right Rev. A. C. Cox, Bishop of Western New York.

or Ultra-Protestant. And union among these can never be expected, by wise and practical men, until, as distinct classes, two of them become extinct by merging into the third; that is, until their distinct and distinguishing principles cease to exist.

The origin of this threefold division is to be traced to the Reformation, and to the manner in which that great movement was conducted in this country.

No view can be more erroneous than that which would regard the English Reformers as men, who, having devised a peculiar system of theology, were determined to supplant the established system that they might put their own in its place. Their object was simple, intelligible, and practical; it was to correct abuses in the existing Catholic Church, which had come down to them from their ancestors, and of which they were themselves the bishops and spiritual pastors. Those abuses—deviations from the real principles of the Church,—were gradually discovered, and, as from time to time they were brought to light, it was the endeavour of our Reformers gradually and as opportunity occurred, to supply a remedy by regular and canonical means. From the commencement to the conclusion of their holy work, they indignantly repudiated the idea of their wish to overturn one Church and to establish another; a charge continually brought against them by the advocates of Popery.¹ For example, in the reign of Henry VIII. it was enacted that neither the King, his successors, nor his subjects should apply to the Bishop of Rome for any dispensation, faculty, or delegacy. This was the first blow at the Papal usurpations in this country; but, anticipating the kind of attack which would be made by the partizans of Rome, and to prevent misconstruction and misrepresentation, it is expressly provided that “nothing in this act shall be interpreted as if the King and his subjects intended to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ’s Church in any thing concerning the very articles of the *Catholic faith*² in Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary for their salvation.”³

¹ Our Prayer Book identifies the Church *before* the Reformation with the Church *after* the Reformation, in a singular manner:—“And, moreover, whereas St. Paul would have such language spoken in the Church as they might understand and have profit by hearing the same; the service in *this Church of England*, these many years, hath been read in Latin,” &c.—*Pref. to Prayer Book*.

² See Note A.

³ Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 84, 85.

And in the spring of 1543. the act for the advancement of true religion and the abolishment of the contrary declared it to be expedient to “ordain and establish a certain form of pure and sincere teaching, agreeable to God’s word and the true doctrine of the *Catholic and Apostolic Church*.”¹

The facts here stated are sufficient to shew that the holy work of Church Reformation, if gradual, had still been great and effectual even in Henry’s reign;—in that of Edward, our Reformers proceeded more rapidly and did some things perhaps, inconsiderately, but still the same principle was professed. In his speech at the opening of Convocation, we find the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, exhorting the Clergy to advance further in the Reformation,—but how?—by throwing off some *unprimitive* remains.² And by the statute of 1547, which sanctioned the giving of the Eucharist in both kinds, a reference is made, in justification of the proceeding, to the common use and practice both of the Apostles and of the *primitive Christians by the space of 500 years*.³ In the King’s injunction against images, it is stated that as a reason that “the Catholic Church made use of no representations of this kind for many years.”⁴ In the Acts of Uniformity, after alluding to the various Rituals and Liturgies at that time used in England, it is affirmed that his Majesty appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, with several others of the most learned Bishops and Divines, to draw up an office for all parts of divine service, and that in doing so they were to have regard to the directions of the Holy Scripture and the *usages of the Primitive Church*.⁵ In reply to the demands of the Devonshire rebels, Archbishop Cranmer, acting authoritatively, particularly insisted to them “that the practice and belief of the Church of England was agreeable to the decisions of the general councils, while the decrees they (the rebels) talked of were mere stretches of the Court of Rome to enslave the rest of Christendom.”⁶ Again, in the answer of the King’s Council to the Princess, afterwards Queen Mary, in 1551, penned most probably by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by Ridley, Bishop of London, it is averred “that the English Reformation had recovered

¹ Jenkyn’s Cranmer, i. 36.

² Collier ii. 233.

³ Collier ii. 236.

⁴ Collier ii. 241.

⁵ See Note B.

⁶ Collier, ii. 271.

the worship to the directions of Scripture, and the usage of the primitive Church.”¹ And when the Prayer Book was translated and corrected and brought to its present form, it was recommended by the clergy to the laity in these words: “Here you have an order of Prayer, and for the reading of Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purposes of the old fathers;”² and as such it was received by the laity; it was received as “a very godly order agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church.”³ In Queen Mary’s reign Cramer offered to justify the English Communion Service both from the authority of Scripture and the practice of the primitive Church.⁴ What, indeed, was his defence of our Communion Service? What his objection to the Mass? Of the first he asserted, “it is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did observe and command to be observed, and which his Apostles and the primitive Church used many years; whereas the Mass in many things hath not only no foundation of Christ’s Apostles or the primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it.” “And when they, the Papists, boast of the faith which has been in the Church these thousand years, we will join them on this point; for that doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs.”⁵ In like manner the imprisoned clergy, in that reign of terror, made a similar but more extensive offer to justify the reformed doctrine and worship by Scripture and antiquity, and this under the highest penalties. Their expressions, indeed, are as striking as they are strong—“If they failed in maintaining the homilies and services set forth in the late reign, or in proving the unlawfulness of the Popish liturgic forms, and that, by Catholic principles and authority, they were willing to be burnt at the stake, or to submit to any other death of ignominy or torture.”⁶ On the accession of Elizabeth in 1559, a public and authorised disputation was held between the abettors of Popery and the upholders of a Reformation. On the side of the Reformers the most prominent was Horn, Dean of Durham, and he commenced by

professing at once the deference which his friends acknowledged to be due to the authority of the Catholic Church, declaring the willingness of the English Reformers to refer the whole controversy to the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Church, but maintaining at the same time that by the Word of God they meant only the canonical Scriptures, and by the custom of the primitive Church, the general practice of Catholics for the first five centuries. In the same sentiment did the laity concur when, in a subsequent act of Parliament, the authority of the first four general Councils was recognized. We have heard already the declaration of one sovereign at the commencement of our Reformation, that it was not intended to set up a new religion, but merely to correct abuses in the Church,—and precisely the same assertion was made, at its completion, by Queen Elizabeth. In her reply to the Roman Catholic Princes she proclaimed “that there was no new faith propagated in England; no religion set up but that which was commanded by our Saviour practised by the primitive Church, and approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity.”¹ Moreover, the very convocation of 1571, which originally enjoined subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles confirmed, at the same time, the principle of the English Reformation, by decreeing that nothing should be taught as an article of faith, except what is supported by the authority of Scripture and Catholic tradition,”² which principle is again authoritatively proclaimed in our 30th Canon, wherein it is affirmed that “it was not the purpose of the Church of England to forsake or reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, and that as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God or offend the minds of sober men;—and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.”³

. . . The foreign Reformers were not placed under the same advantageous circumstances as favoured the proceedings of those who conducted the reformation of the English

¹ Collier, ii. 311.

² Preface to the Prayer Book.

³ Collier, ii. 320.

⁴ Collier, i. 347.

⁵ Archbishop Cranmer’s “Declaration concerning the Mass,” Works, iv. p. 2, 3. Jenkyn’s Edit.

⁶ Collier ii. 378.

¹ Coll. ii. 436.

² Can. de Concinationibus. Wilkins’ Concilia, iv. 267.

³ See Note C.

Church. They were not generally the rulers and governors of their respective churches. As abuses were discovered they protested against them, they called for reform, yet had no wish or intention to separate. But in most of the foreign churches, the Bishops, instead of correcting, defended the corruptions, and in process of time the anti-reformation party succeeded in driving from their communion the friends of a Reformation. Thus the Protestants were obliged, by circumstances, to form for themselves separate and independent religious communions. But in doing so they devised no regular system, for they seem to have regarded the measure to which they were compelled, as one of only a temporary nature, and having solemnly appealed to a general council, they hoped that the time would come when the Western Church would reform itself and receive once again into its bosom those whom it had unjustly expelled for advocating its true principles.¹ But it was not long before, among the less enlightened friends of the Reformation, a spirit of fanaticism was excited; and acting, like the man who continued to whet and whet his knife until at last there was no steel left in it, they wished to abscond every ordinance, phraseology, and doctrine which might seem to connect them even indirectly with Rome, and desired new ceremonies, a new system of theology, a new theological vocabulary, a new Church. And they were not long without a leader in a man of vast mental powers and of ardent piety, but of an austere temper and strong personal ambition, John Calvin. Instead of comparing, like our own Reformers and the early Protestants of Germany, the existing system of theology with Holy Writ and the traditional doctrine of the early Church, he invented an entirely new system of his own, to which, with more than papal intolerance, he called for a prostration of the judgment, and he proceeded to the length of shedding human blood to support it. Instead of seeking to reform the Church, he was ambitious to build up a sect which might serve as a model to all other religious communions, and over which he seemed willing to usurp such authority as to render it doubtful whether he did not intend to divert to Geneva the appeals which had been formerly made to Rome.

When the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign drove so many of the English abroad,

there were some of our countrymen who, first at Frankfort and afterwards at Geneva, were prepared to decry the English Reformation for not having proceeded far enough, and to embrace the foreign system of the Swiss sect. By Calvin our Prayer Book was denounced as containing fooleries, only tolerable from the exigency of the times, and it was determined to supply its place by a ritual less accordant with the ancient form of worship, and more conformable to the Genevan model. Instead of coinciding with our English Catholic reformers in their deference to antiquity, they referred, when Scripture was ambiguous or doubtful, to the writings of Calvin, and regarded as heretical all who refused to receive his dogmas as truth.

And thus when the persecuted Protestants¹ returned to England, on the accession of Elizabeth, the English Church was composed of three distinct parties, all animated by distinct principles; those who wished not to adopt any foreign system of theology, but merely to complete the Reformation of their ancient national Church, by doing what was absolutely necessary for the purpose, and nothing more; those who were enamoured of the Helvetic Reformation, and complained that our reformers had not gone far enough; and those who, complaining that they had gone too far, were averse to the Reformation altogether.

Many and bitter were the disputes that arose, and it was not long before the bolder and more consistent of the followers of Calvin separated from the Church, which they regarded as *semi-papistical*, and formed independent conventicles. As persons assuming to be the supporters of a purer system of Reformation than that which had been adopted by our English Reformers, they were known by the designation of Puritans.² Their example was soon after followed by those of the opposite extreme, who were the advocates of the discarded corruptions. These persons entered clandestinely into a correspondence with the Pope of Rome, who sent some Spanish and Italian Priests to officiate among them; and, adopting another foreign system, that established at the Council of Trent, they formed that schismatical sect from which the present English Romanists or Papists are descended.

This is a short sketch of the origin of those

¹ See Note E.

² The name was probably given to them, in the first instance as a nick-name, by their opponents, and they afterwards gloried in it, and so assumed it to themselves.

¹ See Note D.

three distinct classes of Christians, subject, of course, to a variety of subdivisions, which we find in this country. But although the bolder, more consistent, and perhaps more conscientious of the Puritans quitted the Church, a large party who embraced their principles still conformed, some from timidity, some from worldly considerations, and some because they thought that the Church of England, being only comparatively corrupt, *i.e.* less pure than some of the foreign sects, they were not obliged to secede, and might eventually cause their own principles to triumph in the Church itself. These persons, assisted by the puritans from without, were continually urging our Rulers, spiritual and temporal, to greater measures of reform; and, complaining of the remnants and rags of Popery still preserved in our rites, ceremonies, and ecclesiastical habits, they “inveighed against the established discipline of the Church, and accounted everything from Rome which was not from Geneva.”

A contest between parties disagreeing in principle is always a contest of life and death, a war of extermination,—for principles may be broken, but can never be bent—may be silenced but can never yield. And so was it with the Protestants of England. The contest was whether the country should adhere to the principles of the English or to those of the foreign Reformers, and the war was carried on unremittingly from the accession of Elizabeth to the fatal termination of the reign of Charles, who died a martyr for the principles of the English Reformation, or (which is the same thing) for the principles of the Catholic Church. During the great rebellion the advocates of the foreign system triumphed, and the Church, with the Crown, was laid prostrate in the dust. But at that period a modification of their principle was introduced among those who, in opposing the system of the English Reformation, had till then been united. Hitherto the question had been whether the Bible was to be received according to the interpretation of the ancient Church, or according to the interpretation of the Genevan Sect. But when the descendants of the original Puritans endeavoured to force their system upon the country as the one to be exclusively established, they in their turn were opposed by founders of new sects who regarded their own interpretations of Scripture to be as irrefragable as that of Calvin. It was then, and under such circumstances, that the real ultra-

Protestant principle, which has ever since prevailed, as contrasted with the principles of the Church of England, was brought to light;—that principle being not merely that the Bible and the Bible only ought to be our religion, but also that the Bible is to be understood by each person in that sense which he is persuaded by argument to regard as the true sense; and that he is then to unite himself with that society of Christians with whom the same or similar arguments have been productive of the same effect. This principle is, of course, subversive of union. For on these grounds the only difference between the coldest Socinian who acknowledges the truth of Scripture, and the highest supralapsarian Calvinist, is a difference in their logic or their powers of biblical criticism,—and while both parties may argue, neither may consistently censure. And thus the ultra-Protestant party gradually split into various hostile factions, and their divisions led eventually to the restitution of the Church with the restoration of the Monarchy.

At the same time a change took place in the *policy* of the Dissenters from the Church. The attempt had been to supplant the Church and to supply her place by the establishment of the Genevan system. The experiment was made and it had failed. And the demand was now, for what they had themselves, in times past, vehemently protested against—a civil toleration. They asked for themselves that toleration which, when dominant, they refused to extend to the Church, and a toleration was obtained;—a toleration which, just in itself, has been peculiarly advantageous to the Church; for it has enabled her to do what before she was unable to do—without breach of charity to insist upon the observance of her principles, and to proclaim the most unwelcome truths; it has introduced that *moral* discipline among us which no external powers could enforce. In vain did our Reformers appeal to the strong arm of the law to compel that conformity to the regulations of the Church which is now rendered, according to the best of his understanding and ability, by every clergyman of common honesty and honour; the Church is now able to say, without any spirit of persecution, “Assent to my fundamental doctrines, and adhere to my internal regulations, or depart from my communion. However blameworthy I may think your conduct, for such a departure, you are no longer subjected to tem-

poral penalties, and, therefore, as a man not merely of religion but of honour, depart."¹

Our principle is thus reduced within a very narrow compass, intelligible to the least enlightened mind. Every conscientious English Clergyman acts on the principle that while Scripture and Scripture only is his rule of faith, he is, in the interpretation of Scripture, to defer to the Ritual, Liturgy, Articles, and Formularies of the Church of England; he is to promote the glory of God in the highest, peace upon earth, and good will among men, but to do so, not in the way which he may imagine to be the wisest, but according to the Regulations, Canons, Rubrics, and Customs of the Church. To these he is bound by vows the most solemn to conform.

And where are we to look for unity and union, if we find it not here? And what terms of reprobation can be sufficiently strong to designate the conduct of those who, by causing discord among brethren who in principle are united, would thereby make music for our enemies? Alas! in every community such persons are found to exist, whose element is strife, who live by faction, who, mistaking party spirit for Christian zeal, in their contest for what they allege to be truth, forget that Christianity is also a religion of Peace and Love.

. . . Now let us rip open the apple of discord which the enemies of peace would throw among us and see what it actually contains; let us briefly advert to the subjects most freely discussed among us, and sure I am that when we perceive how the case really stands, all moderate men, all who are not far gone in party spleen, will be ready to admit, that, if in opinion upon several points we may some of us differ, there can be no just ground,—I do not say for the rancour which is sometimes exhibited in these discussions, for this can under no circumstances be justifiable—but for the disturbance of that unanimity and Christian harmony by the existence of which we are commanded to give proof that we are the Disciples of the Prince of Peace.

Let us take, in the first place, the subject of Tradition, and only assume in charity, that the disputants on both sides are in their intention honest and conscientious Churchmen, men, that is to say, desirous of holding opinions in con-

formity with the principles of the English Church.

On the two great points which involve our common principle we are all agreed. We all of us hold, on the one hand, "that holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation;" and we all of us hold, on the other hand, that in all cases of difficulty or doubt we are to take for our guide the Ritual, Liturgy, Articles, and formularies of the Church of England. But here we are met by those who impugn our principle of interpretation, the Dissenters, whether Romish or Protestant, who very fairly demand why more of deference should be paid to the English Church than to any of their own sects; to the English than to the foreign reformers; to Cranmer, Ridley, and Parker, than to Zuinglius, Calvin, or Beza; to this objection other answers may be given, but I only know of one which is of any weight, and which has always been adduced ever since the Reformation by all the divines who have adhered to the principles of the English reformers.¹ Looking to the principles upon which the Reformation of the Church of England was conducted, to the strict regard our reformers paid to the voice of antiquity, to their avowed determination to adhere to the unquestioned and unquestionable tradition of doctrine universally received, they contend, and affirm their readiness to prove, that in our Ritual, Liturgy, Articles and Formularies, is embodied all that is essential of the traditional doctrine of the Universal Church; and that, therefore, in deferring to them, we defer not to the decision of a few individuals, but to the tradition universally received in those early ages when, on all subjects relating to doctrine or to discipline, a strict correspondence was kept up between all the branches of the Church Universal. And this

¹[Written before the rise of the extreme Ritualistic or Romanizing Schools.—ED.]

¹ To those who are desirous of seeing how invariably this rule has been observed by our great standard writers, I may recommend "The Judgment of the Anglican Church, posterior to the Reformation, on the sufficiency of the Holy Scripture and the authority of the Holy Catholic Church, in matters of faith, by John F. Russell, B.C.L. of St. Peter's College, Cambridge." See also the incomparable Appendix to Bishop Jebb's Sermons; Churton's "Church of England a Witness and Keeper of the Catholic Tradition;" Poole's very learned Sermons on the Creed: an admirable Discourse on Tradition, by Mr. Cartwright, Minister of the Jews' Episcopal Chapel; and Keble's Visitation Sermon.

tradition they regard, not as the Romanists regard their falsified traditions, as supplementary to Scripture, as conveying doctrines which are not contained in Scripture (for they subscribe to the 6th of our articles), but merely as confirmatory of the true meaning of Scripture, whenever Scripture is ambiguous or doubtful. Now this is, possibly, in the minds of some, a bad answer to the Dissenter, an untenable defence, and any one has a perfect right to supply us with a better if he can. But surely there is no ground for division, no ground here for our splitting into parties and factions, no ground for those fears which the wicked would suggest, and by which the weak are irritated. If those who contend for the authority of tradition contend at the same time that all necessary tradition is preserved in our Church, the very summit of their offending, so far as those who are in the Church are concerned, can only be an error in judgment, a mistake in opinion. By all parties within the pale, the same *principle* is recognised and acted upon; and the real debate is with those who are *without* the pale, who ridicule, as inconsistent and absurd, the deference which all clergymen acknowledge themselves bound to pay to the authoritative documents of the Church of England.

So again with respect to the Sacraments. On this subject all must admit that the language of the Church of England is peculiarly strong. In her holy jealousy for the two divine ordinances of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, she withholds the title of Sacrament, in the sense she applies it to them, from all other religious rites, however sacred, however apostolical in their institution, however much the subordinate means of grace. She declares the Sacraments to be generally necessary to salvation, and she defines a Sacrament thus necessary to salvation, as "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof"—a means to convey grace, a pledge to assure the worthy recipient of its illation. Of Baptism she states the inward grace, of which it is the means, to be "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness."¹ She quotes the 3rd chapter of St. John,² in

which the necessity of a *new birth* is asserted, as a chapter implying, on *that account*, "the great necessity of Baptism where it can be had;"¹ in the Baptismal offices she expressly connects the regeneration of infants always, and of adults duly qualified, with Baptism; in the office for Confirmation she does the same; in the Homilies, the Font is designated as "the Fountain of our Regeneration,"² while it is insinuated that by Baptism we are justified;³ and she teaches our children in the Catechism that they were at Baptism made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. With reference to the other sacrament, she asserts that the body of Christ is "given, taken, received, and eaten in the Supper;" the Eucharist itself she styles the Communion, (that is, the communication), of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour. And we are told that those who are duly qualified spiritually eat therein the flesh of Christ and drink his blood. We are directed when we receive the Eucharist to pray God to grant that we may "*so eat the flesh of his dear Son Jesus Christ and drink his blood that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood;*" and "that receiving the creatures of bread and wine we may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." And after communicating, we thank God for that he doth "vouchsafe to feed us with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." In the homilies, we are exhorted to hold that "in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent;" and we are told that the faithful "receive not only the outward sacrament, but the spiritual thing also, not the figure but the truth, not the shadow but the body;" finally, our children are taught that the inward part of the Eucharist is "the body and blood of Christ which are *verily and indeed*

Beveridge, as quoted by Bishop Mant, observes, "What Christ means of being born of Water and of the Spirit, is *now* made a question; I say *now*, for it was never made so till of late years. For many ages together none ever doubted it, but the whole Christian world took it for granted that our Saviour meant only by these words, that except a man be baptized according to his institution, he cannot enter the kingdom of God; this being the most plain and obvious sense of the words, forasmuch as there is none other way of being born again of Water as well as of the Spirit, but only in the Sacrament of Baptism."—*Bishop Beveridge's Works*, i. 304.

¹ Office for Adult Baptism.

² Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean of Churches. See also Homily on Fasting.

³ "After that we are baptized or justified."—*3rd Part of Homily on Salvation*.

¹ See Note F.

² Bishop Kaye, in his Tertullian, p. 433, observes that the ancients *uniformly* interpreted our Lord's address, in this chapter, to Nicodemus, as relating to Baptism. This is also shown by Wall, in his history of Infant Baptism. Bishop

taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Now these expressions are so strong that many pious and well-meaning men have regarded them as sufficient to justify their secession from our communion; while more violent controversialists have not hesitated to denounce the English Church for retaining them, as semi-papish, if not absolutely papistical. They both censure our baptismal office, and affirm that our doctrine of the Eucharist differs little, if at all, from the transubstantiation of the Romanist, or, at all events, from the consubstantiation of the Lutheran,—dogmas equally unphilosophical and unscriptural. The English Churchman, then, is here placed on the defensive, and the defence is conducted in two ways. Some persons admit (without questioning) the accuracy of our opponents in their notions of sacramental efficacy; and, seeing the manifest and glaring inconsistency between our services and those notions, regret that our reformers retained the expressions objected to, but at the same time contend that they do not of necessity bear the construction which is generally placed on them, but admit of a restricted meaning, more conformable with the view of the objector. Others there are who receive these expressions in all the simplicity and fulness of their meaning, and, thinking that they are amply borne out by Scripture, maintain that the English reformers, in the retention of them, used a wise discretion, and acted consistently on those Catholic principles to which they professed to adhere. These assume the offensive against our common objectors, and shew that, in confounding, as do the foreign reformers, regeneration with renovation,—a change of spiritual state, circumstances, and relations, and an election to grace, with a subsequent change of disposition, heart, and temper,—the objectors are themselves in error; and are equally unscriptural in the very low notions they entertain of the grace conveyed to the faithful in the other Sacrament. And thus, since no one but a man equally void of integrity, and regardless of the sanctity of an oath, would presume to alter our baptismal office or the Liturgy, to make them square with his private views; the only question among Churchmen is whether the words we use in common will, or will not, by fair construction, bear the interpretation which some persons put upon them. If, after fair discussion, it is found they cannot,—of course those who think that the expressions used in our offices are anti-scrip-

tural will quit our communion, and the discussion will then be one relating to principle, and the debate will be as to the meaning of the words of Scripture. Until it comes to this,—our differences of opinion ought surely not to lead to disunion among ourselves.

We now come to the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. On this subject no controversy existed at the time of the Reformation. It was, at that time, as it had been for 1,500 years, taken for granted that no man might presume to minister in sacred things, unless he were first appointed to the office by persons having authority to make the appointment by their regular succession from the apostles. Upon this point no one is more eloquent or more decided than our own reforming Archbishop, Dr. Cranmer. Accordingly, when in the reign of Elizabeth the Thirty-nine Articles were agreed upon in a convocation of our clergy, the doctrine was assumed: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or administering the Sacraments in the congregation before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them *in*"—not *by*, but *in*—"the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." But the point being settled that there *are* some persons in the congregation or Church who have powers to ordain, the question is who those persons are? This was the question in debate at the Reformation, and it is easily answered so far as the Church of England is concerned, since it was settled, before the Thirty-nine Articles were received, in the ordinal, in which it is affirmed: "It is evident to all men diligently *reading the Scriptures and the ancient authors*, that from the Apostles' time there have been these three orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." In the order for consecrating Bishops, as well as in the Ordination Service, she speaks of the offices of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons as offices *divinely* instituted; and, if instituted by God, of course they cannot be lawfully abolished. But it is a point not controverted, that wherever these officers exist, the power of ordination rests with the first, assisted by the second.

It either is a fact that a society of believers, organised without the episcopal order, is not a Church, but merely a sect not organised

according to apostolical and scriptural rule, as our Church insinuates, or it is not a fact. It is open to discussion whether it be a fact; there is no want of charity in our declaring what we believe to be such. As maintainers of God's truth we are to declare it in this as in every other instance, and in God's good time the truth will be known and recognised, and those who have deserted it will perceive that Christian unity is to be restored, not by *our* yielding to *them*, but by *their* returning to *us*. As we may preach that faith in the Lord Jesus is necessary to salvation, without denying the salvability of the heathen; so none will refuse to admire and reverence and love the pious and consistent Christian of every communion, whether Romish or Protestant; none—God forbid,—will doubt of his being capable of salvation, though we may still believe that in many respects he may have fallen short of gospel truth. But be this as it may—it is a principle to be discussed with those who are in principle separated from us,—it is certainly no just cause of angry dispute among ourselves, who have declared our unfeigned assent and consent not only to our Articles, but to our ordination offices,—the first of which declare that those only may minister in sacred things who are duly ordained, and the second that those only are to be considered by us as duly ordained who have received episcopal orders. The only legitimate subject of discussion among us is, how are we to meet the objection to our principle as urged by Dissenters—a mere matter of opinion, not a fair plea for division.

I will only advert to one point more. I allude to the angry debates which contentious men would raise among us with reference to the Ceremonies of the Church. On this subject, too, we are in principle united. We all agree that forms and ceremonies are in themselves things indifferent, unless they have been divinely prescribed, as in the case of the Sacraments, and some of the Sacramentals. We all of us also agreed in admitting that when we have solemnly vowed as bishops, priests and deacons of the Church of England to adhere to the forms and ceremonies, rubrics, usages, and regulations of the Church of England, these ceremonies, relatively to us, cease to be things indifferent. If we make a vow, we are, of course, bound to keep it, and they, therefore, if such there be, who think that they shew their wisdom by a studied disregard of the decent ceremonies of the Church do, in reality, only shew the little respect they

have for their declarations and oaths. But it is notorious, from whatever circumstances, that since the reformation, the ceremonies of the Church of England have been, in several respects, altered, either by the introduction of new practices, or by the neglect of old ones. For example, we find that metrical Psalms are now sung as a regular part of our service, of which they originally formed no portion. This innovation is one of ancient date, and I am not complaining of it, but still it is an innovation, and like most innovations it has gradually led to another of a very questionable character; I allude to the introduction of unauthorised hymns of human composition. Another innovation since the time of our reformers is the use of extempore prayer before or after the sermon. Now these are very serious innovations, since they afford to an individual minister more liberty than the Church allows, and enable him to blend his private opinions with the acknowledged principles of the Church in such a manner as to confound the one with the other. Many other innovations of minor importance might easily be pointed out, such as the prevailing practice for the minister to turn in prayer to the people; in the days of the reformers, and for some time after, the minister turned *from* the people in prayer, *to* them in exhortation, so that even by his action the people could distinguish between his address *to* them, and his address *for* them and *with* them to God;—they were continually reminded, by outward circumstances, of the holy duty in which they ought to be engaged. Anthems are frequently discontinued, even in places where they sing; except when there is a Communion the offertory and prayer for the Church Militant are generally omitted,¹ and several portions of the clerical habiliments have fallen into disuse.

There are more serious omissions to which I will not now refer; such as the omission of the daily prayers, though every clergyman is directed to have them solemnised in his Church; such as the neglect of weekly Communions; such as the omission, when the Eucharist itself is administered, on the part of some of the clergy, to place the bread and wine, with their own hands, as an oblation on the altar, although at the last review of the Liturgy, a rubric was expressly and deliberately introduced to compel this observance; such as the neglect, on the part of others, to give that Sacrament with the words

¹[Now happily more generally included.—ED.]

addressed to each individual communicant; for these are omissions of too serious a nature to come under the head of mere ceremonies. With respect to the other matters to which I have referred, I am perfectly ready to admit that many of them are, in themselves, of very little moment; but when we are solemnly pledged to conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England, the tender conscience will be apt to inquire what those ceremonies are to the observance of which we are thus bound. Now some are of opinion that they act sufficiently up to their vow, when they observe such ceremonies as they find handed down to them in the congregation over which they are appointed to preside. Others may be of opinion that the ceremonies ought to be observed precisely as they were originally appointed. A third party are of opinion, to which I myself incline, that they act in perfect consistency with their pledges if they take things as they find them, merely guarding against further innovations; and if, as occasion offers, they return more nearly to the practice of the reformers, which they rejoice to think is the practice also of the primitive Church. But here again the Protestant Dissenters are prepared to upbraid us. Our ceremonies and our ecclesiastical habits, and in great part our services themselves, are the same as those which are used by the Church of Rome, and therefore they accuse us of being papistical for retaining them. Here, then, we are again placed on the defensive, and how are we to defend ourselves? Some persons regret that so many of the old ceremonies were retained by our reformers, but defend them on the ground that they are not actually sinful, that in practice they have been much simplified, and they very properly conclude that it is better to observe them, since they are enjoined, than to commit schism. Others, on the contrary, defend us by acting again on the offensive; they accuse the sectarians in general of a want of due reverence for things sacred, a forgetfulness of the majesty of the Deity, who is approached too often in terms of ecstatic familiarity, amounting almost to profaneness; they appeal to the Scriptures which, while revealing to us the loving-kindness of our God, would at the same time impress our minds with a mysterious awe of Jehovah; and instead, therefore, of apologizing for our observances, they express their satisfaction that, by the solemnity of our services and the decorum of our ceremonies, the devotions of the Church are discriminated from the ranting and raptures of most modern sects. They may at the same time

reverence our particular ceremonies as the relics of primitive devotion, and regard, with a sentiment akin to piety, what acts as one of the connecting links between us and our forefathers.¹ At the same time they carry out the principle of the English reformers, and perceive how the retention of the ancient ceremonies disarms the Romanist of one of his arguments. We tell the Romanist that our's is the old Catholic Church of England—his, a new sect. And when he points to his ceremonies, as a badge of his antiquity, we can defy him to the proof, for (more especially if our rubrics be duly observed) we have in common with him the ancient ceremonies of the primitive Church, and where he differs from us, he almost always differs on matters subsequently introduced.

Now here is certainly room for some diversity of opinion, but surely there can be no room for that fierceness of controversy with which this subject is sometimes approached. For whether we estimate the value of our ceremonies too highly or too meanly, in principle we are all united;—the ceremonies of the Church of England must be observed because we are pledged to observe them, and the ceremonies of the Church of England *only*.

I am far from intending to say that in these differences of opinion there is nothing of importance. If we were assembled in Convocation, empowered to make further reforms in our Church or to discuss the need of them, our opinions with respect to the value of tradition would be important in the extreme; so would be our opinions concerning the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the relative value of primitive Ceremonies, if we were re-constructing our Baptismal and Liturgical offices; nor of less importance would be our opinions on the Apostolical Succession, if the decision were to rest with us whether the Church should recognize the ministerial functions of men not episcopally ordained. But happily for us these questions have been decided for us by the Church, and to

¹ Thus our great reformer, Archbishop Parker, in his speech to the Convocation, speaks of our ceremonies:—"He had for exerting himself not only the precedent of the late martyrs of the Reformation, but of saints of the earliest antiquity; that some of these in the first centuries arrived in this island, and have left us noble remains of their piety and success; and notwithstanding the instructions they left, and the usages they settled, are partly worn out by time and superstition, yet many of them have had a more happy conveyance, and reached down to the present age; and that it appears our constitutions and ceremonies are little different from what was then established."—Collier, ii. 437.

the decision of the Church, by the very fact of our being Churchmen, we unanimously bow ;—we receive her decisions as our common principle. The principles of the Church, as we have seen, form an insurmountable barrier between us and the Dissenter, both Romish and Protestant, and render union with either of those parties impossible. But to us Churchmen, surely our common principles,—if we be not carnal men cherishing in our hearts bitter envying and strife—must be a common bond of union. But how can this union be preserved, unless, like the Church itself, while we are firm to our principles we are tolerant towards the opinions of our brethren? The rule of the Church is indeed admirable. If any clergyman, either by his teaching or his conduct, violate any principle of the Church, he ought to be accused to the Bishop,—to receive such accusations is indeed one of the purposes for which our Diocesan holds his court among us—and if, after trial, the accused be found guilty, he may be excommunicated and deposed. But the Church does not permit one preacher to pronounce a judgment, as it were *ex cathedra*, on another, to anathematise his opinions when he cannot canonically prove him to be guilty of heresy, or even *officially* to attempt the refutation of them ; for our 53rd Canon enacts, “ If any preacher shall, in the pulpit, particularly or namely, of purpose, impugn or confute any doctrine delivered by any other preacher in the same Church, or in any Church near adjoining, before he hath acquainted the Bishop of the diocese therewith, and received order from him what to do in that behalf,”—he shall be liable to suspension ; a regulation this, obviously just and wise. We may descend from our official situation, and appear in the arena on equal terms as controversialists, if in opinion we unfortunately differ ; but in this case, the one controversialist is not more infallible than the other, and if, *pendente lite*, one party takes upon him *officially* to give sentence on the other, what is this but a *petitio principii* as absurd as it is intolerant? In very truth, if each individual preacher were permitted thus to erect himself into an infallible Pope, fulminating his anathemas to the right hand and to the left, we should live for a time in a state of Ishmaelitic discord, when our hand would be against every man, and every man’s hand against us, and at last we should subside into a despotism and tyranny worse than Rome ever invented, or Geneva contemplated.

If the propagation of evangelic truth be one portion of our duty, it is no less our duty, by the sacrifice of all personal considerations, by the humiliation of our proud, the restraint of our angry, the denial of our selfish passions—by the due control even of our better emotions—to preserve the *unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*. Our enemies are many and mighty ; the two extremes of Romanism and Ultra-Protestantism are banded, together with infidelity, against us, and if, like Samson’s foxes, they are pulling different ways, the brands which are attached to them have one and the self-same object—*our destruction*. And is this a time to divide our house, and to form parties and factions? Is this the season for discord? Remember the ties, the sacred ties, which bind us to one another ; as men, we are all under the same condemnation, we are all heirs of the same corrupted nature, equally one and all children of wrath ; as Christians, we seek for reconciliation with an offended Maker, through the atoning merits and the all-prevailing intercession of the same crucified, the same glorified Saviour, through the sanctification of the same Blessed Spirit ; we worship the same God, the Trinity in Unity. We are brethren of the *same household*, with one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all ; ministers of Christ acting under the same apostolical commission, *pledged all to walk by the same rule*, and to speak the same thing ; *bound all by the same vows*, with interests, and pursuits, and duties, and privileges identical ; where, I ask again, can Christian unanimity and harmony be found *if we find it not here?* “ *Sirs, ye are Brethren,*” Oh, wrong not one another! *Sirs, ye are Brethren*, and your Master is praying in heaven that ye may be one even as he is one with the Father ; Oh, seek not by your passions to frustrate his work ! *Sirs, ye are Brethren*,—as brethren let us act cordially together, gradually our differences will lessen, and our agreements will extend. Then shall we stand, a holy army, closely embodied together, prepared with redoubled vigour to prosecute our warfare against the powers of darkness,—and then we shall find how sweeter than the ointment with which Aaron was anointed, how refreshing, as the dews of Hermon, it is for brethren to dwell together in unity ;—then the peace of God will rest upon us, that peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

"Although the word *Καθολικός* properly signifies universal, yet they [the ancient fathers] commonly used it in the same sense as we do the word orthodox, as opposed to an heretic, calling an orthodox man a Catholic, that is a son of the Catholic Church; as taking it for granted, that they, and they only, which constantly adhere to the doctrine of the Catholic or Universal Church, are truly orthodox; which they could not do, unless they had believed the Catholic Church to be so. And besides that, it is part of our very creed, that the Catholic Church is holy, which she could not be, except free from heresy, as directly opposite to true holiness."—*Beveridge. Works* ii. 197.

NOTE B.

How wisely our reformers made use of tradition and the fathers may be seen by a reference to the rules laid down for the conference with the Romish priests and jesuits, among which we find the following :

"If they should shew any ground of Scripture, and wrest it to their sense, let it be shewed by the interpretation of the old doctors, such as were before Gregory I. For that in his time began the first claim of the supremacy by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and shortly after was usurped by the Bishop of Rome, the first founder of the Papacy and supremacy of that see by the authority of that Phocas, the traitor and murderer of his Lord.

"And as for the testimony of the latter doctors, if they bring any, let them refuse them; for that the most part of the writers of that time, and after yielded to the authority of the Emperor and the Bishop of Rome.

"If they can shew no doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the time of the Apostles, and above four hundred years after (when doctrine and religion were most pure). For that they can shew no predecessor whom they might succeed in the same. *Quod primum verum.*

Well indeed, would it be for the cause of truth if the self-appointed disputants in favour of the Reformation, in their challenges to the Papists, would be guided by these rules. The so-called "Reformation Society" would then be less injurious to the cause of the Reformation than it now is, and the Papists, with the worst cause, would less frequently come off triumphant.

NOTE C.

The Apology of the Church of England, referred to in this canon, is the celebrated work of Bishop Jewell, than which no book, excepting the Common Prayer and the Books of Homilies, has received a greater share of public sanction and authority in the English Church. The whole plan of this work is an appeal to Catholic tradition and primitive consent against the innovations of the Church of Rome, and any selection of passages rather diminishes the force of his whole train of reasoning.

"Why, then, should we trust them in relation to what they pretend concerning the fathers, the ancient councils and the Scriptures? They have not, O good God! they have not, on their side, what they pretend to have; they have neither antiquity, nor universality, nor the consent of either all times or all nations:

and of this they are not ignorant themselves, though they craftily dissemble their knowledge; yea, at times, they will not obscurely confess it; and, therefore, they—the Romanists,—sometimes will allege that the sanction of the ancient councils and fathers are such as may lawfully be changed; for different decrees, they say, will best suit the different state of the Church in different times." What follows is most important in the present state of the Romish controversy:—"And so they hide themselves under the name of a Church, and by a wretched sham delude mankind."

"Thus," says Bishop Jewell, when defending the English reformers, "have we been taught by Christ, the apostles, and by the HOLY FATHERS, and we do faithfully teach the children of God the same things, and for so doing are we to be called heretics by their great high priests? Oh! immortal God! Have Christ and his apostles, and so many fathers, all erre? What, are Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoret, apostates from the Catholic faith? Was the consent of so many bishops and learned men nothing but a conspiracy of heretics? Or that which was commendable in them, is it now blamable in us? Or that which was once true, is it now, because it displeaseth them, become false?"

Chap. iii. sect. 2.

He elsewhere affirms:—

"When they, the Papists, have thus left nothing unsaid which can possibly be, though never so falsely and slanderously, objected against us, yet at least they cannot pretend that we have forsaken the Word of God, or the apostles of Christ, or the primitive church."

Chap. iv. sect. 18.

Again:—

"We, the English reformers, have approached, as nearly as possibly we could do, the Church of the apostles, and the ancient Catholic bishops and fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry, or any great or public error. Neither have we only reformed our doctrine, and made it like theirs, but we have also brought the celebration of the Sacraments and the forms of our public rites and prayers to an exact resemblance with their institutions or customs."

Chap. vi. 15.

Nothing can be more clear than this statement of the intention of our Reformers, and of their principles of Reformation.

I need hardly remind the learned reader that all this is perfectly in accordance with the memorable challenge of Bishop Jewell to the advocates of Romanism. After enumerating the chief points of difference between the friends of the Reformation and the advocates of the Romish corruptions, he boldly says, "If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any old general council, or by any example of the primitive Church, I promised them that I would give over and subscribe unto him."

NOTE D.

LUTHERANS.

On this subject see *Palmer's Treatise on the Church of Christ*, P. i. ch. xii. sec. 2. Having produced a variety of proof to show the principle on which the early Lutherans acted, he says, "All these things prove that the Lutherans did

not voluntarily separate from the Church; and that, at all events, for a *long time*, they desired to be re-united to its full communion."

The truth is, they were deeply and duly impressed with the evils of separation, and its contradiction to the divine will; and felt that no obstacles, except those which arose from certain, clear, and irrefragable necessity, ought to prevent union.

"It is clear that the Lutherans did not wish to separate from the Church, and that they were ready to make concessions to regain its communion. It would be, also, a great mistake to suppose that Luther, or his party, *designed* to effect a reformation of the Church. That is to say, they did not intend, as *individuals*, to reform the Church, for which they could have no authority, they were driven entirely by the force of circumstances to adopt the course they did; it was not premeditated nor desired by them. They would have widely altered the Lutheran system, which was a merely temporary arrangement, if by so doing they could have recovered the communion of the Church. But the opposition of the Roman see thwarted these designs, the Council of Trent rendered them still more difficult; and, in time, the Lutherans forgot that their system was merely provisional, pretended to justify it as ordinary and sufficient, and lost their desire for accommodation with the Roman and German Churches.

NOTE E.

PROTESTANTS.

The designation of Protestant is used in England as a general term to denote all who protest against Popery. Such, however, was neither the original acceptation of the word, nor is it the sense in which it is still applied on the continent. It was originally given to those who protested against a certain decree issued by the Emperor Charles V. and the Diet of Spire in 1529.—*Mosheim*, Book iv. 26. On the continent it is applied as a term to distinguish the Lutheran communions. The Lutherans are called Protestants; the Calvinists, the Reformed.

It is evident that in *our* application of the word it is a mere term of negation. If a man says that he is a Protestant, he only tells us that he is *not* a Romanist, at the same time he may be what is worse, a Socinian or even an Infidel, for these are all united under the common principle of protesting against Popery. The appellation is not given to us, I believe, in any of our formularies, and has chiefly been employed in political warfare as a watchword to rally in one band all who, whatever may be their religious differences, are prepared to act politically against the aggressions of the Romanists. In this respect it was particularly useful at the time of the Revolution, and, as politics intrude themselves into all the considerations of an Englishman, either directly or indirectly, the term is endeared to a powerful and influential party in the State. But on the very ground that it thus keeps out of view distinguishing and vital principles, and unites in apparent agreement those who essentially differ, many of our divines object to the use of the word. They contend, with good reason, that it is quite absurd to speak of the

Protestant Religion, since a religion must, of course, be distinguished not by what it renounces but by what it professes: they apprehend that it has occasioned a kind of sceptical habit of inquiring not how much we ought to believe, but how much we *refuse* to believe; of looking at what is negative instead of what is positive in our religion; of fearing to inquire after the truth lest it should lead to something which is held by the Papists in common with ourselves, and which, *therefore*, as some persons seem to argue, no sound Protestant can hold; forgetting that on this principle we ought to renounce the Liturgy, the Sacraments, the doctrine of the Trinity, the deity and atonement of Christ,—nay, the very Bible itself. It is certainly absurd to speak of the Protestant religion,—i.e. a negative religion, but there is no absurdity in speaking of the Church of England, or of the Church of America, as a Protestant Church—the word Church conveys a positive idea, and there can be no reason why we should not have *also* a negative appellation. If we admit that the Church of Rome is a true though a corrupt Church, it is well to have a term by which we may always declare that, while we hold in common with her all that she has which is catholic, scriptural, and pure, we protest for ever against her multiplied corruptions. Besides, the word, whether correctly or not, is in general use, and is in a certain sense applicable to the Church of England; it is surely, therefore, better to retain it, only warning our congregations that when we call ourselves Protestants, we no more mean to profess that we hold communion with all parties who are so styled, than the Church of England, when in her creeds and formularies she designates herself not as the *Protestant* but as the *Catholic* Church of this country, intends to hold communion with those Catholic Churches abroad which have infused into their system the principles of the Council of Trent. Protestant is our negative, Catholic our definite name. We tell the Papist that with respect to him we are Protestant; we tell the Protestant Dissenter that with respect to him we are Catholics; and we may be called Protestant or Protesting Catholics, or, as some of our writers describe us, Anglo-Catholics.

NOTE F.

ON THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

So evidently does the Church connect Baptism and Regeneration that the Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's time and the Nonconformists in the reign of Charles II. justified their secession on the ground that "*the Church clearly teaches the doctrine of real baptismal regeneration.*"—*Nonconformist's Memorial*. Introd. p. 39.

The Puritans particularly objected to our service for applying John iii. 5, to "*the baptizing in the font, that being spoken, as they said, only of the operation of the Spirit.*" *Puritan Register*, p. 97. They civilised also "*at these words used in baptism, that Jesus Christ did sanctify the flood Jordan and all other waters to the mystical washing away of sin; as though we should attri-*

bute that to the sign which is proper to the word of God in the blood of Christ; and that virtue were in the water to wash away sin."—*A view of Popish abuses yet remaining.* Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 480.

Allusion is here evidently made to our baptismal service where it is expressly said that water is sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin. The Puritans also objected to the Church for teaching each baptized child to speak of himself as "*sanctified*," which is done in the catechism.

Among the eight things at the Savoy conference charged upon the Church as "flatly sinful and contrary to the word of God," the fourth was "*that ministers are obliged to pronounce all baptized infants regenerate by the Holy Ghost.*" Collier, ii. 835.

According to a statement of the late Rev. Thos. Scott,¹ our Reformers did not believe baptism to be regeneration, but, yielding to the circumstances of the time," and "*an undue regard to the Fathers*," they suffered what they did not believe to remain as the doctrine of the baptismal office, though leading, as Mr. Scott would consider, to errors the most pernicious and fatal. This, a High Churchman, who, true to the principles of the English Reformation, has a due regard to the Fathers, would, I shrewdly suspect, call impiety. From this charge I shall be happy to vindicate our great reformers; and first of all Cranmer. That his private views were not, as Mr. Scott suspects, different from those which he publicly avowed, may be seen from the ensuing extracts from one of his last and most elaborate works:—

"Although our carnal generation and our carnal nourishment be known to all men by daily experience and by our common senses; yet this our spiritual generation and our spiritual nutrition be so obscure and hid unto us, that we cannot attain to the true and perfect knowledge and feeling of them, but only by faith, which must be grounded upon God's most holy word and sacraments.

And for this cause Christ ordained Baptism in water, that as sure as we see, feel, and touch water with our bodies, and be washed with water; so assuredly ought we to believe, when we be baptized, that Christ is verily present with us, and that by him we be newly born again spiritually, and washed from our sins, and grafted in the stock of Christ's own body, and be apparelled, clothed, and harnessed with him in such wise, that as the Devil hath no power against Christ, so hath he none against us, so long as we remain grafted in that stock, and be clothed with that apparel, and harnessed with that armour." Cranmer's *Works*, ii. 302.

If a yet stronger passage from Archbishop Cranmer is wanted, it can be easily produced.

"And when you say that in baptism we receive the spirit of Christ, and in the sacrament of his body and blood we receive his very flesh and blood, this your saying is no small derogation to baptism, wherein we receive not only the spirit of Christ, but also Christ himself, whole body and soul, manhood and Godhead, unto everlasting life, as well as in the holy communion. For St. Paul saith, *Quicumque in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. As many as be baptized in Christ, put*

Christ upon them. Nevertheless this is done in divers respects; for in Baptism it is done in respect of regeneration, and in the Holy Communion in respect of nourishment and augmentation."—*Works* iii. 65.

Some tracts of great importance, under the title of "*Tracts of the Anglican Fathers*," have been lately published, and ought to be widely circulated. From Archbishop Cranmer's sermon on Holy Baptism, the following extracts are made:—

"And the second birth is by the water of Baptism, which Paul calleth the bath of regeneration, because our sins be forgiven us in Baptism, and the Holy Ghost is poured into us as into God's beloved children, so that by the power and working of the Holy Ghost we be born again spiritually, and made new creatures. And so by Baptism we enter into the kingdom of God, and are saved for ever, if we continue to our lives' end in the faith of Christ."—p. 1.

"When we are born again by Baptism, then our sins are forgiven us, and the Holy Ghost is given us, which doth make us also holy, and doth move us to all goodness."—p. 7.

"Baptism is not water alone, and nothing else besides, but is the water of God, and hath his strength by the Word of God, and is a seal of God's promise. Wherefore, it doth work in us all those things whereunto God hath ordained it. For our Lord Jesus Christ saith, 'Go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' This God commanded his disciples to do. Wherefore, by the virtue of this commandment, which came from heaven, even from the bosom of God, Baptism doth work in us as the work of God. For when we be baptized in the name of God, that is as much [as] to say, as God himself should baptize us. Wherefore we ought not to have an eye only to the water, but to God rather, which did ordain the Baptism of water, and commanded it to be done in his name. For he is almighty, and able to work in us by Baptism forgiveness of our sins, and all those wonderful effects and operations for the which he hath ordained the same, although man's reason is not able to conceive the same. Therefore, consider, good children, the great treasures and benefits wherof God maketh us partakers when we are baptized, which be these. The first is, that in Baptism our sins be forgiven us, as Saint Peter witnesseth, saying, 'Let every one of you be baptized for the forgiveness of his sins.' The second is, that the Holy Ghost is given us, the which doth spread abroad the love of God in our hearts, whereby we may keep God's commandments according to this saying of Saint Peter, 'Let every one of you be baptized in the name of Christ, and then you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.'

"The third is, that by Baptism the whole righteousness of Christ is given unto us that we may claim the same as our own. For so Saint Paul teacheth, saying, 'As many of ye as be baptized in Christ have put upon you Christ.'"—p. 8.

"By this which I have hitherto spoken, I trust you understand, good children, wherefore Baptism is called the bath of regeneration, and how in Baptism we be born again, and be made new creatures in Christ."—p. 9.

"But peradventure some will say, how can water work such great things? To whom I answer, that it is not the water that doeth these things, but the almighty word of God (which is knit and joined to the water), and faith which receiveth God's word and promise. For without the word of God, water is water, and not Baptism. But when the word of the

living God is added and joined to the water, then it is the bath of regeneration, and Baptism water, and the lively spring of eternal salvation, and a bath that washeth our souls by the Holy Ghost, as Saint Paul calleth it, saying, 'God hath saved us through his mercy, by the bath of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured upon us plentifully by Jesus Christ our Saviour, that we *being made righteous* by his grace may be heirs of everlasting life.' This is a sure and true word."—pp. 11, 12.

We all know that Bishop Ridley was recommended to the notice of Cranmer by certain high-church qualifications, which would in these days have had, with some parties, a very contrary effect; "his well-known acquaintance with the Scriptures and the Fathers." (*Soame's Reformation* iii. 28.) In his great and learned work against Transubstantiation, we find him arguing thus: "Now on the other side, if, after the truth shall be truly tried out, it be found that the substance of bread is the material substance of the Sacrament, *although for the change of the use, office, and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed, sacramentally, is changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration*, and yet the material substance thereof remaineth all one as before, &c." (*Enchiridion*, vol. i. p. 72.) Indeed, all who are but slightly acquainted with the works of our Reformers must be aware that this was their favourite argument against Transubstantiation: "There is no need to hold the dogma of Transubstantiation in order to believe that Christ is imparted in the Eucharist, *because* he is equally imparted in baptism, and yet no one contends that the water is transubstantiated." This great martyr declares, "As the body is nourished by the bread and wine at the Communion, and the soul by grace and spirit with the body of Christ; even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul cleansed from all filth by the *invisible Holy Ghost*, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."¹

"As *therefore in Baptism*," says Bradford, "is given to us the *Holy Ghost* and pardon of our sins, which yet lie not lurking in the water; so in the Lord's Supper is given unto us the *Communion of Christ's body and blood*, without transubstantiation, or including the same in the bread. By Baptism the old man is put off, the new man is put on, yea Christ is put on without transubstantiating the water. And even so it is in the Lord's Supper."²

Dr. Wordsworth gives a similar quotation from Cranmer's answer to Gardiner, one of his latest works: "I mean that he is *PRESENT* in the ministration and receiving of that Holy Supper according to his own institution and ordinance, like as in Baptism, Christ and the Holy Ghost be not *in* the water or font, but be given *in* the ministration, or to them that be duly baptized in the water."³ In the Tracts of

the Anglican Fathers, quotations to the same effect are given from Bishop Hooper, page 15.

And now having vindicated our pious Reformers from the insinuation of Mr. Scott, that they sought the propagation of doctrines which they did not believe, and having shewn what High Churchmen they are in this respect, I shall call before my reader a witness whose testimony is valuable to the facts,—that baptismal regeneration is the doctrine of the Church of England, that it is the doctrine of our Reformers, that the doctrine is scriptural, and that it is burdensome to some,—but *not* to those who believe with the Church of England that the Scriptures teach that regeneration is the inward grace of baptism.

"In the baptismal service we thank God for having regenerated the baptized infant by his Holy Spirit. Now from hence it appears that in the opinion of our Reformers, regeneration and remission of sins did accompany baptism. But in what sense did they hold this sentiment? Did they maintain that there was no need for the seed then sown in the heart of the baptized person to grow up and bring forth fruit; or that he could be saved in any other way than by a progressive renovation of his soul after the divine image? Had they asserted any such doctrine as that it would have been impossible for any enlightened person to concur with them. But nothing can be conceived more repugnant to their sentiments than such an idea as this; so far from harbouring such a thought they have, and that too in this very prayer, taught us to look to God for that total change both of heart and life which long since their days has begun to be expressed by the term regeneration. After thanking God for regenerating the infant by his Holy Spirit, we are taught to pray 'that he being dead unto sin and living unto righteousness may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin,' and then declaring the total change to be the necessary mean of his obtaining salvation, we add, 'so that finally with the residue of the holy Church he may be an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom.' Is there (I would ask) any person that can require more than this? or does God in his word require more? There are two things to be noticed in reference to this subject, the term regeneration and the thing. The term occurs but twice in the Scriptures; in one place it refers to Baptism, and is distinguished from the renewing of the Holy Ghost; which, however, is represented as attendant on it: and in the other place it has a totally distinct meaning unconnected with the subject. Now the term they use as the Scripture uses it, and the thing they require as strongly as any person can require it. They do not give us any reason to imagine that an adult person can be saved without experiencing all that modern divines [*Ultra-protestant divines*] have included in the term regeneration; on the contrary, they do both there and in the Liturgy insist upon a radical change of both heart and life. Here, then, the only question is not 'Whether a baptized person can be saved by that ordinance without sanctification,' but whether God does always accompany the sign with the thing signified? Here is certainly room for difference of opinion; but it cannot be positively decided in the negative; because we cannot know or even judge respecting it in any case whatever except by the fruits that follow: and therefore in all fairness it may be considered only as a doubtful point; and if he appeal, as he ought to do, to the holy Scriptures, they certainly do, in a very remarkable way, accord with the ex-

¹ Wordsworth's *Life of Ridley*, iii. p. 233. See also *Ridley's Life of Ridley*, pp. 684, 689, 620.

² Bradford's *Sermon on the Lord's Supper*, quoted in Wordsworth's *Life of Latimer*, iii. 238.

³ Cranmer's answer to Gardiner, p. 172.

Expressions in our Liturgy. St. Paul says, 'By one Spirit we are ALL baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been ALL made to *drink into one Spirit*.' And this he says of all the visible members of Christ's Body, (1 Cor. xii. 13, 27.) Again, speaking of the whole nation of Israel, infants as well as adults, he says, 'They were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did ALL eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and *that Rock was Christ*.' (1 Cor. x. 1, 4.) Yet, behold, in the very next verse he tells us that, 'with many of them God was displeased, and overthrew them in the wilderness.' In another place he speaks yet more strongly still: 'As many of you,' says he, 'as are baptized unto Christ, have put on Christ. Here we see what is meant by the expression 'baptized into Christ:' it is precisely the same expression as that before mentioned, of the Israelites being 'baptized unto Moses:' (the preposition *εἰς* is used in both places; it includes all that had been initiated into his religion by the rite of baptism; and of them UNIVERSALLY does the Apostle say, '*they have put on Christ*.' Now I ask, have not the persons who scruple the use of that prayer in the baptismal service, equal reason to scruple the use of these different expressions?

"Again—St. Paul says, 'Repent and be baptized every one of you *for the remission of sins*.'—(Acts, ii. 38, 39.) And in another place, 'Baptism doth now save us,'—1 Pet. iii. 21.) And speaking elsewhere of Baptized persons who were unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, he says, '*He hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins*.'—(2 Pet. i. 9.) Does not this very strongly countenance the IDEA WHICH OUR REFORMERS ENTERTAINED, THAT THE REMISSION OF OUR SINS THE REGENERATION OF OUR SOULS, IS ATTENDANT ON THE BAPTISMAL RITE? Perhaps it will be said that the inspired writers spake of persons who had been Baptized at an adult age. But if they did so in some places, they certainly did not in others; and where they did not, they must be understood as comprehending all, whether infants or adults: and therefore the language of our Liturgy, which is not a whit stronger than theirs, may be both subscribed and used without any just occasion of offence.

"Let me, then, speak the truth before God: though I am no Arminian, I do think the refinements of Calvin have done great harm in the Church; they have driven multitudes from the plain and popular way of speaking used by the inspired writers and have made them unreasonably and unscripturally squeamish in their modes of expression; and I conceive that the less addicted any person is to systematic accuracy, the more he will accord with the inspired writers, and the more he will approve the views of our Reformers. I do not mean, however, to say that a slight alteration in two or three instances would not be an improvement, since it would take off a *burthen* from many minds, and supersede the necessity of laboured explanations: but I do mean to say that there is no such objection to these expressions as to deter any con-

scientious person from giving his unfeigned assent and consent to the Liturgy altogether, or from using the particular expressions which we have been endeavouring to explain."—*Simeon's Works* vol. ii. p. 259.

Whether Mr. Simeon may have written differently in other parts of his voluminous works, I am not sufficiently acquainted with those works to be able to say, but I venture to quote this as one of the most lucid expositions and one of the most scriptural vindications of the doctrine of regeneration as held by our English Reformers, and for holding which so much abuse is heaped upon those who are designated High Churchmen, that has fallen under my notice. Mr. Simeon shows that our services do unequivocally assert that regeneration takes place at Baptism, that they are scriptural in doing so, and that those absurd consequences which some persons would suppose to be connected with the doctrine do not of necessity follow. He tells us that some persons find this, the unquestionable doctrine of the Church, such a "burthen" that they require some "slight alteration in one or two places;" and that in default of these alterations they are obliged to have recourse to "laboured explanations." Against these persons I wish to say nothing,—if they can conscientiously remain in the Church I rejoice to consider them as brethren. But they generally assume an exclusive respect for Scripture; yet, according to Mr. Simeon's showing, the expressions of Scripture, for he proves the expressions of our Baptismal Service and those of Scripture to be identical, are a burthen to them. In this instance, then, we, who want no alteration, are more scriptural than they are. If they can conscientiously adopt their "laboured explanations," they are perfectly welcome. But what those persons have a right to complain of, who receive the expressions of the Liturgy in their plain and simple sense, who labour after no "explanations," complain of no "burthen," would resolutely resist any "alteration," is this, that an attempt is made to make it appear that *they* are the persons innovating in the Church; that *they* are opposed to the Reformers; that *they* are unscriptural. Mr. Simeon perceived how the quarrel commenced. By those attached to the *foreign* school of Reformation, regeneration is used in a sense different from that which prevails among those who are attached to the principles of the *English* Reformation. He would propose that we should yield to the advocates of the foreign Reformation, or Ultra-protestants. To such a proposition we shall never assent, for our phraseology is that of the Church Universal, the other that merely of a sect or party comparatively small.

SEC. 2.—A REVIEW OF THE SCRIPTURAL AND CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION,—OUR BEST INHERITANCE,—AND HOW ARE WE TO MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE THEM IN THEIR PURITY AND TRUTH?—BY THE RIGHT REV. SAMUEL, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.*

"And it came to pass, when the King had heard the words of the book of the Law, that he rent his clothes."—2 Kings xxii. 11.

WE shall do well to review, however briefly, that work of reformation which set our Church and nation free from many close-clinging evils, to ascertain what were its real principles, and so to see how best we in our day may, by faithfully adhering to them, hand on its blessings to our children's children.

The passage of God's Word to which I call your attention is, I think, well fitted to set the tone of our thoughts in entering on this subject; for it is a record by the finger of God of a great instance of such a national reform. His Church, when Josiah was raised up to rule over the chosen people, was overspread by corruptions. And if we look closely into the scanty record of those evils left us in Scripture, we shall see that they were, with one single exception, brought on by the introduction of additions to the pure truth of God. The course of Judah's decline was marked by a perpetual series of these unauthorized accretions to her divinely appointed polity. Some of these were in their origin nothing more than the prolongation of a line which in its origin was one of reverence and piety, but yet which, so cunning is the tempter, involved consequences which were at direct variance with the original truth. Thus, for instance, that signal abuse, the opportunity for which Hezekiah had a few years before removed, when he brake in pieces the brazen serpent to which in his days the people burnt incense,¹ had no doubt grown up by imperceptible gradations from a spirit of pious reverence towards an instrument through which the God of Israel had wrought mightily for their fathers' deliverance. Yet, from the first, there was involved in this act a principle of paying uncommanded honour to a material emblem of God's power, which even whilst it was most completely veiled under the piety of a holy purpose, did by consequence subvert the law of the jealous God. Somewhat more openly, but under a similar cloak, apparently, of pious

intention, did King Ahaz and Urijah the priest introduce the uncommanded altar after the pattern of Damascus;¹ and from those beginnings it is not difficult to trace the onward course of evil through the worship in the high places, and the weaving of hangings for the grove, to the introduction into the very chambers of God's house of the chariots of the sun; and then to all the pomp and circumstance of that idol-worship wherewith Judah was defiled and Jehovah provoked to anger. All was the natural course of human corruption, developing itself in wider and yet wider deviations from the prescribed rule, when once the principle of *unauthorised additions to commanded rites* had been fully established. But to this otherwise universal law of CORRUPTION BY ADDITION, there was, as I have said, one single exception, without which indeed the evil could not have become thus inveterate and rank. God's written Word had been neglected and forgotten; so that of that book of which it had been appointed by God as a fundamental law of the monarchy of Israel, that its king "when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, shall write him a copy of this Law in a book," "and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life,"²—of that same book there was so entire a forgetful ignorance, that when one copy of it was found in Josiah's day, it was treated as a great discovery, and read by Shaphan the scribe before the King, and so utterly forgotten were its contents, that "it came to pass, that when the King heard the words of the book of the Law, he rent his clothes,"—so lively and overwhelming was the new sense which it awakened in him of the transgressions of his people.

Here, then, we have before us the whole picture of the fall of the elder Church. God's written Law was cast aside, and His appointed service was utterly disfigured by a vast and polluting series of additions to its early purity, many of which originated in pious intentions, but which finally subverted utterly His true worship.

And now let us examine for a moment what was the principle on which the King set about his work of reformation.

First, with the priests and all the people, both small and great, he went up into the Temple of the Lord, and there "he read in

* From a Sermon preached before the University, by the late Bishop of Oxford.

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 10, 11.

² Deut. xvii. 18, 19.

their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord." Here was the beginning. The evils had sprung up and multiplied when the written Law was out of sight. The first step towards their eradication was to bring home to all the people its forgotten truths,—and then the next step followed: "The King commanded Hilkiah the high priest . . . to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven, and he burnt them without Jerusalem. . . . And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men."¹ In the clear light of God's written revelation, the work of stripping off from His service all the unauthorized addition by which its purity had been corrupted was at once begun; and the rule by which the pious King sought to restore all things back, was—what that Word commanded, and what had been of old, in obedience to it, the primitive belief and worship

Now here, brethren, we have, in a parallel of marvellous exactness, the history of Christ's Church in its purity, in its corruption, and, (God be praised!) amongst ourselves, through His most undeserved mercy, in its reformation. First, there was its age of primitive purity, when, under the original afflatus of the Divine Spirit, she was full of love and purity; when the Word of Christ, as it was delivered by the mouth and by the pen of Apostles, dwelt in her richly, and was her true and only law; when, under the apostolical ministry, God the Father was worshipped in spirit and in truth, through the alone mediation of the Son in the power of the Holy Ghost. This period, like some holy and blessed childhood, was the time of docile hearts, of unquestioning faith, and of simple worship. There was then the outward organization which the Lord had created for His Church's rule, and for ministering to her the gifts of the Holy Ghost: the universal apostolate resolving itself into the fixed episcopate, and unfolded, under the teaching of the Spirit, into the further ministry of priests and deacons. There were the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. There were all these based upon the revelation of the wonderful mystery of the Trinity in Unity, and producing a simple love to Christ, entire trust in Him, the hanging of the whole soul upon Him, the

approach of every contrite spirit through Him alone to the Everlasting Father. They who taught, as one of the very chiefest amongst them has declared to us, "determined not to know anything" amongst their disciples, "save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified;" from His Cross welled forth the stream of life; by Him, risen and ascended, was poured out the grace which "gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ¹," and none then doubted that through them the Holy Spirit wrought His covenanted work, and that the appointed acts, therefore, which they performed in virtue of their office, were not bare earthly signs, but were full of the power of the new spiritual Kingdom which Christ had founded and conveyed to every fit receiver,—the direct action of God the Holy Ghost, who, though unseen, dwelt personally amidst them.

Here was the Church of Christ in the unspotted purity of her bridal garments: and now, look on it as our fathers found it when, three hundred years ago, God called them, like the young Josiah, to the work of reformation. Where had not the pollution spread?

First, in its outward organization, instead of the college of Apostles, equal in spiritual authority, because all had been equally commissioned by the Lord, they found one bishop putting himself into the place of that Lord; claiming, in right of an alleged succession from St. Peter, monstrous powers, which there is the clearest proof that the apostle himself never possessed or claimed; asserting that "all the apostles received the power to execute their office of preaching, baptizing, and the like, from St. Peter,"² and not from Christ; and that in like manner, he now, and not the Lord, was "the source of all ministerial authority and spiritual office, and the dispenser of all sacramental grace to the Church." That he was, to use the words of one of the usurping line, "the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the anointed of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh; short of God, but beyond man; less than God, but greater than man; who judges all men, and is judged of no man³." They found him declaring that

¹ Ephes. iv. 11, 12.

² See Professor Huxsey's *Rise of the Papal Power*, p. 193.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 196; *Serm. of Innocent III.*, quoted by Huxsey, p. 169.

all the kingdoms of the earth were delivered up to him ; that he could depose princes from their thrones, release subjects from their obedience and their oaths ; require kings to extirpate those whom he pronounced heretical, and deprive them of their kingdoms, and give them to others, on their disobedience ;¹ whilst, as to spiritual things, they found him asserting that the general councils of the Church could have authority only from his confirmation ; that all bishops and clergy had from him alone authority to minister ; and that he had full power to remit all sin : and that all this must be implicitly believed to be true, as the condition of salvation.²

Farther, they found this vast spiritual tyranny producing and surrounded by its natural results : for on every side a system had been built up of which this was the corner-stone. They found the Pope's assumed power of remitting sins, producing the hideous imposture of indulgences ; whereby, for money, men guilty of every monstrous crime were at once restored to perfect purity, with the further promise that, if they did not die yet, " this grace should remain in full force, and avail them at the hour of death."³ They found the heathen dream of purgatory, with its terrors for the holy, and its delusive comfort for the wicked, grafted into the Church's teaching, because, with the further fiction that masses for the dead could deliver the tormented soul from its fires, it became a fruitful source of income and of power. They found the purity of all society around them grievously injured : the clergy themselves debased by an enforced celibacy,—enforced upon them that they, by their insulation from all family life, might be more obedient instruments in the hands of their papal master. And, farther, they found them divided by the subtlest craft into various conflicting orders ; into regulars and seculars, monks and friars ; that through their internal divisions, their subjection to their common head might be more absolute, and his rule the more irresistible : and by this mighty system of priestly tyranny they found the vigour and independence of national life impaired ; whilst in its narrower spheres of action they found,

through the contaminating processes of the confessional, the sacred confidence of family life continually assailed, its purity sullied, and its peace disturbed ; whilst in another direction, the free action of man's intellectual powers was forbidden to him, and his very gifts of reason burdened in their exercise by restraints and persecution. With all this social evil they found, moreover, the uttermost corruption in things purely spiritual. Man's merits, instead of the Cross of Christ, were made practically the ground of the sinner's hope ; the doctrine of his free justification through faith in Christ alone, denied ; the wonderful mystery of the spiritual presence of the Lord's Body in the Holy Eucharist, (which, as laymen, they could receive only in a mutilated form), debased into the carnal fable of a change in the substance of the sacramental elements ; the Virgin mother of the Lord, instead of her Divine Son, exhibited to all as the compassionate and all-powerful mediator between God and man ; whilst her multiplied images recalled to mind the worst and most abundant idol-worship of the older heathendom.

Moreover, as there was this parallel to the corruptions which, in the days of Josiah, had overspread the Jewish Church, so was there also in the manner of their spread. Here, too, there had been no sudden change, no conscious and avowed rejection of any truth. Here, too, the course of evil had been a course of additions to the faith ; each separate addition marking no special progress, many of them springing from motives of mistaken piety ; but, inasmuch as they contained within themselves consequences subversive of the truth, all together overlaying that truth with a deadly surface of error. Thus did the exaggerations of one age grow into the pollutions of the next, until, as the closest parallel to the Temple of Jehovah furnishing chambers for the horses of the sun, the courts of God's house were full of tawdry images and ceaseless adorations of the Virgin.

Nor would they fail to find at least a modified likeness of those ancient priests of the groves and of the high places, who sprung from and represented and reproduced the corruptions of the chosen people. For with us, the monastic institutions had usurped, too commonly, at the time of which we speak, for nothing better than a self-indulgent idleness, by far the greater share of the endowments of religion ; and below their well-portioned monks were the roving

¹ See the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council, Mansi V. xxii. c. 987, quoted in the preface to Professor Hussey's *Rise of the Papal Power*,—p. xiii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208-9.

³ See *Forma Absolutionis plenarie apud Gerdesium Monumenta Antiquitatis*, tom. i. No. vii. B. p. 74, quoted in "Catholic Layman," July, 1854,—p. 82.

mendicant friars, who with their tricks, their debaucheries, and their papal immunities, fouled all the fountains of religious truth; and the poor seculars, who, sprung from the lowest of the people, and wholly untaught in spiritual learning, alternated between the coarse ribaldry of the ale-house bench and the official repetition of their mumbled masses.¹ With such teachers, it is not difficult to conceive what must have been the ignorance and grossness of the taught; or to believe the exact truth of the dark picture of the times which, rendered graphic by his homely wit, may be gazed on in the sermons of good old Bishop Latimer. Nor does the parallel cease here. In our case, as in that of Judah, it was through neglect of God's written Word that the corruptions multiplied and waxed strong. The Church of Rome, as she declares of herself, with a wise dread of their great light, has always prohibited the indiscriminate use of the Scriptures. It was the restoration of that written Word which formed the first stage of our Reformation. Wycliffe's Bible did for us what the volume of the Law which was found by Hilkiah the priest did for awakening Judah. The hearts of numbers stirred beneath its sound. They who could not afford to purchase the precious volume would barter their goods for a few favourite chapters.² And as it was in the days of Josiah, so was it with us. The work of casting out the gathered corruptions of years began at once. For a time, indeed, the strong arm of the secular power maintained the reign of error; and the blood of martyrs nourished the few weakly plants of religious reformation. Then came the days when God, whose special attribute it is to bring good out of evil, permitted the irregular appetites and haughty temper of a profligate king to be the earthly instrument for withholding for a season the withering blasts of persecution, whilst the Bishops of our Church wrought that work of casting out the gathered evils of many days of darkness, which so especially belonged to their office.

And in carrying out this great enterprise, the good providence of God overruling many threatening evils, did upon the whole keep them, to a marvellous degree, to the one true principle for the conduct of such a work. He led them to introduce no novelty, to cast out nothing

that was truly primitive, to amend nothing by the light of their own private judgment; but to strive, if it might be, for unity with the neighbouring branches of the one apostolical communion, even whilst they rejected their errors! to make no new Church, to discover no new Gospel, but to bring back that which late corruptions had obscured to its earlier condition;³ to restore all by God's written Word, and according to the practice of primitive times.

This was their profession, this, through God's great mercy overruling man's infirmity, was, in the main, their conduct. "We," says Bishop Jewel, "have done nothing but what we saw it had been always held lawful to do, and what had been often done by the holy Fathers, none blaming them. Therefore, our Bishops being gathered in full synod, with the common consent of all ranks, we have cleansed, like some Augean stable, those pollutions of the Church which the carelessness or fault of men had introduced, and, as far as we could, have brought all things back to their early aspect, to the likeness of apostolical times and of the primitive Church."⁴ And again, he thus describes their whole course: "We have sought the true form of our faith out of the sacred Scriptures, and have returned to the primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles, that is, to the first beginning, as to the fountain-head."⁵ "By whom," (the martyr Philpot is asked, "will you be judged in matters of controversy?")⁶ "By the Word of God," is his reply. And when he is further asked, "What if you take the Word one way, and I another way, who shall be judge then?" He answers, "The primitive Church." "I use," says Bishop Ridley, "the wise counsel of Vicentius Lirinensis . . . : when one part of the Church is corrupted by heresies, then prefer the whole world before that part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity. In like sort now . . . I repair to the usage of the primitive Church . . . and prefer its antiquity before the novelty of the Romish Church."⁷

"It was my mind," says Archbishop Cranmer solemnly, at his degradation, "to teach those things only which I had learned of the sacred

¹ See Strype's Annals, 177, 181.

² Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog., i. 290; Blunt's Reformation, p. 95.

³ See the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

⁴ Juelli Epistola de Concilio Tridentino. Works, vol. viii. p. 103.

⁵ Apologia, &c. Ibid., vol. iv. p. 92.

⁶ Fourth Examination of Philpot.

⁷ Bp. Ridley's last Exam. Works, Parker Soc., vol. i, p. 260.

Scriptures and of the holy Catholic Church from the beginning . . . and I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the Word of God and of the holy Catholic Church." ¹

This, then, was the principle of the English Reformation,—God's Word as the supreme law, primitive practice as its best interpreter, guided the hands of its reformers. Herein, next to the aid of God, was their strength. Hence it came to pass, that—whilst in so many parts of Christendom, where the work of reformation advanced, there was torn down in its accomplishment, with the error, the truth to which it clung, the goodly branch with the creeping parasite,—that here in England were preserved to us the sacred framework of the Church in its perfectness, and the good deposit of doctrine in its integrity. Marvellous, indeed, were the ways by which the Providence of God wrought amongst us for the preservation of this blessing. The defects of His instruments contributed towards it as plainly as their excellence. The jealous tyranny of the capricious Henry, the slow enlightenment and somewhat feeble will of Cranmer, and Elizabeth's love of prerogative, all tended as manifestly to preserve to us this inestimable blessing as King Edward's purity of purpose, or the learned moderation of Ridley. It might have been lost for ever, and with it our present inheritance of Truth and Grace, by the union, under a less despotic monarch, of a fiery temper, a commanding intellect, and a resolute will in any one of our chief reformers.

Here, then, is the inheritance which we have received; and here is that which, besides its direct gifts of spiritual light and life, has more by far than any other of God's many blessings to us as a nation, tended to preserve our liberties, to develope the intelligence of our people, and to form amongst us that character of manliness, strength, and high principle for which, thank God, we are even yet distinguished.

Here, then, we are brought to the great practical question, How are we to endeavour to preserve for ourselves, and ours, this our best inheritance of the purity of the faith? For we have in our day, even as our fathers had in theirs, a *testimony to deliver*, and a *contest with corruption to maintain*. And how shall we maintain it?

First, by seeking to contend earnestly for the Truth in a spirit of love. By thinking and

acting with all gentleness towards those who are still entangled in these corruptions, the evils of which we through God's grace discern. By restraining the wrath of man, forbearing threatening, striving to shew them in all our conduct the more excellent way of charity. By remembering and feeling the exceeding evil of those sore divisions which have now for so many years disgraced and weakened Christendom. By praying earnestly that the God of peace and truth would in His good time heal them. By striving to remove, so far as may be, all the angry feelings, mutual misunderstandings, and hard judgments, which widen our present separation, and yet by maintaining with this longing for unity a *spirit of unswerving truth*; by not accommodating to error one single line of God's revelation, even though it were to gain all men to visible concord; and lastly, by evermore watching, lest in our zeal for truth on the one side, we be led haply to undervalue it on the other.

And next, as a great aid towards thus striving, we must, secondly, be most careful to remember what we have already seen to have been always the special character of the corruptions of Rome, and how unchanged they are: that they are *subversive additions* to the Truth, not its *direct* denial. Still does she retain all the framework of the Church; still does she hold, with a prominent profession, the great doctrines of the Faith; but still, alas! are these overlaid by human additions, which defile the divine original; and often serve, by their logical consequences, (and, in the long-run, practice is a great logician,) to subvert the truth which they profess to develope. This her twofold character, then,—first of holding the truth, and next, of subverting it by additions,—it is of the utmost moment, for many reasons, that we bear in mind in all our contests with her. For, first, if we forget this, we may be in danger of being beguiled, through the real earnestness she continually displays for essential truths, the living power of which she has nevertheless destroyed, into joining her side, and choosing her delusions. For it is thus that she has deceived many noble spirits amongst ourselves; alluring them to her by the exhibition at the first, with even ravishing blandishments, as if they were her special possessions, of some great truths for which the soul eagerly longs; whilst afterwards, she leads the victim she has thus entangled in her snare, to adopt some gross human invention which, it is but too probable,

¹ Appeal at his Degradation, vol. iv. p. 127, ed. Oxon. 1833.

will in time rob him of the very truth from the desire of which he joined her. Thus, moreover, is she able in argument to confound the multitude of careless or ill-instructed reasoners; for, as her great errors are at once false and yet most subtle developments from truth, she has only with her wonted address to draw the assailant of her errors unsuspectingly over the well-concealed point of union between the ancient Faith and her perversion of it, and then, without apparently shifting her ground, she has become, and eagerly proclaims herself to be, the champion of some eternal truth of God's holy Word; and thus, unless our eyes are open to her artifice, we may be led into error by our very thirst for right, and give ourselves up to the deceiver for the bait of truth she holds up before us. And then, beyond this is yet another; and it may be even a more fatal, danger: for if we resist boldly all her wiles, we may, in our zeal for right, reject the truth because she holds it; and so, in refusing to listen to the deceiver, give up unawares the great deposit for the sake of which we repel her arts. This, at the present moment, is one of our greatest dangers. Popery has by her developments so disguised the Truth, that numbers, in the heat of their spirit, strike with undistinguishing zeal at once at her corruptions and the truth of Christ which they cover. They revile, as leading to Rome, what is indeed the teaching of Apostles, because on that teaching Rome has grafted her errors; and are all but ready, when they find the Pope defending it, to give up the creed itself to scorners. Far different from this, as we have seen, was the principle of the English Reformers; and if we would share in their reward, we must guard against its admission into our soul.

Time, of course, would fail us utterly were we to attempt to follow up this subject into the details of the contest which we have still to maintain with her; yet I may venture to glance at it as to one or two of the leading points of our present strife. Take, then, by way of illustration, the teaching of the Church of Rome on one practical point on which, for many reasons, it may be useful to touch,—the power of the keys, and their use in the Church of Christ as to confession and absolution. Undoubtedly God's Word does teach the need of a penitent confession of our sins, and the grace and blessing of our absolution from them by those appointed ministers of Christ to whom

He spake the mysterious words, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."¹ And with as little doubt may we affirm that the primitive Church put faithfully into practice that teaching of her Lord, when she introduced into her public services those heart-broken confessions of sin in which every penitent, with a special eye to his own transgressions, might breathe out to God his own woeful secrets of defilement; and those public absolutions in which he might hear, as from his Lord's mouth, the authoritative declaration of his pardon. It is clear, moreover, that beyond this, in the earliest times, there were permissions of a more private confession, and of more particular absolution, for some special case of spiritual sickness, though the habitual adoption of the practice was discouraged.² But into what a different and polluting system have these truths been drawn out, and how in it are they still exhibited by the Papal communion! For, first, that allowance, to extreme cases, of private confession and absolution which the early Church so sparingly sanctioned, has been laid down as the universal law. It is not now that the overburdened and well-nigh distracted penitent may, in his last necessity, cry to the steward of the mysteries of Christ for this reserved cordial, the use of which his extremity may warrant, but that every one before communicating *must* thus open to the priest the secrets of his soul, and receive his absolution. How fatal a change! For first, and above all, it leads the careless sinner to the perilous expectation of being able at the hour of death, by confession to his priest, to secure a certain escape from the consequence of sin; whilst it enervates the conscience of the trembling penitent by leading him to pour into the ears of man what he should address to God, and to receive, as an act of mere obedience, the direction of another, instead of quickening his conscience and bracing up his soul by living habitually under the eye of his all-seeing Judge and merciful Intercessor. Nor are these master evils all: for further, it too often introduces a deadly formality into the use of confession by the penitent and of absolution by the priest; it renders needful all that morbid anatomy of the soul which pollutes the mind of every can-

¹ St. John xx. 23.

² See Bingham's *Origines*, Bk. xviii. c. iii.,—the whole chapter.

didate for Roman orders ; it introduces, instead of the straight rule of Gospel morality, all the inextricable windings and dishonest subtlety of a most perplexed casuistry ; whilst, to make her clergy fit ministrants of that priestcraft which is its certain fruit, it draws after it the enforced celibacy of their order, and so their separation from all the purifying and humanizing influences which God's holy ordinance of marriage sheds over a married priesthood ; and lastly, through the ever-encroaching presence amidst the sanctities of family life of one thus invested with a character of supernatural holiness, whom all are bound to make the official depository of every secret, and who is cognizant of every real or suspected infirmity of his devotee, and so (unavoidably) of those who have shared with him in the sins he has from time to time confessed, it dissolves the most sacred ties by which God has bound society together,—introducing another, and how often an adverse, counsel between father and child, between the mother and her daughter, between the husband and the wife of his bosom. Here is Rome's perversion of a great truth ; and mark for a moment, I pray you, how the double danger of which I have spoken arises from it. For, first, because confession is Christ's ordinance for sinners, and absolution His gift to penitents, she professing beyond others to retain His teaching and to administer His gifts, wins over to herself the stricken and bleeding hearts of many who pant only for that true Gospel healing which in their extremity she offers them ; and thus men who long, not for what is Roman but for what is Apostolical, are seduced by the truth on which she has grafted her error, and, seeking for the gifts of Christ, they drink of her cup of poison. On the other hand, stronger spirits and keener eyes, seeing clearly the falsehood and evil of her system, are continually hurried on to denounce as popish all close dealing with individual consciences, without which the pastoral office must become unreal ; and to deny, as an imposture of priestcraft, the grace of absolution and the reality of the ministerial commission. They speak of every declaration that the supernatural working of God the Holy Ghost does accompany the official acts of Christ's ministers, as a superstitious claim to magical powers ; and thus rob Christ's spiritual Kingdom of its glory, and degrade the Sacraments of the Gospel to the level of Jewish ordinances. From which, result two fatal consequences ; for hereby some are

driven into that fog-land of a more general spirituality, where the stronger devils of neological resolutions of all dogmatic truth into mere words, where scepticism, pantheism, and entire unbelief, roam evermore, waiting for their victims ; whilst others, fearing such an end, in order to obtain the spiritual aid they long for, turn, often even with reluctance, to the delusions of the Papacy. From both evils, only the principle of the English Reformers, the cleaving with equal simplicity to the letter of God's Word and to primitive practice, can really protect us ; for this course alone, by casting off the added error and yet retaining firmly the original truth, can supply to man, without impure additions, what his spiritual necessities require, and what Christ has provided for him in His blessed Gospel.

Or, to take another example from the sphere of Christian doctrine : what is clearer in God's Word than that, in the blessed Eucharist, to every faithful partaker, the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ, the cup of blessing which we bless, the communion of His blood ?¹ For that His "flesh is meat indeed," and His blood "drink indeed." Or, what can be proved more easily than the reverence and love with which this spiritual presence of Christ was held, as one of its choicest treasures, by the earliest Church ? and into what a system of idolatrous impiety,—with its adoration of the wafer, and its masses for the quick and dead, and its notion of the Church's accumulating treasures of disposable merit,—has the added doctrine of transubstantiation (an addition which, whilst it seems to exalt, does yet most truly overthrow the very nature of this Sacrament) practically converted, at least for the multitude, this great Gospel ordinance.

Yet here, again, how certain is it that our resistance of the falsehood must be accompanied, as it was accompanied in the teaching of our great Reformers, by a re-assertion of the primitive truth on which it is grafted, if we would resist successfully the twofold danger to which in this contest we are evermore exposed.

For if we falter here,—if, with some of the continental reformers, in our zeal against Roman superstition, we pare down a Gospel mystery,—if, because Rome has invented the fable of a *substantial*, we fear to assert a verity of a *real*, partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ by

¹ 1 Cor. x. 16.

every faithful worshipper in that holy Sacrament—if we diminish primitive truths because we think *they*, and not man's sin, led before, and may lead again, to superstitious error,—what do we but, first, make ourselves unable to strive successfully against the deceiver into whose hands we thus timidly resign the truth? For surely hereby we give up to her that which is her strength against pious souls. For they, hating, it may be, her frauds and inventions, yet despairing to find elsewhere the great primitive truth for which their spirits thirst, of a real presence of their Lord in His appointed ordinances, do well nigh violence to their antipathies to what they still feel to be errors, in their overmastering longing to secure what they know to be truth, and so turn to her to give them, what we indeed possess in far greater purity, but of which, in our faithless prudence, we did not dare to speak. And then, secondly, and beyond this do we not hereby endanger altogether the belief of bolder spirits, whom we do not give up to Rome, but whom we teach to eliminate mystery from their religion, and so sap the very foundations of the faith? Surely it ought not to be in vain that God has set before our eyes the manifest downfall, through these very steps, of that Genevan communion which was fondly conceived by those who fashioned it to be the purest of all Churches, the morning-star of the faith, foreshewing the dawning of that day of true religious life, and freedom, and purity, to which they looked so confidently forward. Here again, then, we may see that only on the the great principles of the English Reformers can we strive against papal error at once successfully and safely. What, then, can be more fitting than that here, in this three-hundredth year from the time when, in this University and city, God gave them grace thus wisely and scripturally to maintain His truth, and to witness for it by their deaths, we should with humble thankfulness to Him make mention of their deeds, and strive to follow their examples? O that we could copy more exactly that goodly pattern, and hand on with greater

brightness that light which *they* kindled, who with strong faith and ready will here “played the men” in the last agonies of the stake, and were borne upwards to their rest in the fiery chariots of martyrdom.

And how, brethren, may we hope to do so? First, by each one learning more entirely to place all his own hope and trust in Him who shed His precious blood for our redemption, and now liveth as our intercessor and our Head; by more truly casting ourselves down as helpless sinners at the foot of His Cross, to be saved by Him alone; by seeking for a stronger personal faith and truer confidence in Him; by living with Him more constantly in prayer, in obedience, and good works. And then, by fixing in our inmost hearts, through a constant study of His Word, and earnest prayer to Him for teaching and enlightenment, so deep and serious a sense of the inestimable value of the truths for which we strive, and of the greatness of the errors against which we contend,—that we shall cleave closely with our affections as well as our passions to the ancient faith, and reject even with abhorrence the corruptions which obscured it in the middle ages, or the contempt which threatens to slight it now; that we shall be unable, further, to endure either that any rob us by speculative doubt, or gloss, or scoff, of our assurance that in His Church, through His Word, and by His Sacraments, Christ is with us, and the Holy Ghost amongst us; that we have as our special trust “that good thing” which was “committed” from the first to the peculiar charge of the undivided Episcopate; or that we or ours should tamper with one single popish corruption, indulge in the luscious sentimentality of their spiritual phraseology, or imitate the outward signs through which their inward spirit is displayed; in one word, that, like our faithful martyrs of blessed memory here in Oxford, in all things we cleave close to God's written Word as the infallible record of the faith, to the ancient creeds as its compendious summary, and to primitive practice as its best expositor.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

* * In the 1st Section of this treatise on the Reformation,—the restoration of Primitive Truth on which the *English* Reformation was based, when our Church rejected Papal corruptions, was represented by the late Dr. Hook, on the evidence of contemporary history, as constituting our only true bond of union, and prospect of deliverance from our grievous dissensions. In the 2nd Section, the same principle of Primitive Truth maintained in the English Reformation, was specially dwelt upon by the late Bishop Wilberforce, as the consummation in the 16th century of that which is our greatest National Inheritance, and as such, that it becomes our supreme duty to maintain and preserve the Principles of our Reformed Church in their integrity to all future generations. And the assertion of Primitive Truth, is the effectual resistance to falsehood and corruption.

SEC. 3.—THE DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION, AS COMPARED WITH THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION, AND THE TRENTINE DECREES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.—BY THE VERY REV. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., DEAN OF CHICHESTER. †

What may be the office assigned in the secret counsels of God to that pure and reformed branch of the Church to which we have the happiness to belong, we, of course, know not; that our Church may be destined to be the preserver and restorer of the faith, when Antichrist shall have appeared, and when the predicted falling away shall have occurred—this may be only a dream; though it be a dream in which the dutiful children of our dear and holy mother may be permitted to indulge without giving offence; but be that as it may, this is quite certain, that we, whether ministers or people, clergy or laity, can only do God's work in this Church of England by adhering firmly and consistently to the principles of our Church as laid down at the glorious and blessed epoch of the Reformation. This I have said to the Ultra-Protestants,¹ and this I will continue to say to the Romanizers; and, in despite of the cavils of either extreme, honest Church of England men must march straight onward in the *via media*, that straight and narrow path, between miscalled Evangelicalism and miscalled Catholicism, which leadeth unto truth.²

¹ See the author's "Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation."

² One of the artifices on the part of the Romanizers of which we have to complain is, that they place Catholicism as the opposite to Protestantism. Popery and Protestantism are opposed, and so also are Popery and Catholicism, Catholicism

The 3rd Section here following, is continued by Dr. Hook, and is especially devoted to the consideration of the principles of the English Reformation, in contradistinction to the contemporary Lutheran Reformation; and the Trentine decrees, which comprehend the modern creed of Papal Rome, and which is still enforced on the unresisting Churches of Western Christendom by an "Infallible" Pope,—or rather, by the secret Jesuitical Power by which he is controlled!

And in conclusion;—vindicating "Anglo-Catholic Principles," those Primitive truths maintained by the Church of England at her Reformation, and enshrined in our Prayer-book,—as the only true *via media* between opposing errors—our "sheet anchor" amid the strife of tougues—our ONE BOND OF UNION!

It is to the era of the Reformation that all parties must refer, not because to the Reformers, erring and sinful men, any peculiar deference is due, but because at that time were settled the principles which have developed themselves in Ultra-Protestantism, Romanism, and Anglicanism. I include Romanism, for the present Church of Rome was reformed at the Council of Trent; and our real dispute with Rome is simply this,—whether her reformation or ours was conducted on the proper principle. . . Long before the Reformation took place, a reformation of the Church was demanded by the moral sense of mankind, as every one will admit who is even moderately acquainted with the history of the middle ages. Much pains have been taken within the last few years to vindicate the character of the middle ages from the unmitigated censures of the historians of the last century, who wrote without sufficiently examining the subject. By no one has this been done so efficiently as by the learned Mr. Maitland; it would have been well if those who have followed him had always been guided by that good common sense which is as remarkable in him as his learning. But some persons have appeared among us who have concluded that, because the middle ages were not so dark as they were regarded by our immediate ancestors, they must have been one blaze of light. When we look at

is opposed to heresy. There are undoubtedly Protestant heresies, but heresy is not peculiar to Protestantism; there are Popish heresies also. It is absolutely necessary to use these old-fashioned terms, in order to make the distinction which it is attempted in some quarters to confound.

* Adapted from *Christian Ballads*, by the Right Rev. A. C. Cox, Bishop of Western New York.

† From a Lecture read before the Leeds Church Institution.

the magnificent minsters and the gorgeous cathedrals by which not only our own country but all Europe is adorned, we shall not think scorn of the artists whose skill we have hitherto been unable to equal ; but when we discover the misery, splendid or sordid, in which the mass of the people lived, our admiration of those "good old times" is considerably diminished. . . . When the student opens the volumes of the schoolmen, he admires the acuteness of intellect which prevailed among them, and the care with which the mind was cultivated ; but when he reads in Bossuet what comes with double force from him, because it comes in the light of an admission, that "they preferred for the most part to proceed on philosophical reasonings of the worst description rather than consult the fathers,"¹ his respect for them as theologians is considerably diminished. And this becomes still more the case when he learns from Fleury that "it was the misfortune of the doctors of the 13th and 14th centuries to know very little of the works of the fathers, especially the more ancient ; to be deficient in the aids necessary for well understanding them ;" that "the generality of students, even of divines, limited themselves to few books, chiefly to those of modern authors, whom they understood better than the ancients² ;" nor will he forget what the Abbe Goujet observes, that "they did not engage in the study of Scripture, even in the schools of theology, except with lukewarmness ; and they often contented themselves with imperfect extracts from it, found in the writings of some theologians of little solidity, which they put in the hands of those they wish to apply to theological science." "The theologians who preceded the 14th century, and were after the time of St. Bernard or St. Thomas, had deprived themselves of an advantage in abandoning, or, at least, neglecting, so much the study of the fathers, both Greek and Latin."³

I request you to bear in mind what is here said by Roman Catholic writers—an admission on their part of the inefficiency of the theologians of the middle ages ; for the importance of this admission will be apparent.

But religion, it will be said, sound morals, reverence, devotion, these were characteristic of the middle ages. Let us see what those who lived in those ages thought upon this subject.

What, indeed, was the moral state of society at that time may be gathered from a single fact, that Heloisa expressed her disinclination to marry Abelard, because, as his mistress, she would everywhere be received with honour ; whereas he, as a married ecclesiastic, would be treated with scorn, and excluded from preferment. The constrained celibacy of the clergy had, indeed, not only corrupted the whole clerical order, but had demoralised the world. A reformation of the Church, in its head and its members, became a cry throughout Europe. It originated with a cardinal—it was repeated by the Emperor—it was reiterated by kings and princes—it was re-echoed by the serfs and peasants. "To reform the Church, in its head and its members," the Councils of Pisa and of Constance were convoked ; and in order more fully to impress upon your minds the error of those who refer us to the middle ages, as to ages of peculiar excellence in morality and religion, I present you with an account of the moral and religious condition of the people, as given by persons of high ecclesiastical rank and dignity, selected to preach before the assembled fathers of the Council of Constance, by whom their assertions were neither refuted nor censured. The Council was opened on the 5th, and the first session was held on the 13th of November, 1414.

"The truth is," said Paul l'Anglois, a school-doctor of those times, "that the whole Court of Rome, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, is blinded with manifest and public error. It has made almost all parts of the world drunk with the poison of its errors, as if it thought to measure out the divine Almighty Power after its own fancy. Every body murmurs at it, though nobody openly complains."¹

The eighteenth session of the Council was held on the 17th of August, 1415, and the day after, Bertrand Vasher preached a sermon on the necessity of the reformation of the Church, exhorting the Council to make use of the most speedy and effectual means to correct abuses, "especially the insatiable avarice, the untameable ambition, the shameful laziness, and the execrable pride of the clergy." On the 8th of September, the preacher, after inveighing against the corruptions of the clergy, complains that "the sacraments used to be piously administered whereas they had now fallen into contempt, and

¹ Bossuet, *Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallie*. Lib. viii. cxi.

² Fleury, *Cinquieme Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*.

³ Goujet in, "Fleury's Discourses on Eccles. Hist." See Palmer's "Essay on the Church."

* Quoted by Lenfant, book iii.

were profaned." In the same month another preacher remarks, "When a prelate is consecrated, they ask him if he knows the Old and New Testament? I'll be judged by most of them whether they can affirm it with a safe conscience." He urges the necessity of a reformation, and quotes largely from St. Bernard, who, in his commentary on the *Song of Songs*, was particularly severe upon the corruption of the times. On the 25th of October, we find the Bishop of Lodi representing the clergy as so plunged in excessive luxury, and such disgraceful incontinency, that he thinks if Diogenes were to seek for a man among them, he would find none but black cattle and swine.

Equally strong on the necessity of a reformation was Hottric Abendon, an Englishman, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, who preached before the Council on the following Sunday. On the 16th of February, 1416, Theodoric of Minster preached in full council, when he accused the clergy of neglecting the study of the Holy Scriptures for the sake of applying only to the canon law and the decretals, because there they learn how to get money. In these days, said the preacher, "the positive laws (the canon law, the decretals, and the constitutions of the popes,) are advanced above the law of God and the commandments of Jesus Christ." Upon the day of Epiphany, 1417, the preacher denounced the sins of the clergy and the people, and, among other things, accused them of neglecting the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and the preaching of the Gospel.

In August, a French abbot, called Bernard the Baptized, thus describes the state of society:—"I am sorry to say it, that in our days the Catholic faith is reduced to nothing; hope is turned into rash presumption, and the law of God and our neighbour is quite extinct. In the luity falsehood bears the chief sway, and avarice is the rule of the clergy. In the Church the flock is divided." Another doctor, whose name was Theobald, delivered a sermon a few days after on the same subject: this discourse was in a milder strain, but this only gives the sharper point to his invectives. "It has become a proverb," he says, "that the prelates keep as many mistresses as they have domestics; and do not suppose," he adds, "that your shame can be concealed, for your mistresses publicly boast of it." "The convents of women, which, according to the canons, ought absolutely to be shut up from the men, are public places, and theatres and receptacles for vanity. If any

great men are scrupulous of going into them they send presents, dishes of meat, letters, and invitations to the nuns to come to their houses. What passes there it were a shame to tell, but it is a greater shame to do. The most deplorable case of all is, that the court of Rome, which ought to set an example, commits all these abominations; and even in this place, where an assembly is held for the reformation of morals."

If it be said that these must have been hyperbolic expressions, let me remind you that they were uttered by dignitaries of the Church before a general council. Could any one of our bishops, at the present day, make any accusation against the Church of England approaching to this, before the House of Lords, without being silenced at once? Every one would be a witness that such is not the state of society in England; and therefore, when we find that preacher after preacher thus described the state of things in the middle ages uncontradicted and unrebuked, our admiration of the middle ages, and the wonderful effects which mediæval religion produced, must greatly decrease, if it be not entirely annihilated. Peter D'Ailli, Cardinal of Cambray one of the great luminaries of the 15th century, who wrote with more moderation than most of his contemporaries, declares that it was the common saying at that time, "that the Church was come to such a pass that the government of it was only fit for reprobates."

So strong was the feeling at Constance with reference to the need of a reformation, that the Council did not separate before it had passed a decree that "the frequent holding of these councils being the best way to prevent heresies and schisms, to correct enormities, to reform abuses, and to maintain the Church in a flourishing condition, General Councils ought to be held often; that there should be one in five years, then one in seven, and afterwards one every ten years."

If the ambition and wickedness of popes had not frustrated the designs of the Council, it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the result of the decree, or to calculate on the blessing of which a simultaneous and unanimous movement in the cause of reformation might have brought upon the Churches of the West. It has not been because it was necessary to prove that the reformation had long been demanded in Europe that I have suffered myself to be led into these details; but it has been to show you that the earth was not that Paradise in the

¹ Vander Hart, tom. i. p. 898.

middle ages which some who are not firm friends to the Church of England would represent it to have been, and which others, in dreamy ignorance, take for granted. This is a fiction of modern times—the effect of that re-action of the mind to which I have alluded upon the discovery that those ages were not such ages of ignorance as some historians had supposed, and that, amidst the gloom of immorality, some persons were conspicuous for their saintly virtues—virtues which shone forth the more conspicuously as the stars shine brightest when the sky is most dark.

A translation of the Colloquies of Erasmus would be a useful and interesting work to enlighten the public mind upon this subject; a subject upon which all who are acquainted with the history of the ages which preceded the Reformation are agreed. What, indeed, are the very first words of the most popular book of the most subtle of Roman Catholic controversialists, Bossuet? “A reformation,” he says, “of ecclesiastical discipline had been desired several ages since.” Alluding to the strong desire of St. Bernard to see a reformation effected, he says, “If this holy man had anything to regret at his death, it was, that he had not witnessed so happy a change. During his whole life he bewailed the evils of the Church; he never ceased to admonish the people, the clergy, the bishops, the popes, of them. Nor did he conceal his sentiments on the subject from his own religious, who partook of his affliction in their solitude, and extolled the Divine goodness, in having drawn them to it, so much the more gratefully as the world was more universally corrupted. *Disorders still increased since that time.*” After alluding to the Council of Pisa and that of Constance, of which you have heard so much, the great prelate of Meaux proceeds:—“What happened at the Council of Basil, where a reformation was unfortunately eluded, and the Church re-involved in new divisions, is well known. The disorders of the clergy, chiefly those of Germany, were presented forcibly in this manner to Eugenius IV. by Cardinal Julian. ‘These disorders,’ he said, ‘excite the hatred of the people against the whole ecclesiastical order, and, should they not be corrected, it is to be feared that the laity, like the Hussites, should rise against the clergy, as they loudly threaten us.’ If the clergy of Germany were not quickly reformed, he predicted that after the heresy of Bohemia, and when it would be

extinct, another, still more dangerous, would succeed; for it will be said, proceeded he, ‘that the clergy are incorrigible, and will apply no remedy to their disorders. When they shall have no longer hopes of amendment,’ said this great cardinal, ‘then will they fall upon us. The minds of men are pregnant with expectation of what measures will be adopted, and are ready for the birth of something tragic. The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest; they will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God to abuse and rob ecclesiastics, as abandoned to extreme disorders, and hateful to God and man. The little respect now remaining for the ecclesiastical orders will soon be extinguished. Men will cast the blame of these abuses on the courts of Rome, which will be considered the cause of them, because it had neglected to apply the necessary remedy.’ He afterwards spoke more emphatically. ‘I see,’ said he, ‘the axe is at the root: the tree begins to bend; and, instead of propping it whilst in our power, we accelerate its fall!’ He foresees a speedy desolation on the German clergy. The desire of depriving them of their temporal goods would form the first spring of motion. ‘Bodies and souls,’ said he, ‘will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is accustomed to do with those whom he destines for punishment; we run into the fire which we see lighted before us.’”¹

Oh! awful picture of a profligate clergy dreading the vengeance of a people they had demoralised! Oh! vain boasting of Romanists, when they themselves admit these to be the fruit of Romanism unchecked! Oh! ignorance of Romanizers, when they attribute to the Reformation those schisms and heresies of which the want of timely reformation was the real cause!

I have given you a description of the ante-reformation Church in the words of a Roman cardinal, as quoted by the most eminent of Roman Catholic controversialists.

Hope delayed maketh the heart sick. The churches of the West being enslaved by the usurpations of the court of Rome, for many years notorious for pre-eminence in wickedness, and the policy of that court being to oppose all attempts at reformation, what ought to have been legally and systematically accomplished was, at last, when the abuses became perfectly intolerable, attempted by a German monk whose moral sense had been insulted by the

nefarious sale of indulgences, authorised by the cupidity of a luxurious and infidel pontiff.

When Martin Luther commenced the German Reformation, he appeared simply as an opposer of abuses. He had no system, no plan: whatever may have been his subsequent conduct, or whatever the deficiencies of his character, he made a noble stand, for which all the world must be grateful, against wickedness in high places, and against a system which, in the name of Heaven, was doing the work of hell. It is a page of history which every one must read with thrilling interest, that which tells of one poor monk daring the fulminations of the Vatican, when those fulminations were not, as now, like thunder unattended with lightning, but, though innocuous to the soul of the upright, were as sounds preceding the destruction of the poor victim at whom they were aimed. His was not a malignant feeling, such as too often animates those who, without danger to their persons but rather with much to gratify their vanity, declaim, in these days, on platforms, against Popery, of the real nature of which they are too often ignorant; his was a stand against existing and acknowledged and practical evils, made at the peril of his life. I am no apologist for Martin Luther; his character deteriorated as he advanced in his career, and his conduct was sometimes as reprehensible as that of his opponents. But still he was a magnanimous man; and I will defy the student of ecclesiastical history who has proceeded from the primitive through the mediæval historians not to be excited, even to enthusiasm, when his heart, made sorrowful by the record of the Church's gradual corruption, is cheered by the exhibition of one mind, representing the mind of millions, but distinguished from others by its own resolution, saying to the waters of corruption, "*You may overwhelm me, but further ye shall not go.*"

As a destructive movement, Luther's was most important; but when he was led by the force of circumstances to constructive measures, he was found to fail. He had not the patience, the meekness, the learning, the devoutness of mind necessary for such a work. And yet, considering all things, we can scarcely see how he could have acted otherwise. He married his own mind, as it were, to the mind of one who possessed the qualifications in which he must have been conscious that he was himself deficient. The chief fault of Philip Melancthon was, that he suffered himself to be overborne too often by

the impetuosity of Martin Luther, and that his judgment sometimes quailed before the proud will, not always reasonable, of the elder reformer.

I must now revert to the Church of Rome. How great were the corruptions acknowledged by Romanists to exist in the middle ages, and down to the time of the Reformation, you have already heard. You have also heard how unwilling the popes of Rome were to meet the evil or to correct the abuses, the existence of which they could not deny. But they were at length obliged to yield: the emperor, and other princes who still adhered to the Roman obedience, were so urgent in demanding a council, in order that the Church might be reformed, that at last grudgingly and of necessity, that assembly was held at Trent, which, though called a Council, does not deserve the name.¹ It was convoked to effect a reformation; and the result of that reformation is what is now denominated Romanism.

It is the boast of Bossuet, that, by those celebrated doctors who called most vehemently for a reformation in the middle ages, no one ever thought of "changing the faith of the Church, or of correcting her worship." As an argument, this assertion is not of much weight. Luther had no thought of interfering with the established doctrines of the Church when he commenced his career. His virtuous indignation was first aroused by a palpable abuse in the mode of granting indulgences. This led him to the consideration of the whole question of indulgences, and thence to the root of the evil—the gainful doctrine of purgatory, which he found to be a doctrine unknown in the primitive ages, and clearly unscriptural. It was thus that he proceeded with respect to other doctrines: perceiving the evil fruit, he traced it to an evil root. And we may fairly suppose that the mediæval reformers would have been thus led on to an examination of the doctrine and worship of the Roman Church, had not

¹ The Gallican bishops, with many of the Spaniards and Italians, insisted that the words "representing the universal Church" should be added to the title of the Council of Trent. This, however, the papal legates refused, remembering that such had been the form in the Councils of Constance at Basle: and fearing lest, if this addition were made, the rest of the form of Constance and Basle might follow, viz., "which derives its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and to which every person of whatever dignity, not excepting the Pope, is bound to yield obedience." This is remarkable as a fact. The student will find "Landon's Manual of Councils" a valuable work.

their endeavours to commence a Reformation been frustrated by the artifices of the court of Rome.

But the assertion of Bossuet is correct as relating to the work attempted at the Council of Trent. A reformation of discipline was there effected; but as to doctrine, the simple question was, not what ought to be, but what *is*, the doctrine received in the Church. The Trentine doctors only attempted to reduce to form the doctrines then current, and either assisted or assented to the Roman pontiff and councils convened by him in the middle ages. They were obliged, in their principles, to such a course. They confounded the Church of Rome with the Church Catholic, and so predicated of Rome infallibility. They could not correct, therefore, the medieval theology either by primitive doctrine or by Scripture; for, though they regarded the primitive Church as infallible, they regarded the medieval Church as equally infallible: the doctrine of the primitive Church was therefore to be explained away, in order that it might be rendered conformable with medieval theology; because, of course, the later revelation throws light on the earlier. They did not say, The faith was once, and once for all delivered to the saints; and therefore those who lived nearest to the apostolic age must have known the mind of the Spirit, on disputable points, better than later theologians: but they held that Christianity is a continuous revelation to the Catholic, that is, in their sense, to the Roman, Church. They commenced their proceedings with a declaration of this fundamental error: they declared that the Christian faith is contained partly in Holy Scripture, partly in the traditions of the Church; while existing usages were classed under the head of traditions, which latter word is thus used by them in an ambiguous sense.

It is easy to see how it thus came to pass that neither Scripture nor the primitive Church, but medieval theology, became their guide. Not Scripture; for if the Scripture were silent upon any existing doctrine, or if any existing practice seemed repugnant to the plain language of Holy Writ, the silence of Scripture was counted for nothing: it was asserted, but not proved, that the germ of the doctrine or practice was discoverable in the sacred volume; the later revelation, from which, in part, the Christian faith was supposed to be derived, having developed it more fully. Thus to reform the Church on

scriptural principles was impossible; and the Fathers fared no better. We have an instance of the manner in which the testimony of the primitive Church was set aside in the discussion which took place, in one of the congregations of the Council of Trent, with reference to the Book of Baruch. The question was, whether this book should be received as canonical. What said the primitive Church? It was not in the list of sacred books drawn up in the Council of Carthage; that is to say, no authority for it could be produced from the primitive Church. This was admitted; but what then? The existing Church used it as canonical in the offices for Easter-eve and the eve of Pentecost; and the existing Church being infallible, the silence of the primitive Church went for nothing. You perceive from this—which is one instance out of many which might be produced—how the authority of the primitive Church was rendered null and void; how the existing theology—the product in its corruptions, of the middle ages—was received without examination: in other words, *how medieval theology was established so as to supersede both Scripture and the Primitive Church.*

There were many great and pious men in the Romish churches at that time, some even at the Council of Trent, who would have pursued a different course, but by the managers of the council they were overruled; for with them the one care which overwhelmed every other thought and consideration was, that the papal authority should suffer no damage. The papal power was the offspring of medieval theology; touch one stone of that theology, and the throne of the pope would have been brought to a level with every other episcopal throne, and the triple crown would have become an ordinary mitre. Therefore not an attempt was made to compare the existing theology with the theology of the fathers or with Holy Scripture; the deference to Scripture and the fathers in the Church of Rome is *merely verbal*; and the business of the Trentine doctors was *to systematise the doctrines of the middle ages*. As Mosheim justly observes, “not only was every doctrine that had been established by medieval councils received, but many opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate subjects, which had been formerly left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate, were by this council absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed with violence

on the consciences of men under pain of excommunication."

The standard of Romish doctrine has remained unaltered from the time of the great assembly of Trent. Churches in connexion with Rome which at first demurred to the reception of the Trentine definitions have now tacitly, if not avowedly adopted them.

The Church of Rome, therefore, is the representative, not of scriptural and primitive Christianity, but of medieval corruptions; and on the Bible and medieval tradition her doctors based their reformation.

A little before this, the Church of England had also been reformed. She had sympathised with the reformation movement in Germany, but adopted the Lutheran system of reform only in part; while she guarded against that development of it, which, through Calvinism and Puritanism, has resulted, in strong, powerful, and independent minds, in Rationalism.

The reformers of the Church of England agreed so far with both Luther and the Church of Rome, that they insisted upon the necessity of a definite system of theology, to be received on authority by the unlearned and beginners: they foresaw that if each individual were sent to his Bible as to a quarry, to dig out a religion for himself, the result would be infidelity.

But they differed from Luther by adopting an authority by which to be guided in the interpretation of Scripture, which they themselves adopted, instead of relying upon argument; while they differed from the Church by refusing to receive as authoritative the novel definitions and modern practices of the Western Church. With Luther they took the Bible, and the Bible only, for their foundation; but when, in relation to any doctrine or practice of the Church, the precise meaning of Scripture was not indisputably apparent; when Luther argued one way and Zuinglius another, and both contended that their opposite conclusions were scriptural, our practical forefathers ceased to argue, and deferred to authority: the question with them was, how was the Scripture understood with reference to the doctrine or practice under consideration, by Christians of the primitive Church; by those who received their instruction from the apostles, or apostolic men, at a period when, through the correspondence of the metropolitans of an united Church, as well as by frequent councils, the depositum

and tradition were watched with the most jealous care?¹

Their rule was the Bible, and it was the only rule, where all parties are agreed as to what the Bible says; and the Bible with the primitive Church when by the cavils of men the voice of Scripture is indistinct. If, then, we may say of the Lutheran principle of reformation, when fully developed, that it is the Bible and each man's private judgment; if we may describe the Romish principle as that of the Bible and the middle ages, we may state the distinguishing principle of the English Reformation to be, the Bible and the primitive Church. Our Reformers received the doctrines of the Church as they found them, assuming that their existence was a *prima facie* evidence in their favour. They did not reject anything *because* it was medieval; but where anything medieval was of a questionable character, they then sought for guidance from Scripture; and if the Scripture was not clear, if two parties at variance, both of them claimed Scripture as being on their side, they then yielded to the decisions of the primitive councils or to the evidence of the primitive writers. They did not do as the Romanists, who professed to yield to the authority of the fathers, but interpreted the fathers by the tenets and practices of the existing Church; but when they found the existing theology contrary to the patristic theology, then they made an alteration, the modern yielded to the ancient. They fully understood that "antiquity ought to attend as the handmaid of Scripture, to wait upon her as her mistress, and to observe her; to keep off intruders from making too bold with her, and to discouragers from misrepresenting her." For, as Dr. Waterland observes, "Those that lived in or near to the apostolic times might retain in memory what the apostles themselves, or their immediate successors, thought or said upon such and such points; and though there is no trusting in such case to *oral* tradition as distinct from Scripture, nor to *written* disagreeing with Scripture, yet written accounts, consonant to Scripture, are of use to confirm and strengthen Scripture, and to ascertain its true meaning." They held that if "what appears but *probably* to be taught in Scripture itself appears certainly to have been taught by the primitive and Catholic Church, such probability so confirmed and

¹ See the author's Sermon "on Tradition," in his "Five Sermons before the University of Oxford."

strengthened carries with it the force of demonstration."¹

You see their principle and you see the reason for the adoption of it. Our Reformers, like Luther and Melancthon, required assent to the definite scheme of doctrine. When asked why to that scheme assent was required, Luther and Melancthon replied, because it has commended itself as scriptural to us and other learned men, and then they were open to attack from other learned men, who had a right to argue with them, since it was by argument only that Luther and Melancthon sought to establish their positions. With us the case is different; our Church was reformed by learned men, but they formed their scheme not upon argument, but upon authority; they deferred to the authority of the primitive Church and on any given point the question with them related to a fact—what was the doctrine received in the primitive Church? This was a matter of historical investigation. Transubstantiation was repudiated, not from any augmentative notion of its being absurd, for some of the most erudite and acute minds have accepted it, but simply because it was not primitive: this, in the case of Dr. Cranmer and Dr. Ridley, is an historical fact. It is very possible that our reformers may have been mistaken in some particular details: they may have omitted something that is primitive, or they may have received something that is novel; and if a convocation to reform the Church shall again be called, these mistakes may be rectified. But their mistakes supposing them to exist, are nothing to the point: the question is, what was their principle, and were they honest as well as learned men, who, in all essentials, would apply the principle properly? Their honesty is proved to us by their having died, many of them, for their principles, and of their learning there has never been a question. That their principle was the Bible and the primitive Church no man can doubt who is acquainted with their writings, or has even looked into our formularies.

Let the last words of Dr. Cranmer bear testimony to the principles of the Reformers. "Touching my doctrine of the sacrament and other my doctrine of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things

only which I had learned of the Sacred Scripture and of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the Church; and if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most Sacred Word of God and of the Holy Catholic Church, desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if anywhere, which God forbid, I have swerved from the truth.

"And I protest and openly confess that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things as the Catholic church and most holy fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing only I am accused for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine *lately* brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and *unknown to the ancient fathers*, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion."¹

"Touching the substance of religion," says Bishop Jewell, in defence of our Reformation, "we believe that which the ancient, Catholic, learned fathers believed; we do what they did, we say what they said; and marvel not, on what side soever ye see them, if ye see us join unto the same. It is our comfort that we see their faith and our faith agree in one." "We have approached, as much as possibly we could, the Church of the apostles, and ancient Catholic bishops and fathers. Neither have we only reformed the doctrine of our Church and made it like theirs in all things; but we have also brought the celebration of the sacraments and forms of our public rites and prayers to an exact resemblance to their institutions and customs; and so we have only done that which we know Christ and all pious and godly men have in all ages ever done; for we have brought back religion, which was foully neglected and depraved

¹ Waterland's Works, v. 261., ii. 8.

¹ Cranmer's Works, iv. 126.

by them, to her original and first state ; for we considered that *the reformation of religion was to be made by that which was the first pattern of it ;* for this rule will ever hold good against all heretics, saith the most ancient father Tertullian, *that which is true is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later.* Irenæus doth often appeal to the most ancient churches which are nearest to Christ, and which therefore are not at all likely to have erred. And why should not that course be taken now also ? Why should we not return to a conformity with the most ancient churches ? Why should not that now be heard among us which was pronounced at the Council of Nice, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many bishops and Catholic fathers ; *ἡ ἀρχαία κατεῖρο* let the old customs stand firm ?¹

I do not quote Dr. Cranmer or Dr. Jewell as persons having any authority so far as their private opinions are concerned, but as witnesses to the fact that the Bible and the primitive Church was the principle upon which our Reformers attempted to reform the Church, in opposition to the principle of the Romish Church, which made antiquity defer to modern innovations. . . . What says the Church of which the Reformers were sons and servants, not founders ? this is our question ; and the Church we will hear. Let us hear the Church speaking of the manner in which her ancient ritual was reformed. . . . "Here you have an order of prayer, and for the reading of the Scripture, *much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers.*"² It is said that in the ritual "of this Church of England," the same Church which had existed before the Reformation, the "godly and decent order of the ancient fathers having been altered, broken, and neglected," the reformed Liturgy was "compiled" from the offices before in use, "so as to be agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers."³

So has it always continued to be the rule of the Church of England to defer to the authority of the primitive Church ; for our formularies, as we have them at present, are not the work of the first Reformers, but of reforming convocations down to the reign of Charles II. . . .

The convocation of 1640, in the seventh canon, says, "We declare that this situation of

the holy table (at the east end of the chancel) doth not imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again *really* sacrificed ; but it is and may be called an altar by us, *in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar, and in no other.*"

When the commission was issued for the last revision of the Prayer Book, in 1661, the commissioners were directed to compare the same "with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times."

I shall produce, lastly, the well-known canon of 1571 :—"Preachers shall take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching which they would have their people religiously observe and believe but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and New, and that which the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered from the same doctrine."²

Such is the principle of the English Reformation ; it is distinct from the principle of ultra-Protestantism, the Bible, and each man's private judgment ; it is distinct from the principle upon which the Church of Rome was reformed, by which the Bible and primitive tradition were superseded, and the errors of the middle ages were systematised ; it is the Bible and the primitive Church.

Now this principle was accepted by some of those respectable but unfortunate individuals who have been of late years perverted to Romanism. Justly offended with the puritanism which, at the close of the last century and the beginning of this, obtained an ascendancy in the Church of England, when a Catholic ritual, administered by a latitudinarian clergy, seemed to be full of contradictions ; when baptismal regeneration, asserted at the font in an office, to all and everything contained in and prescribed by which the clergy give their unfeigned assent and consent, was, nevertheless, too often, by those very clergy, denied in the pulpit ; where ceremonies were enjoined in the Liturgy, but too often reviled as popery by those who were compelled to observe them ; offended, I say, by puritanism in the Church, attended as it was with these demoralising inconsistencies, many who at one time were prejudiced against Church principles adhered to them, without ascertaining

¹ Jewell's Answer to Harding, *ad fin.* Apology, vi. 15.

² "Concerning the Service of the Church," in the Book of Common Prayer.

³ Preface to Prayer Book, 1548.

⁷ Collier, ii. 877.

⁸ Sparrow's Collection.

precisely what Church principles are. They had recourse to the study of the fathers and of the primitive Church, and for a time all was well. The friends of the Church rejoiced in those new allies. The study of the fathers commenced, but, alas ! wherever we encourage the fertility of the soil we encourage the luxuriance which displays itself also in the produce of weeds ; while we rejoiced in the increase of Church principles, a tendency to Romanism (gradually, and before we were aware) developed itself. Men went into the study of the medieval writers ; and the consequence was, that those who, while reading the fathers, were devoted admirers of the Church of England, became at first depravers of their own Church, and at last victims of the Church of Rome.

You must perceive from this, that in order to guard against this great error, the question presents itself, *who* are the primitive writers whom our Church consults, and to whom she would direct her divines ? what are the councils to which we are to refer ? This difficulty did not escape our Reformers ; they saw that the line must be drawn somewhere, in order to distinguish primitive from medieval Christianity ; and of course, as medieval is the perversion and corruption of primitive Christianity, a perversion and corruption gradually and imperceptibly introduced, not by design, not through ignorance, it was clearly impossible to draw the line very accurately.

"Where holy ground begins, unhallow'd ends,
Is mark'd by no distinguishable line."

We can tell night from day ; but we find it difficult to decide upon the precise moment when twilight begins or ends. An approximation was all that was attempted ; and this was done, and so we possess a general rule.

I have before remarked on the absurdity as well as uncharitableness into which those persons are hurried by their evil passions, who, holding the right of private judgment, call another a heretic because his private judgment differs from theirs. I have also hinted that a rule to judge of heresy is necessary in a Church which regards as a heretic any one who refuses to hear the Church on points upon which the Church has once decided. Accordingly, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, an act of parliament was obtained, by which it is enacted, that no persons, howsoever appointed, shall "have authority or power to order, determine, or adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but

only such as have heretofore been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures,¹ or by the first four general councils, or any of them."

At the commencement of the same reign, when the English Reformers declared their willingness to refer the whole controversy between themselves and the Romanists to the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Church, they affirmed that they meant, by the Word of God, the canonical Scriptures only ; and by the custom of the primitive Church, the general practice of the Catholics for the first five centuries.² In the rules laid down for the conference with the priests and Jesuits in 1582, it said, "If they, the Papists, show any ground of Scripture, and wrest it to their sense, let it be showed by interpretation of the old doctors, such as were before Gregory I. . . . If they can show no doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the apostles, and above four hundred years after, *when doctrine and religion were most pure* ; for that they can show no predecessor whom they might succeed in the same. *Quod primum verum.*"³

Here, then, we have a general direction, which, in these days, when so many persons are unconsciously Romanizing, it is especially important to observe. The line of demarcation between primitive and medieval Christianity having been, as I have said, overlooked by some persons, they have, while supposing themselves to be acting on the principle of the English Church, made shipwreck of their faith on the rocks and shoals of Romanism. And they who have done so, the Romanizers, unite with the ultra-Protestants ; and, with a sneer, accuse the faithful sons of the Church of England of maintaining the absurd proposition that we would have every man to study the fathers as well as the Scriptures, in order that they may arrive at the truth. Of such an absurdity no one was ever guilty ; but they are guilty of transgressing the ninth commandment who bring such a railing accusation against English Churchmen. We agree with the Romanists in calling upon people to defer to the existing Church : *they* refer them to the scheme of theology finally settled for their church at the Council of Trent ; *we* to the scheme of theology

¹ Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 425.

² Collier, ii. 416.

³ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 196.

settled in various convocations of the Church since the time of Henry VIII. At the assembly of Trent the Romish Church accepted the theology which had come to them through the middle ages; while our Reformers corrected the medieval theology by reference to Scripture and the primitive Church. The question is a simple one, viz., What was the principle upon which each party formed that system of theology which remains unaltered on both sides since the period of their respective Reformations? No one is so weak in intellect that he cannot understand this; and I am sure that if he be not blinded by the pride of sect and the subtleties of system, he will see that the course adopted by our Reformers was the wise one. We do not tell the unlearned man to study the fathers, but we tell him what the principle of our Reformation was; that the Reformers studied the fathers, and deferred to the primitive Church; that when Scripture was doubtful, they ascertained how the early Church, during the first five centuries, understood it; and we give them, as the result of these investigations, corroborated by the subsequent investigations of learned men who acted on the same principle, the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer Book is as a glass in which are collected the scattered rays of primitive tradition. This the most unlearned man can understand; and in accepting our formularies as the testimony of the primitive Church to guide him in his interpretation of Scripture, he has only to suppose, what it would be want of charity to doubt, that the succession of divines in the Church of England has consisted of honest men. If the principle of our Reformation was the Bible and the primitive Church, then the Prayer Book is, *ex professo*, both scriptural and primitive; and learned men who have studied primitive Christianity during the last three centuries have added the weight of their testimony to the fact, that it is what it professes to be. What is more, our enemies have never been able to prove that our Prayer Book is contrary to primitive Christianity. Ultra-Protestants who, consistently with their principles, have left the Church, have contended that it is unscriptural; but by unscriptural they merely mean that it is opposed to their private judgment of Scripture; and when Romanists and Romanizers have accused it of deficiencies, the deficiencies have been found to be of very minor importance, and the complaint has generally originated with those who, in

ignorance, if not wilfully, have confounded primitive with medieval doctrines.

The practical question before men at the present time is a short and simple one, viz. which was the right principle of reformation? That of Luther, that of Rome, or that of the Church of England? On this point we must make up our minds. But when our minds are made up, when we have decided on the principle to which our private opinions ought to be conformed, let us act upon it consistently.

Against those who, having been trained in admiration of medieval principles, are leading godly lives in the Church of Rome, in which medieval theology has been systematised; or against those ultra-Protestants, whether Puritans or Rationalists, whether Sabellians or Socinians, who take a position external to the Church, I utter not one word of censure. They act consistently on their principles. Were we in controversy with them, our business would be to suggest to them that the principle from which they started was erroneous, and to point out the end to which it logically tends. But further than this we do not proceed: to their own Master they must stand or fall, and what have we to do with judging them that are without? Be liberal in this respect, as the most liberal latitudinarian or Gallic could desire. Let us hope even against hope; even when prejudice against truth is most bitter, and railing accusations are brought against us, let us trust that it may be traced to an ignorance which is invincible:—

“If the rude waste of human error bear

One flower of hope, oh! pass, and leave it there.”

But surely there is nothing illiberal in requiring of those who remain in the Church of England to abide by the doctrines of that Church, and to take for their guide in the exposition of her doctrines the principle of her Reformation. For this is only to call upon them to act as honest men. Here there is room for true liberality; for a latitude of *opinion* must be tolerated, when that opinion is professedly in accordance with fundamental principles: the controversy between parties in the Church ought to be confined to this one point, whether certain private opinions are or are not consistent with our formularies, not only in the letter but in the spirit, the controversialists assuming as their data that our Church was reformed on the right principle, and that the exposition of that principle as contained in the Prayer Book,

including the Articles and not excluding the Canons, is in essentials scriptural and primitive.

But if men reject the principle of our Reformation, and adopt either the ultra-Protestant principle or the Romish principle, it certainly does appear to me that we are acting in a mere sectarian spirit, when we endeavour to persuade them to conform to or remain in the Church of England; their continuance among us must be injurious to their own souls, at the same time that it causes confusion in the Church. The acceptance of Calvinistic theology, and so unconsciously, at first, of the ultra-Protestant principle, made Puritans within the Church, who, judging the Church by a principle which she repudiates, became discontented with her offices, and then, when there was an honest and independent spirit, after a while forsook her, and established Protestant nonconformity. And just so it must be with those who of late years have adopted, at first unconsciously, but now very often avowedly, medieval tastes and feelings: they make comparisons between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and draw conclusions in favour of the latter—why? because they judge the Church of England by a principle she rejects, and they judge the Church of Rome by the principle she professes. It follows, as a matter of course, that if you have respect to medieval theology, you must, in the ordinary process of your mental operations, become Romanists in spirit and in principle: this is as certain as that the motion of a point makes a line, and the addition of numbers a sum.

I may be wrong, but I certainly have more sympathy with those honest though mistaken men, who, having renounced the principle of our Reformation, on either side, leave the Church, than with those who, knowing that they cannot adhere to the principle of the English Church, endeavour to explain away her doctrines, or to make her practice conformable to the principle, either ultra-Protestant or medieval, which they have adopted. It must be injurious to a man's moral and religious character to use our baptismal office at the font, and to preach against baptismal regeneration in the pulpit; it must be equally detrimental, with regard to the other sacrament, so to state the doctrine of the real presence as to insinuate the medieval and very fundamental error of transubstantiation, or to confound the primitive doctrine of a spiritual sacrifice with the repu-

diated figment of Rome with respect to the sacrifice of the mass. It is not the act of a strictly candid mind to add to the Liturgy, in order to make it conformable to ultra-Protestant tastes, by introducing hymns from the meeting-house; but if hymns be taken from the Breviary to meet the cravings of a mind fed upon the husks of medieval theology, there is the same want of candour which consists in attempting to teach, through the Church of England, what forms, in fact, no part of her teaching. That we want authorised hymns, hymns authorised by convocation (for no other authority can be admitted), may be true, and true it also is that there is as much right to adopt hymns in the one extreme as there is in the other—as *much* right, that is, no right at all: but the evil resulting from the assumption of this right is apparent; though my object in alluding to the subject at the present time is only to show how injurious it must be to character when this right is assumed by ultra-Protestants or by Romanizers, in order that they may make the Church of England appear to say what, in fact, she does not. The same observations are applicable to that sore point, the ceremonies of the Church; the narrowness of mind of ultra-Protestants remaining in the Church which leads them to condemn the ceremonies retained in the Church of England, and to revile those more scriptural as well as wiser persons who, knowing the value of ceremonial religion, are determined to observe them is highly reprehensible: but if their desire to make the Church of England conformable to the prejudices of ultra-Protestants be censurable, equally censurable, equally dishonest, equally detrimental to character, must be the introduction of ceremonies not sanctioned by the Church of England, on the part of those whose hearts are evidently in the mass-house.

I need not at the present time dwell on the errors of those who err on the ultra-Protestant side, and who endeavour to introduce clandestinely into the Church of England modes of thought directly adverse to her principles, for this has been already done by Mr. Gresley with his usual ability, and with more than his accustomed eloquence. But I feel it incumbent upon me to warn an opposite extreme against acting on the same wrong principle, though applied in a different direction.

To all parties I would say, *Obsta principiis*. For my own part it has always been my humble endeavour to abide by the principles of the

Church of England; and I have ever professed myself ready to renounce, detest, and abjure any opinion which could be proved contrary to the principles laid down by her in her formularies, as reformed and established in her various convocations assembled for the purposes of compiling or revising her Liturgy during the last three hundred years; that is to say, I have received the principle of the English Reformation, and I presume that convocations of honest Church-of-England men, acting on this principle, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, whose aid they invoked, have so applied the principle which commends itself to my judgment, that they have not erred in essentials. Conscious of this honest Anglicanism, I have disregarded attacks on all sides; and I feel that I have a right, in addressing members of the Church of England, to say, Look to your principle, the principle of your Reformation, abide by it, and so will you be safe.

If caution be necessary, even in the case of an individual who professes to be under the guidance of the principle of our Reformation, when he ventures to find fault with our formularies, it becomes still more important that we should not at any time yield our minds to the guidance of an author who is known to be under the influence of a principle which we regard as erroneous. As the leaf determines the character of the future tree, and as the bud presents the rudiments of the yet unfolded flower, even so you may be sure of the tendency of an author's work when you have ascertained what his principle is. He may be inconsistent, and thus not always come professedly to a wrong conclusion; but the *tendency* of his instruction must be in a direction contrary to that which you believe to be right. There is no bigotry, therefore, in our refusing to seek instruction from a book written by a Puritan, a Rationalist, or a Roman Catholic. We only act by our own souls as we should act in the case of our children. Before we send our child to school, we inquire into the principles of the master; and although we know him to be a clever man, and may occasionally find pleasure in his conversation, if his principles be in our opinion erroneous, we refuse to commit our child to his training. In like manner, we may have recourse to a book written by one whose principles we condemn, for information on a given point, or for amusement; but when it is offered to us as what is called a religious book, we should refuse it, lest, being led

by the blind, we fall into the ditch. Such a work we should approach, not as a learner, but as a critic—for amusement, not for spiritual edification. However inferior we may be to the writer in intellect, or however excellent his moral character may have been, we are to assume a superiority, because we have been trained on a superior principle, and on a better system. We do not prohibit the use of opium or other drugs, deleterious in themselves, but in some cases beneficially administered; but when the conscientious druggist permits a bottle of laudanum to be taken from his counter, he has the precaution to write "Poison" on its label, and to warn the purchaser not to leave it in the way of the careless. So ought we clearly to designate the works of authors who have written under the influence of an erroneous principle, lest the unwary should be injured.¹ Even good works, coming from a suspected quarter, are to

¹ In the reprints of Roman Catholic books of devotion by Dr. Pusey, there is not sufficient caution in this respect. Notwithstanding the care of the excellent editor to extract the peculiarities of Roman doctrine, they tend evidently to encourage a Roman Catholic style of devotion. The author took the liberty of expressing his sentiments upon the subject to Dr. Pusey after his first publication. Dr. Pusey's notion of the liberty given him by the canon of 1571 is at variance with that common-sense view of the question taken by Dr. Waterland, and quoted in this lecture. We may not go to the Fathers, exercise our own judgment as regards their teaching, and then pass judgment upon the Church of England, or constrain her formularies to consonance with our own notions of primitive theology; relying thus, in fact, on our private judgment. We should start with our formularies; we should suppose that they are right, and, in studying the Fathers, take them for our guide, upon the ground that they are based on the decision, not of one learned or pious man, but of many. It is clear that phrases used by the Fathers before the Nicene Council, though quite capable of an orthodox meaning, which is their right meaning, because they were used by orthodox men, would, nevertheless, be inexpedient at a time when the doctrine of the Trinity had been more clearly defined. Before heresies exist, our impressions are lax, because they cannot be misunderstood: when terms have been applied to express a sense which we repudiate, we become more circumspect in the use of them. Terms used by the Fathers with reference to the eucharist could not be used with propriety at a period subsequent to the introduction of the medieval error of transubstantiation. The question is not as to words, but as to the fact, whether the Fathers believed as we do. If that be granted, then it is surely more safe to adhere to the terms adopted by our Reformers when repudiating the medieval error, than to terms orthodox at the time, but misunderstood and misapplied by Romanists. These observations are applicable to the use of Romish phraseology in other respects: instead of seeking to adopt it, we should prefer what is Anglican.

Jeremy Taylor, like Dr. Pusey, made use of Roman Catholic books of devotion. But he corrected them by our formularies, and so Anglicanised them; Dr. Pusey corrects them by what he calls the primitive church; meaning thereby what Dr. Pusey regards as such. The process is entirely different, and the result can hardly be the same.

be viewed with suspicion. Nor is it safe, since there are both Puritans and Romanizers in the Church of England, to adopt as our guide the work of one holding office among us, if he is known to be under the influence of any other principle than that of the English Reformation.

I hope that what I have said may be serviceable to some who, in the midst of controversial strife, are anxious for a rule by which to be guided. The miserable Latitudinarians who, careless of doctrine, are in practice more careless still; who think of their dignity and ease when souls are perishing around them whom they are salaried to feed; who hate nothing so much as earnestness in religion, and vent their selfish spleen by discovering Puritanism in every act of self-denial, and Popery in every act of devotion; who censure and sneer at all who are labouring in the vineyard, while they themselves are like drones in the bee-hive: these are not the men who represent the *via media* principle of the Church of England, as our enemies would represent them to be. To them, with their closed churches and full tithe barns, the men of the *via media* are resolutely opposed: nay, we can revere zeal, and Christian love, and enthusiastic devotion to the service of our ador-

able Saviour wherever they may be found: we can gaze with admiration on the fruits of the Spirit wheresoever produced, whether in the Roman convent or the Methodist class-room; but we say, in the quaint but strong language of an old poet:—

"In my religion I dare entertain
No fancies hatched in my own weak brain,
Nor private spirits; but am ruled by
The Scriptures, and that church authority,
Which with the ancient faith doth best agree;
But new opinions will not down with me.
When I would learn I never greatly care,
So truth they teach me, who my teachers are;
In points of faith I look not on the man;
Nor Beza, Calvin, neither Luther can
More things, without just proof, persuade me to,
Than any honest parish clerk can do.
The ancient fathers (where consent I find)
Do make me, without doubting, of their mind:
But where, in his opinion, any *one*
Of those great pillars I shall find alone,
(Except in questions which indifferent are,
And such until his name unmoved were,)
I shun his doctrine; for this swayeth me,
'No man alone on points of faith can be.'"

WITHERS.

APPENDIX.

From page 436, 2nd Edition,—abridged.

THE LATE REV. WILLIAM SEWELL, D.D., ON THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT MANIFESTED IN OUR CHURCH BY A PARTY WHOSE AIM IS TO SUBVERT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION.

A FEW words will suffice to explain briefly the circumstances which occasioned the writing of the following letter to the Editor by the late Dr. William Sewell, (one of his oldest and dearest friends), shortly before the last illness which terminated his life. After his return from his long residence abroad for the recovery of his shattered strength, which broke down when Warden of Radley College, the Editor consulted him on the question of an appointment to a London church, being one of peculiar difficulty from its previous connection with an extreme party, and the course to be taken would probably therefore be regarded as a precedent, and be watched as a matter of general interest to the Church at large. As joint Patron of the church, where vestments and other illegal practices had been introduced by the late Incumbent,¹ it had become the Editor's painful duty, in appointing a successor, to consider the

measures necessary to ensure obedience to the laws of the Church, and the discontinuance of such practices, while anxious to show due regard to the feelings of the congregation who had adopted or become accustomed to them. In acceding to his friend's desire for advice on this occasion, Dr. Sewell was led to write the following letter, in which he takes an enlarged view of the question in its general bearing on the troubled state of our Church. The Editor has felt it to be his duty to give the letter (with special abridgement) a place in this work of "Vindication," being the result of valuable experience, and a last testimony to "the danger we are in from our unhappy divisions," from one whose words, weighty at all times and commanding respectful attention, are now invested with an almost sacred interest, as addressed to those who are still in the heat and strife of the conflict, by one of their brethren who has so recently been called to rest from his labours.

¹ The late Rev. J. C. Chambers. Vicar of St. Mary's, Soho,—Author of "*The Priest in Absolution*"

My dear S—

The subject of our recent conversation was to my mind so grave, and involved such tremendous responsibilities, whether to actors or advisers, that it has occupied me ever since.

And,—but I will not waste our time in speaking of the affection and gratitude which I owe you *personally*. You ask me—a poor, worn-out, invalided soldier, who has yet seen some service—to give you some advice; and I do so gladly, but most humbly. And every word we say or write, and every, the slightest act we do, must be in prayer as upon our knees. Blessed be God! we can look to the Holy Spirit to suggest and guide, and I am sure our Blessed Lord will be with you and in you through all your trial.

I think that when we are taking counsel on the eve of a battle, the first thing is to keep before us a clear, distinct view of the character of our foes, or of the danger we are about to encounter. In the present case I object strongly to the use of the term "*Ritualism*." Be assured that in the abuse of *words* there is the greatest peril. Ritualism, legitimately interpreted, implies a rigid, perhaps over rigid observance of a fixed and regular ceremonial; and the outbreak in the Church of England which alarms us at present is the very opposite; it is *an entire neglect of external rules, a wanton, capricious, never-ending change in the ceremonial of our Public Worship, our Common Prayer—and this, entirely dependent on the fancy and opinion of individual clergymen.*

2.—Ritualism also implies a deep and wise conviction of the value of externals in religious worship, when duly employed, whether to inspire feeling, or symbolize truth, or keep alive attention, or warm devotion. But you and I might both appeal to our past lives to show that we would yield to no one in endeavours, on those true principles, to build good churches, decorate God's Service, and diffuse beauty—true beauty over it, when through neglect and coldness it had sunk into a sad degeneration. The millions which within the last thirty years have been spent upon such good works in England show, I hope, that not you, nor I, nor some few young enthusiasts, but that the great mass of the nation are *Ritualists*. Our complaint is, that these revolutionary outbreaks of church decoration and religious ceremonial and dress, instead of spiritualizing feeling, sensualize and chill and materialize it. Instead of symbolizing Truth, they are made a vehicle for error; instead of fixing the thoughts of the worshipper upon

Heaven above, they rivet and chain them to the earth; and instead of warming our hearts to God, they concentrate trust and reverence—mistaken and exaggerated reverence—upon man. Even as a mere question of pure taste—of true, real beauty, the so-called Ritualistic services are usually tawdry vulgarities, unworthy even of a stage play, and most offensive to the simple grandeur and sublimity of Christian prayer and Christian praise.

3.—This so-called Ritualism (naturally and necessarily, considering the source from which it comes) has concentrated its efforts mainly—almost exclusively—upon the one grand, awful, blessed, and holy Mystery, on which I never like to speak except in the very words of Scripture and the Prayer Book. And this it professes to exalt, and round this to gather the awe and the affection of all instructed minds, by inventing, multiplying, copying, and enforcing forms and ceremonies, for which there is no authority in those prescribed Formularies of the Church, which the originators of these innovations solemnly pledged themselves to comply with, when they were entrusted with their sacred office. Those Formularies were drawn up with an especial reference to the exclusion of certain (so regarded) falsities and corruptions in the Romish system, which had brought Christ's Truth into contempt, Christ's Church into ruin, and the Gospel, as preached by Rome to man, into a mass of superstition, and a corrupter, not purifier of the world. And whatever may be the motives, or the real degree of sympathy and yearning for union, and cravings to restore the falsities and corruptions of Romanism, which may exist in various forms in different minds, no one can deny that so-called Ritualism does exhibit itself to the world dressed up in a studied imitation of that very Romanism from which, in the most solemn moment of their lives, the clergy, guilty of this breach of trust, pledged themselves to a sincere renunciation.

All this, let us remember, is the work of individual clergymen, defying the remonstrances of their Bishops, insulting them by cruel sarcasms, and claiming an unrestricted license for the indulgence, each of his own will and caprices.

You and I, my dear S—, are not blind, not insensible to the earnestness, the self sacrifice with which this revolutionary work is often—nay, generally carried on. We have the profoundest respect and gratitude and affection for numbers of the clergy whom the popular cry

would condemn as "Ritualists," but to whose past efforts we owe the revival of the golden, as well as the silver side of Christ's shield of faith within the Church of England. We should ourselves be stamped, or rather pilloried for abuse by popular outcry, under that party word "High Churchmen." And whatever course you may adopt in your present trial, you will be assailed by calumny. But you must not trouble yourself with that.

First, then, I shall speak not of Ritualists, but Revolutionists;—of clergymen within the English Church who, in violation of their most solemn pledges to man and God, in defiance of their Bishops, in disobedience to the last imploring prayers of their Lord—prayers for the unity of His Church,—and indifferent to the ruin which their acts must bring, not merely upon their country, but upon the whole civilized world—for which God's Truth is still preserved alive, and shining within the lamp of the English Church—are claiming a license to alter, each of them, the Common Prayer and Public Worship of the Church according to his own fancy and discretion. It matters not on which side the license may be used; a lecture by a Layman in Westminster Abbey, and vestments and candles and genuflections in another church—both are equally manifestations of the same spirit; both are revolutionary acts proceeding from individual fancy, and individual presumption and self-will;—the same presumption, the same fancy, and the same self-will which has tempted Rome to her last crowning lie of Papal Infallibility! The individual is made the measure of Truth, and thus society is to be pulverized, and lawlessness enthroned as the despot and tyrant of the earth!

But I must not be tempted further on this point, but try to think over the practical question, how you are yourself to act in your present relations to the Revolutionists who are in possession of the Church, for which you are one of the Trustees. The clergyman in whose hands it was, and who it appears—with zeal and self-devotion, (of which God forbid that we should speak without respect)—was led to very great extremes in the so-called Ritualistic system, is now dead. The nomination of his successor is now in the hands of Trustees, of whom you are one,—and how are you to act? This was the question which we talked over so recently, and when I spoke of it as a question involving tremendous responsibilities both in actors and advisers, I was of course

thinking of the present critical position of the English Church in relation to this question.

The indignation and alarm of the National mind at the progress of the revolutionary spirit has called forth that strong expression of feeling in the Public Worship Regulation bill. There exists a great amount of anxiety and irritation; we are threatened with schism, with disestablishment, with hopeless anarchy, with outbursts of party animosities, if any attempt is made to enforce the law. The Bishops acknowledge themselves powerless, the Laity are bewildered and distracted, and the only means of restoring peace seems—I confess to myself, in the present state of mind—hopeless, without a miracle once more to inspire us with obedience, unity, and concord.

You must take this, my dear S—, simply, as I said, to show you that you are in my thoughts and prayer, that I feel deeply how much the Church of England owes to you, as well as I myself. And as we are separated by "Dunnose," and cannot talk, I have done all I could to think over the question with you. But I am old, infirm, and the age has passed me rapidly, and left me, as modern yachts leave an antiquated barge, not stranded, but anchored just where I was forty years ago; in the same firm confidence and trust in the Divine truth and Divine authority of the English Church—in the same horror of Romanism; not because it opposes any prejudice or opinion of my own, but because all my researches and experience exhibit it to me in its peculiar corruption, as one great mass of falsehood; of which the fundamental principle is to convert the true Church of Christ from a witness, and a suffering witness to His truth, into an organ of sacerdotal domination; and the spirit of which is lawlessness, and the substitution of the Will and Reason of an individual for the Law and the Truth of God, precisely as Rationalism does.

The so-called Ritualism seems to me, and always has seemed, only a movement in this direction; and as such, I pray the Almighty God that we may be saved from any further outbreak of it.

Ever gratefully and affectionately yours,

W. SEWELL.

Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, 1874.

Cum Roma nulla Pax.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART III.—(*First Division.*)

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC REVIVAL, AND THE ROMEWARD REACTION.

But now we fight the battle,
And live in trust and hope,
And Sion, in her anguish,
With Babylon must cope:

But He Whom now we trust in
Shall soon be seen and known,
And they who know and see Him
Shall have Him for their own.

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC REVIVAL DURING THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.—AND THE COUNTER INFLUENCE OF A ROMEWARD FACTION.

By the late Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York.

THE times call for great plainness of speech. They are times of confusion and anxiety. On the one hand we have disturbers in the Church, who would remove its very foundations, with Dr. Colenso; on the other, among those who should be "striving together for the faith of the Gospel," there are great divisions of feeling and of purpose. I am convinced that even among good men there is a want of clear thought upon the great questions of the day, and that mischievous men are more mischievous than they mean to be, because they confound terms, and fail to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious in what claims to be Catholic.

For myself, having been for many years concerned very little in other things, and having found the historical Church of Christ the most interesting of all objects upon earth, even in its dust and ruins, I may truly say that I have thought night and day upon the restoration of its Unity. I am distressed, therefore, by practical mistakes that tend to retard so blessed a result, and thinking that I see clearly where such mistakes begin, I am anxious, if possible, to point it out to others. Having succeeded, especially with young divines, in explaining some matters which have much embarrassed them, I have been slowly led to believe that I may do good, to many others, by stating in simple terms the truth which will enable them to discriminate, in

these times, between what is sound and what is spurious, in professed Catholicity.

The Victorian Epoch will be marked in history as that of a great revival and restoration in the Church of England. But, in reformations, generally, there are evils as well as good things; and in this great Revival of Catholicity, it is not surprising that some, having lost their way, have misled others, and made great confusions.

When we speak of Catholicity, let us be understood as using the word in its legitimate sense; as all the world understood it before it became Occidentalized even by Occidentals. It means that Constitution of the Church, and that Profession of Faith, which were recognized, not invented, by the Council of Nicæa, and by the great Councils following; and which were so recognized, as from the beginning and as wholly Scriptural.

The use of the word to which, in common with the Easterns, I oppose the usage of all Antiquity, is that which can only be admitted, by conceding that the Latin Churches are the whole of Catholic Christendom, and that the Bishop of Rome is the centre of Unity. But, this is to concede that there was no Catholic Church, for all the primitive ages; because, in those ages, there was no such idea, and because the Oriental Churches, which never had it, are the oldest, as they were for centuries the fore-

most, in Christendom, all the Catholic Councils having been Eastern, in place and character, and in no respect Latin, like the pseudo-Council of Trent.

The chief source of the confusions which now exist has been a misunderstanding of this word *Catholic*, and the thing *Catholicity*. The words have been so misused that their abuse is the scandal of literature, and they are still so confounded by popular writers, and also by divines, that even learned men, who may not be blessed with analytical powers equal to their other faculties, often add to the confusion by a correct use of the words in one sentence, and a mistaken application of them in another. At last, a party has become visible in the Church which purposely confounds them; a party generated by the mistakes of some and by the craftiness of others, and which threatens to destroy the peace of the Church, if not to uproot much of the good that has been planted among us, during the past quarter-century. Whatever its origin, it is a very mischievous party, and, I am sorry to add, a very unscrupulous one. It browbeats and intimidates; it "rages and is confident;" it overthrows old landmarks; it rails at the Episcopate, and exalts nothing but itself and its friends.¹ Sound and sober men are in the immense majority; but just now there seems no one among them to rise up and rebuke the silliest and shallowest faction ever bred in the Church of England. Hence it claims to have everything its own way: it certainly seems to lead the popular mind, among certain classes in the Church. It conciliates the vain and self-sufficient, and leads captive the imaginative. Their triumphing, however, must be short: the only fear is that in the indignation they will kindle and the re-action they will stimulate, much that is good will perish with so much evil.

In this country there is a small but busy class of persons, who have opened correspondences with some of their own sort in England, and who have been active in transferring to totally different scenes and circumstances, a plague that is bad enough where it has some historical pretences for its existence. Our Church is a missionary Church, founded among a new people, and has enough to do in teaching them the fundamentals of Apostolic religion, without

exciting and shocking the prejudices of millions, by things indifferent in themselves, and alien to their habits and history. The faction that thus disturbs and hinders the work of the Church is small, but, as I have said, it is busy, and it is working a great deal of mischief, far and near.

I am sorry to say the evil is getting headway. The faction boasts, I hope not truthfully, of the countenance and patronage of some who have heretofore enjoyed the confidence of their brethren. It has used the press freely, and is scattering the seeds of discord.¹ I am unwilling to see it grow into importance, for want of being met at the beginning with a little resolution, and disagreeable as it is to incur anybody's ill-will, I feel it to be my duty to resist this party, before it gathers support enough to be formidable.

Almost the worst thing that could have been the precursor of a genuine Catholic movement in the Church of England, was such a political blunder as what was called "Catholic Emancipation." That unjust measure, while it disturbed the foundations of the English throne, and admitted a Trojan horse into Society, led the popular mind to a very false view of Romanism, and identified the word *Catholic* with the cause and with the spirit of the Romish religion. Before this agitation was lulled, the Oxford movement, so called, was inaugurated. I am not too young to have been a deeply interested observer of it, from its beginnings, as I have been, from the most tender age, of all that concerned England and its Church.

Beginning in such confusions, and enlisting from the outset men of widely different antecedents and views, it is not to be wondered at that it has lacked unity and consistency from the first. There was yet lingering a class of old divines who kept up the line of the great Caroline doctors; men who knew what Catholicity means, and who stood just where the sons of the Church of England should always be found. But, there was also a younger class, who began to imagine themselves Catholics on purely reactionary principles, "starting aside like a broken bow," and disgusted with principles they had formerly professed. As time went on, a

¹ See the *Christian Remembrancer*, London, January and July 1866.

¹ About two years ago somebody caused Tract No. 90 to be republished here, at a time when nobody thought about it, and when it was supposed to be dead and buried.

right and a left began to be visible among the Oxford men and their allies ; and yet the movement was kept up, without a general recognition of this distinction, and it was credited alike with the good of the one and the evil of the other, as if it were all one and the same movement. The right wing, however, was widely different from its counterpart on the left. It was sober, attached to the principles of the Reformation, well-read in the Fathers, deeply conversant with Holy Scripture, and truly Catholic : while the men of the left, though not without brilliancy and cleverness, were superficial, impatient, self-conceited, ignorant of their bearings, reckless in their driftings, and superciliously inconsiderate of wiser and better men. The right wing went to work to restore the Church to herself : the left began, very soon, to attempt its entire transformation. The one class loved the manna of our Prayer-book, and only sought to make others love it : the others craved leeks and onions, and began to praise the flesh-pots of Egypt. The incidental work of the one was a revival of the rubrics and of what may be called the Anglican maxims, while their great work was preaching the Gospel, restoring daily prayers and weekly communions, and everywhere renewing the Church. The whole soul of the other was speedily concentrated in Rome, in the introduction of Latinisms, in candlesticks and chasubles, and dalmatics, in flower-pots and thuribles. On went the movement ; but the left wing often became confused as well as confounded with the right. Measures and men became inextricably commingled. The left wing helped on some blunder of the right, and the right could not refuse to aid in a good move of the left. At last, owing to some practical mistakes, the left began to lead : before long, "servants were on horses and princes walking on the earth." A miserable apostasy followed and was checked ; but, once more, the tail has begun to lead the head, and now the *grand movement of the Restoration is threatened with self-defeat*. Men have begun to direct it, who will cause it to perish, if they be not speedily checked ; and *perish it must, if it be left to them*, in such an ill-savour as will indefinitely postpone a resurrection.

Now then there must be a drawing of lines, and this dangerous element must be eliminated. We must know, in short, who is who and what is what. The Trentine party is formed ; the Catholic

school must recognise its own metes and bounds and shut out its enemy. There is this advantage in the crisis to which things have been brought : men and measures have taken shape and are more readily distinguished than heretofore, as what they really are. The popular mind has, heretofore, classed the Bishop of ——— and the learned Dr. ———, together, and refused to understand their wide differences : but now everybody may see that they have united in certain measures on different grounds and with a view to directing them to widely different issues. It cannot be so hereafter ; "—— ——— *sunt certi denique fines*," and persons must now define their positions, and let all men know where they are and what they are aiming at. The only ones who will object to this are they who claim to be "Catholics," thereby to get the credit of following Bull and Hammond, while at heart they are Papists, and are following Dr. Manning as fast as they think it safe, or can lead others after them. Now, then, I propose a Criterion, by which to divide between those claiming the name of Catholics, and by which the true men maybe easily known from the false. Since these men claim to be "Catholics," as we do, let us first erect a standard of genuine Catholicity, such as nobody can deny would have been acknowledged as such by Bishop Bull, or by Archbishop Laud. Here are its notes, or characteristics, according to a natural classification of things and ideas :

I.

1. Œcumenical. 2. Primitive. 3. Vincentian.
4. Episcopal. 5. Liturgical. 6. Anglican.
7. Nicene.

But nobody can look at this table, without seeing that a whole hemisphere of things and thoughts, on which a *soi-distant* Catholic party most insists, has no part nor lot in such Catholicity. Their aims, their practices, their whole system, are quite another thing. Let us see how we can define it by seven notes, as we have the other. Here it is then, like Jeremiah's basket of naughty figs :

II.

1. Occidental. 2. Mediæval. 3. Isidorian.
4. Papal 5. Ritualistic. 6. Gallican.
7. Trentine.

Now, let them be honest, and say whether this table does not fairly represent the hemisphere in which they move, and are trying to move others,

For example, what a great importance they have made, for twenty years, about the Council of Trent, and the harmonizing of our Articles with its articles. Then, how largely they have drawn their inspiration from Gallican sources; from breviaries and what not; until, lately, a learned doctor went over to France to arrange for a *Concordat* with the Pope. Their Ritualistic movement, wholly modelled upon the Romish ceremonies, is quite prominent; and their great tenderness about "the See of St. Peter," is hardly less so. Their Isidorian specialty is less visible to the naked eye; but, certain it is that they are never tired of appealing to maxims and customs, as "Catholic," which have no other origin than that of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, or forged decrees of the early Bishops of Rome, in which the Papal imposture is founded. Their Mediævalisms will not be denied, and their Occidental habits of thought are sufficiently established if my other notes of the party are justified by the facts to which I have referred. So that we have a party, or at least a set of men, engaged in this Victorian Restoration, who are clearly for restoring the Church to anything but the Catholicity of Laud,¹ and Ball and Hammond. Surely, nobody can accuse these worthies of any sympathy with the ideas of Table No. II., unless the very simple Liturgical tastes and principles of Laud be confounded, as were his Patristic maxims by the Puritans, with the Popery against which he fought all his life long, and till he was regarded at Rome, as the worst enemy the Pope had in England.²

Here, then, we have found our Criterion. Table No. I. is the touchstone by which we discover the whole counter-system of Table No. II.; and now let us set them all over one against the other, that we may see how antagonistic they are and ever must be.

I.	A	II.
1. Catholic.		1. Occidental.
2. Primitive.		2. Mediæval.
3. Vincentian.		3. Isidorian.
4. Episcopal.		4. Papal.
5. Liturgical.		5. Ritualistic.
6. Anglican.		6. Gallican.
7. Nicene.		7. Trentine
	Z	

¹ I shall frequently refer to Laud, as one often represented as on the extreme verge of our Church, in his leanings to Rome, but who is almost a Puritan in the eyes of our new Romanizers.

² Evelyn's Diary and Letters, ii, 205.

Now let us look at the two tables, and observe that the line A Z represents a deep gulf between two sets of men, measures, sympathies and practical principles. You cannot read one of our old divines, Cosin, Bramhall, Taylor, Pearson, or the like, besides those already mentioned, without seeing that they are absolutely represented by Table No. I. But take up one of the newspapers, magazines, or books of the class I have spoken of as now attempting to control the Church of England, and you will see as clearly that they entirely answer to the characteristics of the opposite table. The line once drawn there is no longer any difficulty in distinguishing men and measures, if the terms be understood: and nobody can be on both sides of the line except those peculiar people who believe equally in the Copernican and the Ptolemaic systems of Astronomy.

Here, however, it may be well to explain terms even for some who "ought to be teachers."

1. *a. Ecumenical* ideas are those which include impartially the Greek and the Latin Churches, and the Faith as professed by both, before the schism.

b. Occidental ideas are those which practically ignore the Catholicity of the Orientals, and which tacitly allow the claims of the Latins to be the essential part of Catholic Christendom.

2. *a. Primitive* ideas are those derived from Holy Scripture and ancient authors.

b. Mediæval ideas are those which are taken from Western writers, since the establishment of the Papacy.

3. *a. Vincentian* principles are those of the Primitive Church, as recorded by the great Vincent of Lerins, and which allow nothing to be Catholic that is novel, though all the world should adopt it, but define that as Catholic which was universally accepted from the beginning, though only a single Church should be faithful to it.

b. Isidorian maxims are those of the false Decretals, forged under the name of Isidore of Seville, and imposed on Western Christendom by Nicolas I., making communion with the See of Rome the test of Catholicity, and authorizing any novelty accredited by the Pope.

4. *a. Episcopal* principles are simply those of Scripture and of the Cyprianic age, that the Unity of the Church hinges on the solidarity of the Episcopate,

6. *Papal* principles are those which make the Papacy a divine Institution, and the base and centre of Unity to all Christians.

5. *a. Liturgical* ideas are those which seek to bring out the beauty and majesty of our Common Prayer, and other Services, in all their rubrical and Scriptural fulness, so as to edify and instruct, as well as to animate the worshipper.

b. Ritualistic ideas are those which aim at pageantry and ceremony, with an effort to introduce Romish rites and illegal, discarded observances, into our worship, and to reduce the saying of the Prayers to an unintelligible performance.

6. *a. Anglican* ideas are those which have been known as such for three hundred years, and which are familiar in the sermons and teachings of all our great divines.

b. Gallican ideas are those imported from the French moderate Papists: and which, in the Exposition of Bossuet, for example, approximate to reformed principles, yet admit all that was absolutely exacted by the Papacy, before the late Dogma.

7. *a. Nicene* principles are those recognized by the Council of Nice and the other General Councils; as in the Nicene Creed, and in the Canonical regulation of the patriarchates.

b. Trentine principles are those set up by the Western Council of Trent, only 340 years since, in defiance of the Nicene Canons, and anathematizing all Christians who fail to accept its decrees.

The Criterion which I have thus presented admits of no evasion. Everyone who comprehends the terms may see their application to his own sympathies, and to the measures and the men of the times. Does he bring everything to the rule of Œcumenical Councils and the undivided Church, or does he attach importance and weight to a purely Occidental Theology, and to the assumptions of the Latin Councils to legislate for Christendom? Does he bring everything to the test of "Holy Scripture and ancient authors," or does he admit Mediæval glosses and scholastic subtleties, unknown to the Primitive age? Is he honestly devoted to the Vincentian tests of Catholicity, so that he feels and adopts the principle that the true Catholics may become a minority in Christendom, or does he

attach great importance to *numerical*¹ Catholicity, if not actually accepting the pseudo-Isidorian principle that he is the Catholic who obeys the Pope? Does he believe, with Cyprian, that the Episcopate is the divinely appointed hinge of the Church's Unity, or does he sink the Episcopate to a mere function of the Papacy, accepting the Papal Supremacy itself, "with a Concordat?" Are his Liturgical tastes regulated by Holy Scripture and the Primitive worship, and anchored in the Book of Common Prayer, so that he merely aims to bring out its richness and completeness, and to make it beautiful only by its own Laws and analogies, to the edification of the people; or does he, in his heart, desire chiefly a splendid ceremony, and, as near as possible, an imitation of the pompous Romish Ritual?² Does he make the blessed Eucharist a reasonable service; a commemoration of our Paschal Lamb, in the solemn and edifying use of the words of our reformed office, so that all hearts may follow the solemnity, and be warmed and filled by its Scriptural richness and Liturgic decency and order: or does he make it a mere Rite, closely resembling the Latin Mass, gorgeous in its ceremonial, but almost inaudible and unintelligible in its words?³ Is he an Anglican with Bishop Bull, or a Gallican with Bossuet, bringing himself to the test of their celebrated correspondence? Does he cultivate, in himself and others, the veritable Nicene spirit; the spirit of undivided Christendom, enthroning the Gospels in the midst of the Councils, and doing all things according to that Law; or does he perpetually recur to Trent, as if that were a Law to Christendom, and as if we were profoundly concerned to accommodate ourselves to its decrees? And there is another question I will ask, of very great practical importance: in respect of the great want of a re-

¹ The *numerical* consequence of Rome is perpetually dwelt upon. It is a principle which would have rejected Elijah and also Athanasius; it would at one time have made Arianism Catholic. But see Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitory*, iii. 4.

² One of the Ritualistic papers (*English Church Times*, August 11) contains a very offensive Ode on "the Assumption of our Lady," with many passages which are almost impious. It ends with these lines:

"And when to Jesus ye bow the knee,
Cry Ave Maria, ora pro me."

I regret to add that similar things are said and sung in some Churches in England.

³ See Hirscher's comments on the ceremonial of the Mass, in "Sympathies of the Continent;" how he groans over the pomps which destroy the spirit of the Holy Communion.

newed order of women, separated to good works, does he wish to see the primitive and Scriptural *deaconess* restored to her place and function in the Church; or does he aim to revive those nunneries and monastic institutions which even the Gallicans¹ are exposing for their hypocrisy and cruelty, and which Italy² has just swept away with the besom of destruction, after the largest experience of their pernicious influences? Such questions as these must now be asked in all faithfulness, and answered without evasion. Here, if not in England, there should be no room for misunderstanding on these points, when any person is thought of for responsible positions, or when any plans are proposed for institutions of benevolence, and the like. No young man should be ordained a deacon; no deacon should be promoted to the priesthood; above all, no priest should be preferred to the Episcopate, in the present crisis, until his fidelity to the Church is proved, by some such examination, or by inquiries of similar import. Surely such is the spirit of our Canons and of the Ordinal.

The appearance of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, followed by a republication of No. 90, has made this crisis, or at least brought it clearly into view.³ Apart from the thoroughly Trentine character of the *Eirenicon*, its alarming feature is its confessed "audacity" in reviving the principle of subscription set forth by Dr. Newman, in No. 90, and renewing the claim of the Romanizers to be ordained, on such a scheme of evasion and equivocation.⁴

As an American bishop I have taken my stand, and am resolved to carry out our Canons and the requisitions of the Ordinal, not only in their letter, but in their spirit. I have given notice that I shall reject any Trentine applicant

for Orders; and that any one proposing to me to make his affirmations on the scheme of No. 90, shall be rejected not so much for unsound doctrine, as for *immorality*. I call it immorality for any one to seek Holy Orders on such false pretences. It is also sacrilege, in view of the vows made to the Holy Ghost, and sealed by the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. On this point I care not who differs with me: I am strong in my appeal to the conscience of mankind, against any one who holds the doctrines of Trent, and yet seeks a cure of souls in our Church.¹ I do not think the case will arise in Western New York; but, when it does, I shall most assuredly reject the applicant, and notify his rector that I have so done on the ground of his scandalous immorality in seeking Holy Orders on the false pretence of having neither "written, taught, nor held anything contrary to the doctrine" of our Church.² There my duty will end. But should the Rector who gave him his testimonials in good faith, and the vestry who united in the same, find themselves justly scandalized, and the flock grieved and injured by such duplicity, and should the Rector proceed to suspend the offender accordingly under the Canon,³ for his "wickedness," I should sustain him canonically, and thank him personally for his fidelity to Christ and his Church. Such discipline is needed. I have known a little parish almost broken up by such conduct on the part of a young man; and well may the people tremble if they cannot be protected against teachers who would thus "creep and intrude, and climb into the fold."

Some affect to be surprised at my position, because in England it has not been so done. It is time they should be so surprised. For want of such dealing with Mr. Newman's disciples, at the outset, owing to the bonds of the State-laws, a large body of youthful ecclesiastics made a mockery of their orders, and passed over to Rome fresh from the hands of their bishops, to the great scandal of the flock of Christ. Others, like poor Mr. Sibthorp, have gone to and fro, between England and Rome, like a shuttlecock, duplicating Orders, but resuming and renouncing

¹ See *Le Maudit* and *Le Religieuse*.

² I am no blind admirer of Italian legislation, in this matter: but such legislation would never have been thought of among hereditary Papists, had not the abuses been intolerable.

³ "The significance of the republication of Tract 90 is scarcely to be overrated."—C. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 178.

⁴ "Let us be honest and admit that . . . we have not a leg to stand upon as regards what is known of the opinions of those who first drew up the Articles, or those who first imposed them upon the clergy. We do not want the support of either Edward's or Elizabeth's divines. We boldly assert that a sense of the Articles which they would have repudiated as ridiculous, is regarded in fact, as tenable by everybody, and will, we believe, soon be the recognized exposition of the Church."—C. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 178.

¹ "After all the explanations given, and yet to be given, of the Catholic (Romish) mode of signing the Articles, it will still remain true that to most minds the interpretations of No. 90 will seem evasions rather than explanations."—C. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 178.

² Title I., Can. v., Sec. iv.

³ Title II., Can. xii., Sec. ii.

the Anglican ministry at will, no man forbidding. And so it has come to this, that men actually claim a right to be ordained on the plan of Dr. Newman,¹ himself an apostate and a gainsayer, and with his own presumptuous reservation in their mouths—"I will not hold office in a Church which will not allow *my* sense of the articles," that is to say, a Romish sense. If such things are to be allowed in our Church, all confidence in the Episcopate will be forfeited, and justly so. The people look to their bishops for protection against such intruders, and they have a right to expect it. I know not what my venerated fathers and brethren in the Episcopate may think of the *Eirenicon*; but I venture to say there is not one of them that would ordain a man, openly avowing that his subscription is made on the scheme of Dr. Newman's No. 90² which the *Eirenicon* adopts and more than endorses.

For my plain words I make no apology; the adverse faction is not only downright, but arrogant and abusive.³ It insults the whole Episcopate, but offers to make a great man of any bishop who will patronize the Trentine party. It commends Dr. Pusey's "audacity," in making "4 proposals for union with Rome;" and to make his own audacity complete, the reviewer affirms, unblushingly, that No. 90 is the first successful attempt to harmonize the Articles and the Prayer-book. Here are the astounding words of one of the leading periodicals of England:

"That interpretation (of the Articles by Tract 90) for the most part may be—we fully believe ourselves that it is—in diametrical opposition to what Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer meant. But it cannot be dislodged; and having made good its ground, it will make progress; and no considerable amount of teaching can go on at our Theological Colleges without its being seen and admitted that there is no other method of reconciling the Prayer-book and the articles than that advocated in the celebrated publication of Dr. Newman."⁵

It follows that, for three centuries, our great bishops and divines have occupied an untenable

position, and have vainly tried to reconcile their consciences with their subscription to Articles which were repugnant to the Prayer-book. They were the triflers with God and man: the author of No. 90 is the first to solve their problem; and the Gamaliel for whom our Andrewes and Pearson, and Wilson have waited, is the pervert Dr. Newman.

He who will not "hear the Church" is made to us, by our great High-priest himself, "as a heathen man and a publican." He who accepts duplicate Orders is guilty of sacrilege. He who separates himself from the lawful authorities of a lawful Church is condemned by Inspiration, as "sensual, having not the spirit." He who is a "truce-breaker," and resists an Apostolic ministry, on its own Canonical ground, setting up antagonistic claims, and "leading captive silly women" and others, is classed with Jaanes and Jambres by one apostle, and with Korah by another. Yet one who occupies just such a position, if the Anglican Church is a true Church, is the acknowledged oracle of the new party, and his plan of interpreting the Articles is claimed as the proper one to be adopted in our Theological Schools, and by our Bishops in conferring Holy Orders. Such are the counsels given to the Church, by a periodical of the first class, and which triumphs in its unrebuked effrontery.

All the names which Churchmen have been wont to venerate and to identify with the Church's cause, are habitually vilified by the party, or consigned to contempt with "faint praise." The martyrs of the Reformation, to whom the whole English-speaking world owes more than to any who have lived after them, amid the blessings purchased by their blood, even these venerated fathers are never mentioned without a sneer. It has come to this, that even the malicious policy of the Romanists, in making the martyrs' cause identical with that of Henry VIII. and his rapacious courtiers,¹ is adopted by the party, in terms that strongly attest their hatred, not only of the Reformers, but of the Reformation, and of all those great divines who have fortified it by their massive learning; who, for three hundred years have never been wanting in England, and who have never failed to command the reverence and admiration of Christendom.

¹ "Beyond all question the securing a status for the *Eirenicon* has a fortiori secured the like standing ground for the interpretation of Tract 90,"—C. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 176.

² "It may be long before the Thirty-nine Articles are abolished; but the interpretation of them in Tract 90 is, perhaps, nearly equivalent to their abolition,"—C. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 175.

³ See Christian Remembrancer for July 1866.

⁴ Christian Remembrancer, January and July, 1866.

⁵ Ch. Remembrancer, July, 1866, p. 176.

¹ Against which Latimer so faithfully bore his testimony, as is justly instanced by Southey in his "Life of Wesley." Vol. I., Notes.

Now the growth and progress of this party have been chiefly owing to the confusion of men's minds, heretofore, as to their true character. Dr. Newman's Tract claimed to be a defence of the Articles against a charge of inconsistency with Catholic doctrine. Hundreds, in view of the position he then occupied, believed that he meant by this term what the Reformers did, when they imposed the Articles and commanded the Clergy to interpret them by the Catholic Fathers. The Ambiguities of the writer puzzled even Mr. Palmer, of Worcester,¹ who says, in his "Narrative," "I should conceive that in contending for a Catholic, he did not mean to suggest a *Roman Catholic*, interpretation of the Articles, though certainly some of the expositions in Tract 90 had a tendency of that kind." We now know by the *Apologia* that the author designed that it should work Rome-ward, though his theory was to delay individuals and work the whole Church over.² "I desired," he says, "a union with Rome *under conditions*, Church with Church"—the precise position of Dr. Pusey in his scheme of a *Concordat*. Was it duplicity, then, or was it ignorance that led the author of No. 90 to his sad misuse of terms? He now pleads ignorance of the notorious usages of the Communion which he has joined,³ and we may charitably trust it was ignorance, then; but at any rate he was a blind guide and all who have followed him have fallen into the ditch. In those days we had no idea that any sane man could become a Papist. In 1836, Mr. Le-Bas,⁴ comparing the nineteenth century with the seventeenth, said: "*In these times* a reconciliation between the Romish and the Reformed Communions would be thought scarcely less chimerical than a coalition between the religion of the Cross and that of the Crescent." Hence some good men were reluctant to credit their own eyes, and they believed, as did Mr. Palmer, against all appearances, that at the worst, the Tract was simply an injudicious and perilous attempt to keep Romanizers from leaving us. . . Personal partiality might be excused for taking a too favourable view of the work; but the author's speedy apostasy should have opened their eyes. His work on "Development," and his late *Apologia*, prove, in fact, that whether he was a self-deceiver, or a deceiver outright,

his Tract was the offspring of an essentially Romanized state of mind. He had made Rome a foregone conclusion: whatever was true, or primitive, or Catholic, was Romish in his morbid imagination. . . . Such is the ground of his impudent assertion¹ that Hooker, Taylor and Bull, even in their arguments *against* Rome direct men's sympathies *toward* Rome. Who ever found it out but he, with his strange faculty of turning food into poison?

Happily, the instinctive consent of English minds, in condemnation of the Tract, was so general, that the writer soon threw off the mask, and abandoned a Church which he could not deceive. In his *Apologia*, we have the whole history of his shameless attempt, and of the chagrin occasioned by his defeat. The virtuous indignation of the vast majority of the Church was overwhelming.² "If there ever was a case," he says, "in which an individual teacher has been put aside and virtually put away by a community, mine is one." All honour to old English honesty and common sense for so sound a verdict! God forbid it should ever be reversed till the prodigal "comes to himself."

But No. 90 is indeed a very curious production. It is a tissue of cruel hints and cunning reservations, like Iago's in the play. Sometimes it seems to me as if its author were attempting a grave joke, like Whately in his "Historic Doubts." Again, it reminds me of Swift's "Humble Attempt to prove the Antiquity of the English language." Just reflect upon it; an attempt to reconcile our Article on the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture, not only with the Decrees of Trent, in general, but over and above with the sweeping requirements of the Creed of Pope Pius the Fourth. Here is the language of the latter:

"All and singular the things which were defined in the Sacrosanct Council of Trent concerning Original Sin and concerning Justification, I embrace and receive . . . and all other things delivered, defined and declared (by said Council.) I do, without wavering, receive and profess. . . . This is the true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved."

And here is the language of the Sixth Article:

"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

¹ Narrative, New York Ed., 1843, p. 73.

² Apol., p. 188.

³ See his Letter to Dr. Pusey. London, 1866.

⁴ Life of Laud, p. 372.

¹ Apologia, p. 176.

² Apologia, p. 250.

Now he that can reconcile these two articles has a faculty somewhat resembling the digestive powers of an ostrich. It used to be thought absurd in the Presbyterians to enforce their Westminster Confession, with all its subtleties, as conditions of communion ; but a creed which embraces, all and singular, the chaos of scholasticism contained in the Trent decrees, and all its minute prescriptions on indifferent subjects,—open questions, at worst, for fourteen centuries,—and which commands these to be received on pain of damnation ; such a Creed, it seems, is quite consistent with our Sixth Article, nay with the whole Thirty-Nine ; and No. 90 is to be made, hereafter, our Standard Exposition.¹ And Dr. Pusey would have us believe that this is “the Catholic interpretation” which our old doctors contended for. Has he never read Hammond’s opinion of Trent ?² Has he never read Bishop Cosin’s “History of Popish Transubstantiation,” and what he says of the unhappy Pope, who made it *de fide* by means among the most impious of an awfully sinful life ?³ Has he never read the same great bishop’s “History of the Canon ?” Of course he has, and it is plain he does not agree with these authors : but, how then he can pretend that Dr. Newman’s book, or his own, has any agreement with such authorities is the puzzle of all sober men. One word of Hammond’s upsets the whole theory of No. 90 and of the *Eirenicon* also ; that in which he speaks thus of mis-called Councils :⁴

“Having given the Romanist this account, I shall not add what hath been so fully done by others, the many *eminent nullities* of some of them, especially of that of Trent, which is most *magisterially imposed on us*.”

Yet Tract 90, which was another magisterial attempt to impose these “nullities,” insinuates that it sustains the cause of Bull and Andrewes and Hooker. Dr. Newman’s own “Apology” proves that he knew better. He confesses in 1845, writing as an open Papist, as follows :⁵

“I have felt, all along, that Bishop Bull’s theology was the only theology on which the English Church could stand. I have felt that opposition to the Church of Rome was *part* of that theology ; and that he who could not protest against the Church of Rome was *no true divine in the English Church*. I have never said, nor attempted to say, that any one in office, in the English Church,

whether Bishop or incumbent, could be otherwise *than* in hostility to the Church of Rome.”

Now this is honest, and it is all the defence I ask for my own position ; but it is almost the only thing in Dr. Newman’s writings which his Anglican admirers overlook ; and it is certainly unfortunate that he failed to make this *clear* in No. 90 and his other writings of that period.

It seems to me that the rise of this Trentine Party must be dated from the favourable and exculpatory view which his friend Dr. Pusey was pleased to take of Dr. Newman’s apostasy. So long ago as 1851, this fatal error was justly noted by an able writer, in an American periodical.¹ He justly remarked that “neither the Letters of Dr. Pusey, on the occasion, nor the *Lyra Innocentium*, which feebly sounded from the hands of Mr. Keble, betokened any cordial conviction of guilt in such a transition. The chief claim of the English Church seemed to be that they were born in her ; that she was still their mother, a poetic preference which went as far as this—

“No voice from heaven hath clearly said

Let us depart—then fear to roam.”

That was the critical moment, when an honest repudiation of Dr. Newman’s conduct and example would have saved England the shame that has followed from its Mannings and its Papal aggressions, and would have built up a most healthful Nicene School of Catholic laymen and divines, to reconcile Dissent, and to render such a history as that of Dr. Colenso impossible. But Dr. Pusey chose to make light of his friend’s apostasy, his rebaptization, his duplicate orders, and his railing accusations against the Church he had betrayed. Such language as Dr. Pusey then used had a paralyzing effect on consciences : young men began to think it no serious matter to overleap the chasm between the Primitive Church of England and the Trentine Confederacy of Rome ; and by a known law² of familiarity with things unlawful, the moral perceptions of multitudes became so obtuse, that what disgusted everybody in 1840, is claimed in 1866, with unabashed effrontery, as the normal interpretation of the Articles, and that which must soon be accepted by our Theological Colleges. One thing however is gained ; many of those who were deceived in past days are no longer capable of being imposed upon in these. And whereas some excused No. 90, then, because they were over-persuaded that it meant

¹ See the Christian Remembrancer, before quoted.

² Minor Works, p. 370, and elsewhere.

³ See Cosin’s Works, vol. iv. p. 222.

⁴ Hammond, *Parænesis*, p. 369.

⁵ *Apol.* p. 195.

¹ Ch. Review, vol. iv., p. 42.
Barrow, Sermon xlviii. 4.

Catholicity, those who uphold it now, do so generally with no concealment that *they know it to be Romanism*.

Does Dr. Pusey know it to be such? I have too much respect for his piety to accuse him of a position so inconsistent with his character. As that "good man" St. Barnabas was "carried away with the dissimulation" of the Judaizers, so have I felt that the good Canon of Christ Church has been seduced, by his friendship for Dr. Newman, into a delusive enthusiasm that destroys the balance of his mind. But his admirers are less tender of his reputation. They assure us his eyes are open, and yet they decide that he maintains the same doctrine with the most rabid of those who adopted No. 90 only as an excuse for their apostasy. Of this class one of the worst was Mr. Ward. Dr. Pusey himself enters a protest against being classed with so disreputable a writer,¹ whose argument for No. 90 he characterizes as an "extreme Roman" one. But the admiring reviewer of Dr. Pusey does not admit any considerable difference between the two, in point of fact. He thus states the position of each ;²

1 "What Mr. Ward meant was that *he was willing to adopt the decrees of Trent* :

2. What Dr. Pusey means is that *he has no objection to them either*, because both the Council of Trent and the Thirty-Nine Articles are *not really*, but only seem to be at issue."

So then there is no difference at all in their positions, practically, Dr. Pusey's warmest friends being the judges. If Mr. Ward's is an "extreme Roman sense" so is Dr. Pusey's : and the only *extreme* feature of Mr. Ward is his "impertinently obnoxious" way of putting the case.

Mr. Keble's position has been a peculiar one : as Dean Milman said, "there is something about him unlike any other man." I had resolved not to admit his beloved name in this discussion, and if I do so, it is only because others have made it necessary. Nobody has ever heard me speak of him, except in terms of admiration and respect. His gentle, loving spirit has ever risen before me as something nearer to St. John's than anything I have ever met with in life. Still, St. John himself was "a son of thunder," and I must own I have often wished that a little of the Boanerges had been visible in that lovely character. I have

never permitted the fascination of his character to control those convictions of truth which I have gained from minds superior even to his, and from their clear expositions of the old Fathers and of the Holy Scriptures. I think Jeremy Taylor, though he too had faults, a better guide than Keble, as he was certainly a superior genius : and where the latter has diverged from the old paths under the powerful influence of his partiality for his friends, I have preferred not to follow him. I have ever regretted that unfortunate stanza in the "Christian Year," in which he urges us to "speak gently" of Rome's apostasy—although he calls it justly her *fall*. Still, it was a poetic sentiment and not bad in itself, had it not been so liable to abuse. *And how sadly it has been abused* for now these twenty years and more ! Since those days of the "British Critic" which appalled us with good reason, what a mawkish tenderness there has been toward everything Romish. What a departure from the spirit of our old divines, and from the vigorous language of that honest *hostility* to Rome, which Dr. Newman recognizes in Bishop Bull, and which he owns to be the necessary quality of every true-hearted minister of the Anglican Church. Of course we are hostile to a system so *contrary to Truth*, and evidence, and history and *moral purity* and *Catholicity* : and Holy Scripture commands us to deal not gently with inveterate error, and with words that eat like a canker. No admirer of the great Anglican divines need be ashamed to speak out on the subject of Romanism. My plain words are not meant to be gentle, but theirs are the trumpets of Sinai followed by the thunderbolts of the Apocalypse. And then this "speaking gently" must all be on one side. The Trentine party did not speak gently of the venerable Jewel, nor have they even scrupled to abuse the Reformers, and all who follow their steadfastness. Such a violent and vulgarly abusive press as has been characteristic of the faction ever since the "British Critic" fell into their hands, has been rarely tolerated among English Christians. Dr. Newman himself has used language the most discreditable and that continually ; language which is said to have made Mr. Keble writhe with pain and in his gentle way break forth in expressions of astonishment.¹ Yet he is the man for whom the faction reserves its honied words, while speaking in terms of anything but gentleness of the whole

¹ Eirenicon, p. 38.

² Christian Remembrancer, January, 1866, p. 179.

¹ So says a late Co. respondent of the *Guardian*.

Bench of Bishops ; of a prelacy which includes the hoary-headed Exeter, the brilliant Oxford, and one of the most worthy of all the English primates. For Dr. Newman the enthusiastic reviewer has nothing but superlatives of praise.

Be patient we must ; but it is certainly beyond all reasonable expectation that we should be content to see such a man made our model of "delicacy and refinement," as well as the great expounder of our Articles. And as for "speaking gently" of Rome, however amiable was the sentiment, in the poetry of the *Christian Year*, when it first appeared, in a generation by-gone, I cannot think it has led to any good results, especially in the case of the author of No. 90.

When I read his "Lectures on Certain Difficulties" which he impertinently ascribed to Anglicans,¹ I said—"here is language so gross, as well as unjust, that its precise equivalent, levelled at the Romish Church, in England by a fanatic of Exeter Hall, would hardly be relished even there."

Such an elaborate caricature of things the most sacred ; such minute and persistent outrage to the most religious feelings of an Anglican ; such bitter innuendo and such insulting sympathy have seldom, elsewhere, been connected with a style so scholarly, with such an assumption of innocence and even of patience and sanctity. To think how vulnerable is his own system, had any one the conscience to repay him in his own way !

To return to Mr. Keble's position, it is my conviction that, like Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College, he gave his friend's Tract, by a too partial construction, the credit of meaning Catholicity and not *Romanism*. I could express my own views of the Articles, in general terms, precisely as he does ; only, I cannot read No. 90 with his tender eyes. But, the one grand distinction of Mr. Keble, in all this sad history, has been his undoubted love of the Church of England. To his dying day² he deeply felt the violence of Dr. Newman, and spoke sharply of perverts from the Church's fold. I quote as follows :³

"It was on the afternoon of Sunday, the 19th of June, 1864, I found him seated on the lawn absorbed in the Appendix (of Dr. Newman's *Apologia*), which had just

reached him. . . . I never saw him moved so before, or after. He seemed almost stupefied by the blow, which was as unexpected as he felt it to be severe. I remember full well his exclamations of disappointment and sorrow ; much as though his dear and trusted friend had spoken slightly of his mother. After sitting for a long time silent and abstracted at table, he said, when we were alone, 'You see I can't get over it, at all.' When walking together in the park, he would say, 'I can't think how he could say *that*.' And again, 'What could make him so disdainful,' and such like."

In 1851, referring to the Roman Church,¹ he says, "Which now, alas ! seems more than ever determined to deal with us as a *scornful and unsparing enemy* ;" and these are strong words from him.

The interpretation of the Articles on which I insist, then, is simply that natural, grammatical and historical one which the Reformers themselves authorized. Whatever private and personal views they had, I agree, is of little moment ; we must look to their Synodical decisions, and find in them the *expositio contemporanea et fortissima*. Now, they gave us their Expository decree, in what Cosin² calls their "Golden Rule," and published it with the Articles in 1571. It reads as follows :

"Let nothing ever be taught as to be religiously held and believed, save only what is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what, from that very doctrine, has been gathered by the Fathers and ancient Bishops."

No words could be more fatal than these to any such interpretation as Dr. Newman contends for. Volume on volume of our old doctors may be cited which prove that the Trentine decrees are both a crime and a blunder ; and if that were not enough, we could prove it even out of the better class of Gallicans, from the admissions of Bossuet, Fleury, Launoy, and Du Pin. The fathers and ancient bishops knew nothing of such a creed, and Dr. Newman's doctrine of "Development" virtually admits the fact. Yet, the whole artifice of No. 90 is the *groundless assumption that Romanism is Primitive and Catholic*, and that, therefore, anybody may claim the above "Golden Rule" in defence of his right to subscribe our articles in his own private view of what is "Catholic," that is in a *Romish* sense.

Abuse has had its effect in leading us to undervalue the old Marian martyrs, and one is thought less of for quoting them. God forbid I should the less love and venerate those

¹ Published in 1850.

² He was a member of the Anglo-Continental Society, from 1855 to his death.

³ Correspondent of the *Guardian*, April 18, 1866.

¹ Pastoral Letter.

² History of the Canon, p. 235.

worthies : may my soul be with them in the last Day ! They are commonly thought to be less Catholic than the Caroline divines, and so they were. But why ? Not because they were disciples of Calvin, but because, like Calvin, they had been bred in no better school than that of Romish Scholasticism. Hence they could not immediately free themselves from ideas which became Calvinism at Geneva, but which tormented the Gallican Church for a generation after it had lost its hold in England, and which still survive as Jansenism. Yet it is just for what Rome had taught them that they are despised by the writer of Tract No. 90, and by the shallow party he has created. I will not omit, then, a quotation from Cranmer, which has always endeared him to me, in spite of his infirmities, and which has in it more of the spirit of Catholicity than is to be found in anything Dr. Newman ever wrote. It is in his "Appeal to a General Council,"—as follows :

"I protest that it was never in my mind to write, speak or understand anything contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I have learned of the Sacred Scripture and of the Catholic Church of Christ *from the beginning*, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and martyrs of the Church. And if anything, peradventure, hath chanced otherwise than I thought—I may err, but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready, in all things to follow the judgment of the most Sacred Word of God, and of the Holy Catholic Church."¹

Now, the Catholic interpretation of the Articles as understood by Bull and Hammond, was just this, and no words could be more exclusive than these of the Trentine novelties which all our great divines have pronounced contrary to the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops. Cosin, who was all his life at war with the Puritans, and whose Catholic character will not be gainsayed, uses language about the Council of Trent much stronger than mine, and says in his last will :

"I do profess with holy asseveration and from my very heart, that I am now, and have ever been, from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled or papistical (so commonly called) superstitions and doctrines, and new super-additions to the ancient and primitive religion and Faith of the most commended, so orthodox, and Catholic Church long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture and the rules and customs of the ancient Fathers."

This is my position ; and everybody who is acquainted with the Anglican doctors, knows

that such is the current, nay, the *torrent* of their testimony.

I know very well that seeming concessions can be culled here and there from their writings, as from Archbishop Wake's Letters,—but, in this latter instance, all was based on the *proviso* that the Gallicans were to assert their "Liberties" and abjure the Papacy ; and some such proviso is always expressed or understood in other cases. For my part, should the Gallicans abjure the Pope, and hold to Bossuet's Exposition, not as Articles of Faith, nor as terms of Communion, but as we hold our Articles, then, I say myself, that our Faith being the same Catholic Creeds we could not be justified in refusing Communion with them ; nay, it would be our duty, in order to lead them to a sounder practical Theology, to accept their advances to us. We could still speak the truth in love. But, all this is very different from going over to them and the Pope, and accepting the Trent decrees as our rule of Faith.

The late Dr. Wiseman threw out a bait which Dr. Pusey seems to have caught, when he said that "such an interpretation may be given of the Thirty-nine Articles as will strip them of all contradiction to the decrees of the Tridentine Synod." Dr. Newman's Tract shews how such an interpretation may be manufactured, no doubt ; but let no man say that it is the Catholic interpretation, or that it can, in any way, be harmonized with the views of our great Catholic divines. On the contrary, who does not see that the very effort to harmonize them with the Trentine decrees, erects those decrees into a standard, and admits the authority of a Council which they abhorred ?

Besides, allowing the possibility of so harmonizing the Articles and making them all one with the decrees of Trent, nothing is gained in the way of Unity with Rome till those decrees are received as *de fide* ; and that operation would erect our Articles, as harmonized, into Articles of Faith also.

And then observe the *Occidentalism* of the project. Is Rome the whole Church ? When we go back to her are we any nearer to Catholic Unity ? Everyone of those Trent decrees is a schism in itself, reduplicating the sin of Nicolas I., who interpolated the Nicene Creed, and erecting new barriers against Communion with the East. The Greeks ignorantly object to our Articles as they are, overlooking the facts that we make them no Creed, and that

¹ Cranmer's Remains, Cambridge, p. 227.

they are merely our Provincial Theology ; but, to Tridentinize them is to make them part and parcel of our Faith, and so to put adamantine walls between ourselves and the Orientals. Does anyone imagine that the Easterns will ever accept the Creed of Pius IV. ? Why does Dr. Pusey ask us then to make concessions to the Latins, which will justly offend the Greeks ? And why are the Trent anathemas for ever in the head and heart of the new party, rather than the mild demands of the Orientals ? Are the Romanists the rather to be propitiated because they enforce every jot and tittle of their decrees on pain of eternal damnation ? Is there anything in the conduct and character of Dr. Manning to lead us to draw near to him, rather than to the venerable Philaret of Russia ?

The *Eirenicon* only aggravates the dilemma of Christendom ; and never, more than since reading it, have I admired the grand Vincentian position of the Anglican Church, which offers alike to Greeks and Latins to meet them on the old basis of the Nicene Constitutions, putting all things back where they were before the divisions.

On this principle, our position towards the Latin Churches becomes very clear. The mere statement of the principle dissolves the figment of a "Roman Catholic Church." No such Church is known to Ecclesiastical History, before the division ; it is a fiction of the Papacy and only of yesterday, at that. We can know only our Sister Churches of the West, each for itself, and the Bishops of Rome only as such, with his limited patriarchal jurisdiction as defined by the Council of Nice. The Italians, in large numbers, are already awake to this Canonical view of their Church, and the Gallicans have been on the verge of it, over and over again, since 1682.¹ Now, with each of these Churches, we are already in organic Unity, whether they recognize it or not ; our Unity is in the Common Episcopate and the Common Faith ; but with their Provincial corruptions we hold no communion, nor do we ask them to adopt our Provincial Articles. Local and Provincial matters, be they good or bad, have nothing to do with organic Unity. Philadelphia was in Unity with Sardis, in spite of her corruptions, through the common organization signified by the seven Stars and the seven Candlesticks, and through the common Faith

in Christ, signified by His Presence amid the Candlesticks and his hand upholding the Stars. Thus the Church's Unity is only *in the Truth* : all that is common to the whole Church is Truth ; and it is the intimation of Christ himself, in the Vision of the Seven Churches, that Smyrna and Philadelphia are to maintain Unity with the corrupt Churches, but not *in their corruptions* ; so that the corrupt Churches by recurring to first works and first love, that is to *primitive* purity, may not be cut off, but "rather, be healed," through the example of sister Churches, less defiled.

We know the Latin Churches, then, as we know the Oriental Church, and not otherwise, only in their primitive organizations, and in the common Faith. And, as we occupy this ground we are the most Catholic Church in the world, since even the Greeks demand that we should give up some of our freedom in Christ, for the privilege of visible communion with them ; while we propose nothing but, as of old, the Common Creed and the Common Episcopate.¹ Occupying this ground, and maintaining it in love and consistency, we may yet be made the instruments of restoring all things. The plan of the *Eirenicon* is to surrender our Catholic mountain, and to propose a union of forces in that Tridentine bog—"where armies whole have sunk."

In short, its narrow and fatuous scheme may be summed up in a word : It proposes Unity at the cost of Truth, and only Occidental Unity at that, instead of Œcumenical Unity—the Unity of the Nicene Creed.

The Council of Trent, therefore, we can recognize only as what Bishop Bull called it, "a mere convention." It must pass away like an abortion, as another Rimini ; its decrees must be nullified like the Sirmian Confession signed by Liberius. The Bishop of Rome, who has already ceased to be a temporal prince, in reality if not in name, must now become a Catholic, as no Bishop of Rome has been, since the schism of Nicholas I. This the Neapolitans have already demanded,² and God forbid that Anglicans should cease to insist upon it. It will not be the first time that Bishops of Rome have been obliged to obey the Catholic Church, and to abjure their heresies and schisms :³ and this won-

¹ Hammond, of Schism, p. 283.

² L'Emanipatore Cattolico, *passim*.

³ Bossuet, Defens. Declarat. Cleri Gallicani, cap. xxxij et seq.

¹ See de Maistre on the Assembly of 1682, de l'Englise Gallicane, ii. 5. Also Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* iii. 35.

derful year¹ has already made greater changes in the position of the See of Rome than have ever been known since the times of Charlemagne. This even Papists recognize: the *Monde* has lately uttered words more pregnant than it comprehends, as follows :²—

“If Austria succumbs there will be no State depending upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ—*All will have abjured the official character of the Catholic faith.* There will be numerically Catholic peoples; the Protestants will dare to call themselves a Protestant nation. England and Prussia will make a show of their pretended orthodoxy, and the mass of the Catholics in France, Spain, and Germany will let fall the throne of Pius IX.—that visible sign of the Catholicity of the nations. Remaining faithful to that grand cause, Austria testifies to it by her defeats. If she is irremediably vanquished she will have all the honour of the combat. *She will close the Catholic cycle of modern peoples.* The Church and the world will enter upon new struggles, the struggles full of obscurity, the conditions of which it is impossible to determine.”

This is more true than the writer intends it to be. The age of the Papacy is past, and a better era begins. What Charlemagne bestowed is taken away: what Nicolas usurped must soon follow: “*nec Babylonios Tentaris numeros.*” Surely Gregory the last Patriarch of Rome spoke by the Spirit of prophecy when he made his successor Boniface,³ not Antichrist, but “the forerunner of Antichrist.” With him came the penumbral darkness, but the Anti-Christian eclipse was reserved for the man of the Decretals, for Nicolas, truly “a Man of Sin.” How marked is that Pontificate by everything that could justify the thought that in him one beholds the awful figure that affrighted Daniel; the dreadful apparition, by the mere foreshadowing of which St. John was startled in Patmos. “Since the days of Gregory I. to our time,” says a writer⁴ of his own century “sat no high-priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicolas. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign.” But we now know how to complete his portrait, the portrait of the first Pope. So long as the Roman patriarch even claimed a canonical posi-

tion, and pretended to be the *Executive* of the Synodical Canons, his exaggerated pretensions were not formally schismatical; he still sat as a patriarch of the Church, though he had set up claims which the Church ignored. But Nicolas made the breach. He it was who, at one blow, severed Western Christendom not only from the East, but from its Canonical Unity with the great Councils, and with Antiquity. He placed all the Churches of the West under the autocracy of the Roman See: he practically annihilated the “ancient usages,” the sanctity of which was affirmed at Nicæa; he impiously interpolated the Great Symbol itself, and involved the whole line of his successors in the most gigantic fraud of history, and in all the woes and horrors it has brought upon Christendom.¹ He was the great destroyer of the Unity of the Church of Christ; and if he was not the Lawless One,² he certainly was his next of kin.³

It is not to Luther that we owe the first return of daylight. He kindled a conflagration, but the first restoration of the Sunshine, after the eclipse, appears in England, where the slow and orderly progress of reformation gave tokens of a more than human hand, as it were, of the Faithful Witness in Heaven. There, and alas! there only, the Nicene Constitutions re-appeared, and in some good degree there the Church revealed herself again, “as at the first and her counsellors as at the beginning.” What a glorious work! When the Roman Pontiffs had become the scourge of Europe, and afterward its scorn; when Council after Council had tried, and ignominiously failed to reform the Western Church, “in its members and in its head;” when blood had been shed like water by Inquisitors and princes, under Papal instigation; when all things in the Church were venal, and when Huss and Savonarola had borne their testimony at the stake, apparently in vain; when good men cried despairingly to Christ, and dared to fancy Him once more “asleep on a pillow;” when they saw the men that claimed to be His Vicars, and to have all power upon earth to forgive sins, the scandals of the world for avarice and lust and cruelty; when a Borgia was succeeded by a Rovera, and Julius by Leo X.; and when the

¹ The “Forerunner of Antichrist” became such A.D. 606, when Boniface was made “Universal bishop,” by the usurper Phocas. This year completes the prophetic cycle of 1260 years. See Daniel vii. 25. Rev. xiii. 5.

² For *Catholic* read *Romish*, throughout this quotation.

³ This whole subject is summed up in a masterly manner, by the Abbe Guettee. See his *Papute Schismatique*, of which there is now an English Translation, published by Carleton, New York.

⁴ Rhegino, abbot of Prum. See Gieseler, ii. 70.

¹ “The long and large prevalence of such corruptions has been obtained by force.”—Bishop Butler, Sermon v., p. 222.

² II. Thess. ii. 8.

³ On the whole subject of the Romish imposture, Antichrist, Babylon, and the like, I own myself greatly enlightened and in a measure satisfied by the “Lectures on the Apocalypse” of Canon Wordsworth.

very madness of men that essayed a rash reformation on the Continent was pardonable in comparison with every characteristic of those against whom they struggled; then—what a work it was which God caused to be wrought in England: by his servants Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.¹ Granted they were but men, of like passions with us, yet in such times, and by the Spirit working in them, what a work they did for the Church and for mankind! On the Continent the reforming doctors pulled down great wrongs, but in England, the primate and the bishops, working patiently and by Catholic rule, restored the Primitive Constitution of the Church. When I reflect on the Anglican Reformation; when I worship in the glorious Liturgy they rescued from an unknown tongue, and cleansed from innumerable defilements; when I compare our Reformed Church with Holy Scripture and the purest ages of Antiquity, I am amazed at these results; I wonder that amid the passions and conflicts of such an age, such a miracle should have been wrought by the hands of men. Then, when I see these benefactors of the world attesting in the flames their holy Mission, and bequeathing their work to England, sealed and hallowed with their blood, I seem to dream when I think of an age like this, that has bred a puny race of men *to mock their memory* and to go on servile knees to those who slew them, *begging to receive back again the yoke of bondage and of corruption*.² Thank God, three hundred years of

¹ Their greatness grows upon us when we contrast their work with the feebleness of Bossuet and of the French reformatory attempt of 1682, which ended in establishing the *Régale* on the Anglican base (see de Malstre, *L'Eglise Gallicane*, ii. 2), with no compensating advantages to the Church. "Le Roi," says Fleury, "*avait plus de droit que l'évêque et autant que le Pape.*"

² The lengths to which the Trentine party have gone in England won't hardly be credited. A layman who is far from disapproving of moderate ritual thus complains of what he has seen and heard, in a letter which was lately read in Convocation: "Why, also, do these clergy presume to come into the Church, and even up to the altar, and join in the service or preach a sermon, with their heads covered—wearing a Romish cap or hat called a 'biretta'? If a layman were to come into the church wearing a similar hat, he would be required to take it off, and properly. But why do these clergy do what in others they would call an act of irreverence, except it be to imitate foreign and Romish peculiarities, and to outrage our sense of decency? Again, why do some of these clergy put forth such a book as *The Little Prayer-book*, a thorough imitation of a Romish model, and similar books of devotion? and why do many endeavour to spread such publications, in which is a direct prayer to one's guardian angel, as direct and full as might be to the Almighty? By means of these publications, Roman, not Catholic, doctrine is taught: private confession to a priest, called 'the Sacrament of Penance,' is represented as necessary and obligatory on all in the English Church, and Romish directions for the practice of con-

civil and religious freedom have spread the Reformed Church of England all over the world, and the martyrs to whom we owe it have children in all lands to speak with their enemies in the gate. Here in America, at least, we know how to value our dear Mother, and all the blessings of the Christian Covenant which we receive through her. We have only to look at the Southern portion of this Continent, to Mexico and South America, to feel what we owe to the reformers. Away with slate-and-pencil reckonings of merits that are grudgingly conceded to her; we see in her the splendours of a Primitive Catholicity such as are nowhere else to be found. Is it a little thing that she gives to all her children the Word of God, the words which are Spirit and which are Life? Is it a small thing that we have unmutated Sacraments, and the Creeds *unmixed with blasphemous decrees and dogmas*? Have we not reason to rejoice in the chaste marriage of the clergy, according to the Scriptures, and in the sanctity of the Christian Family, *unviolated by a compulsory Confessional* and by *inquisitorial casuistry* alike indecent and profane? Do we owe little to those who have made the ideas of home, wife and mother, superlatively beautiful in the English heart? Do we owe them nothing for the incomparable English of the Prayer-book, for the general structure of the Liturgy, for the wonderful majesty and yet primitive simplicity of the Ordinal? Is it a meagre note of Catholicity, that, in the Anglican Church, *Paradise is restored to the Faithful* and "Purgatory" *annihilated*, and that in our sorrows we are not only permitted to hear but to feel the words, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord"?

The famous challenge of Bishop Jewel has never yet been answered, by an apologist of Rome, and it never can be. But, let it be added that the Church of England has saved us from that Trent Council which is a schism and a heresy, and which brought massacres and dragonnades on France, and the Inquisition upon Spain, and thick darkness upon Italy; ¹

fession are given. The extent to which Romish, not Catholic teaching is going on under the auspices of persons of the extreme party, in Churches where 'a full and gorgeous ritual' is carried out, is, I think, little known or realized by our bishops and by members of Convocation. There is good reason to believe that the ultimate aim and object of this party is nothing less than to make the doctrine, practice, and worship of the Anglican Church as nearly as possible identical with the Roman."

¹ "The value of our own Church ought to be very much heightened, in our esteem, by considering what it is! a

she alone in Western Europe has proved a true keeper of Holy Writ, rejecting the apocrypha and the awful decree that substitutes the vulgate for the words of the Holy Ghost; she has revived, in Western Europe, the Apostolic Episcopate; she has re-asserted the truth which Trent, in the interest of the popes, has taught nations to deny, that the bishop is of an order superior to the presbyter, and that his consecration is not a mere anointing, but an Ordination; she has given back to Confirmation the apostolic Laying-on-of-hands; she has revived the grand Vincentian Canon of Truth, and the Cyprianic maxims of Unity; she alone, in Christendom, pleads for Unity like the woman before Solomon, *asking nothing for herself*; ¹ and out of her has gone forth the life-giving movement for restored Unity, which is now shaking the dry-bones all over the world.

Is this then the time for the reactionary dreams of No. 90, and for Dr. Pusey's *Concordat* with the Pope? When Italy abjures the Papacy, are we to accept it? When Montalembert warns us that Rome's "evil communications will corrupt our good manners," are we to seek the embrace of Pius the Ninth and Liguori? When the whole Trentine fabric breaks down with the weight of the abominations it has piled upon the Latin Churches, is England to adopt it, as proposed by Dr. Pusey? I cannot say that none of our old divines ever dreamed of such a thing, for now I remember that the holy and sainted George Herbert has imagined it, in lines which I trust are not prophetic.²

When Seine shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames
By letting in them both, pollutes her streams,
When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her calendar of sins fulfil,
Then shall religion to America flee."

What could he have foreseen? It is to be hoped that Italy is not any further to "have her will" or way in England. The (Gallican) Seine is very visible in the *Eirenicon*, and the (Ultramontane) Tiber in Dr. Manning's response to it; but will England "let in both?" Is there no Bishop Bull to turn back the tide? The danger is very urgent, if even half be

true that is stoutly asserted by the *Remembrancer*³ in these words:

"The point upon which we now insist is, that *what was condemned in every quarter of the land in 1841*, is held by public opinion to be entirely tenable in 1865, and is, in fact, held by nearly all the learned laity and clergy of the Church of England."

Is this possible? Is Dr. Newman the Rabbi of such men, and are No. 90 and the *Eirenicon*, to furnish us with a Talmud?

"Now Seine is swallowing Tiber; if the Thames
By letting in them both pollute her streams,
Or if the seers shall connive or wink,
Beware the thunderbolt—*Migremus hinc*.
Oh, let me die and not survive to see
Before my death religion's obsequy."

So one of Herbert's admirers responded to his own vaticinations⁴ in 1870. May I not venture to ask of the venerable prelates of England whether this is the time for "seers to see not," and for "prophets to prophesy not?" It is not pretended that they approve of No. 90 and its dark shadow, the *Eirenicon*; ³ but, the faction promises itself that they will "connive or wink," through mere unwillingness to encounter impudence and browbeating. "The Church of England," say they, ⁴ with a glance at the bishops, "must have gained a considerable amount of courage, if it will now run the risk of offending the influential party of which Dr. Pusey is now the principal representative." Surely, this is mere impertinent bravado. If not, and if this faction is to go on, unchecked—

"Then shall religion to America flee."

At least the poet consoles us with this hope. But, God forbid that we should have our "times of Gospel" at the expense of our most dear and tenderly beloved Mother Church. It is true that, in America, we cannot do otherwise than maintain the time-honoured position of the reformed Church of England. If our English brethren can afford to compromise it, *we cannot*. Here, we are surrounded by a boundless Secularism, on which we act powerfully, only in proportion as we hold our ground and uphold a *Primitive and Scriptural Catholicity*. We are striving, moreover, against an invasion of Romish hordes, who grasp political power. If the scheme of the *Eirenicon* be a good one, we have no excuse for our existence. We must succumb,

security from. I mean the great corruption of Christianity Popery."—Bishop Butler, Sermon v., p. 222.

¹ That is—on a simple Nicene base, with no demand for the reception of her Provincial Articles.

² Herbert's Poems, Pickering, p. 211,

³ January, 1866, p. 179.

⁴ Commendatory verses, p. xvii.

⁵ Their presumed disapproval is the subject of a most insulting passage in the Rem. for July, 1866, p. 165.

⁶ C. Remembrancer, Jan., 1866, p. 179,

and be swallowed up, without a *Concordat*, by Tridentinism in its meanest shape ; for such it is as exhibited in this country, where gross impudence and mendacity, with a faculty for political intrigue, are considered prime qualifications for its Episcopate. . . . If, then, the English bishops can suffer their just authority to be overborne and insulted by a *bureau* of the *Remembrancer*, like the *bureau* of the *Univiers* in Paris, and if while it is usurping power they can assure themselves that their "strength is to sit still," I acknowledge their superior wisdom and am glad they are so strong. But, here, in America, we cannot afford to imitate them. In our comparatively feeble church such a *bureaucracy* would be fatal to the claims of an Episcopate, which is closely watched and compared with the primitive Episcopacy. Besides, we are a missionary Church, and our trumpet must give no uncertain sound. Nicene or Trentine ? That's the question now, and if our Church hesitates, for a moment, *we are lost* ; and with its ruin expires all hope for the speedy evangelizing and Catholicizing of this immense population. Our position and principles are the subject of constant interest and inquiry : small as we are, we are set upon a hill ; as yet, we have been true to the doctrines we have received from our Mother Church ; we have asserted and maintained the principles of a Primitive Catholicity, since the days of Seabury ; *we are irresistible in this position* ; we stand in the old paths, and we know how to bring the wanderers into the fold, by so doing , but, I repeat it, such counsels as those of No. 90 and the *Eirenicon* would destroy us. Even to entertain them, would compromise our steadfastness. We should cease to command respect ; we should soon cease to exist, if the adoption of such a policy were within the horizon of things possible.

But, since the crisis has been created, I do not think we need be sorry that it is so. In this country it will only deepen our roots, and strengthen our hold, in the Primitive Nicene Catholicity. In England, I cannot conceive of any other than a good result, in the Providence of God, for hers is a sober and a sensible as well as a conscientious people. They will not forsake their old doctors for such a guide as the author of No. 90, at the demand of such writers as the reviewer in the *Remembrancer* ; but, I think I can see how it will work. The discussion tends to de-insulate and to Catho-

licize, by demonstrating the absurdity of the scheme to Latinize, and by opening to view the duties we owe to the East, with which we have never quarrelled, and with which our long non-intercourse is wholly due to our Babylonish captivity under the popes. At this juncture,¹ a Pan-Anglican Synod is once more spoken of and desired. If it may be brought about, it is most important to convoke it soon. If such a Synod might be held in the Spirit of old Nicæa, the Gospels enthroned within it as the voice of the Holy Ghost, the venerable Episcopate sitting as one body in Christ, *omni plebe adstante*, who shall limit its blessed results ? Thenceforth, an Englishman, like an intelligent Russian, would clearly understand his Catholic position. There would be no more misunderstanding of the term ; no more confounding of Catholicity with the anile imposture of the Decretals ; the voice of the Great Head of the Church would be heard again, as in Patmos, and his form be seen amid the golden candlesticks, as the only centre of Unity. The old Churches of the East might be saluted and thanked for their maintenance, through a thousand years of Western degeneracy, of the Creed and the Constitutions of the Catholic Councils. Measures might be taken to renovate Missions ; to wake up the Scandinavians, and restore the Germans. The Cyprianic age might be renewed ; and by the blessing of God on the revival of a spirit of Unity, the Faith might once more "have free course and be glorified," as in the days of old, as in the former days. So be it, gracious Lord. *Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici !*

If I am myself devoted to ideas like these, I am sure right reason does not discourage them, and I am persuaded that the signs of the times are favourable, and that the Holy Spirit seems to be moving over the nations. And even if such aspirations are not soon to be fully realized, yet he is the true Catholic who keeps them in view, and prays for a better age, in which the Church shall renew her youth, according to the promises of God in Holy Scripture. Meantime, in this great Republic, the Church of the Apostles and of the Reformers, is planted and firmly rooted, and it is sweet to live and labour for her extension among the swarming millions of our population. Though not insensible to her defects, her children behold in her such a chaste and matronly beauty that it is impossible to love her by

¹ Written in 1868.

halves. She is beautiful exceedingly, as the spouse of Christ should be; and I long to see all my countrymen sharing the blessings she imparts to individual souls, to households, to Society. If I fail to do what I would, in this respect, still I shall enjoy a sweet contentment in the good-will she inspires toward my fellow-men, and in trying to realize in my own soul the spiritual life which she bestows and develops. Dear Church! What would life be worth without her consolations; with what sorrow should I look upon my children, if, in a world so evil, her blessed communion were not their inheritance, and the sure source to them, if they will be faithful, of pleasures no riches can impart. How truly she represents to them their Saviour, her heavenly Lord: what an evidence she is that His promises and His own institutions cannot fail. The Church of our English forefathers is the source from whence all that is precious in my country is directly or indirectly derived, though, like light and air, it is enjoyed with little reflection upon its nature and origin. Now, I ask, is she less than all this to Englishmen; to the land which she has made so great and so much envied by all the world? Why then does Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon* award her such parsimonious praise? His own book furnishes frightful evidence that her sister churches are defiled like Sardis and like Laodicea; in comparison she is an Ephesus if not a

Smyrna. He himself is shocked at their awful Mariolatry; he exposes their slavery to the imposture of the Decretals, but he forgets that *he owes it to the Reformers* that he himself is not as they are. Where is his tribute of gratitude to God for what he owes to them? I am ashamed of such a case as he makes out for our Church; he who dwells in Oxford, and eats the finest of her wheat. *We love her better in America.* There are thousands here who while they only gather up the crumbs, feel the blessedness of being her children, and would rather die than speak of her as *do many in England.* Year by year, we derive from her Communion the blessings that sweeten our existence, and which we honestly believe to be the richest God ever bestowed on man. And shall we hear her undervalued, *even by her sons, without a remonstrance?* Nay, we rise up and call her blessed. I count it my dearest privilege to be her child and servant: and that this privilege is my personal inheritance from one of her faithful missionaries, by whom our Church was founded, is a claim to it which I value as my choicest birthright. God knows I love her as, in Christ, my chiefest joy, and when I forget her, "may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." I am sure that in defending her against what ever adversary. I am obeying that precept of Inspiration, that "We ought to contend earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints."

2.—REMARKS ON THE EIRENICON, by the same Author, IN A LETTER TO A PRESBYTER.

Your desire that I should explain more fully the objections I have made to Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* shall be gratified. I comply with your request cordially as a matter of duty, but not cheerfully, for my soul abhors controversy. You find much in the *Eirenicon* that strengthens your own aversion to Rome: hence, you are unable to feel that it may be dangerous to others, especially to the young. But the same flower from which the bee sucks honey may yield venom to the creature that is not furnished with the bee's faculties and organs. What may be even useful to a clergyman of mature age and settled convictions, may be quite the reverse to a less experienced mind, and especially to a mere Candidate for Orders, yet in the state of pupillage.

I have already allowed that there is much in the book that is excellent: the learning and industry of which it is the fruit are conspicuous, and require no comment,

I am pleased with much that the Author says about the Essential Unity of the Church; with his large extracts from Fleury; and with his reprint of the damaging responses of Roman Bishops to Pius IX., on the subject of his impious Dogma. But, I am not pleased with the fact that he fails to draw the only practical inference from his own argument; the common-sense inference that Rome must come back to Catholicity, before we can have any commerce with her, save that of trying to open her blinded eyes.¹

True, then, the book is, in some respects, not only learned but instructive. So much the worse if it's good be, as I affirm that it is, mixed up with faults that are deadly. A learned book infested with a false morality and an equally

¹ Nor am I pleased with the very favourable views of the actual state of things in Romanism which he more than suggests, and which are quite the reverse of fact. See (p. 30) concerning Extreme Unction, and (p. 33) concerning the purchase of masses.

false conception of the matter it attempts to treat, is dangerous to both the head and the heart of the incautious reader. I propose to shew that such a book is the *Eirenicon*. That it contains a false morality is the graver charge, and it shall be demonstrated. In making such a charge I should not dare to trust to my own impressions wholly: I find it sustained by the confessions of its admirers.

You are not too young to remember Tract No. 90. If you agree with me that it was an immoral work, justly condemned by the entire Episcopate of the Church of England, and as such repelled with disgust by the moral sense of the Church generally, it will not be difficult for me to establish the rest of my charge. . . . My chief objection to the *Eirenicon* was that it is merely Tract No. 90 in a fuller and much more dangerous form. . . . Let us consult Dr. Pusey himself. He says :¹—

“Our dear friend’s tract has done good and lasting service, by breaking off a mass of unauthorized traditional glosses, which had encrusted over the Thirty-Nine Articles.”

He adds in a note, “*I vindicated it in my Letter to Dr. Jelf, as the natural, grammatical interpretation of the Articles.*”

I might quote more, to the like purpose, from the *Eirenicon*, but it shall suffice to take Dr. Pusey’s own admissions in his Letter to a Romish periodical, the *Weekly Register*. He says :

“There is nothing in our Articles which cannot be explained rightly, as not contradicting anything held to be *bona-fide* in the Roman Church.”

I suppose nobody who remembers No. 90 has any doubt that this is the essential principle of that Tract; and stated in equivalent terms it amounts to this, that there is nothing in our Articles which conflicts with Romanism, if we accept as Romanism the *minimum* of what Rome tolerates. To this statement I shall have occasion to recur; happily, it may be easily disproved, if it be not a proposition too monstrous for serious confutation. My present business is to shew that it is the principle of the *Eirenicon*, as it is that of the Tract aforesaid.²

I shall not refer to the expressed opinions of one whom I profoundly respect, the learned and laborious Canon Wordsworth,³ but, rather, I will take the opinion of an enthusiastic admirer of the *Eirenicon* and its author, the writer of a review in the *Christian Remembrancer*. If Dr. Pusey’s own admissions be not enough, we may accept the statements of his friends in his behalf; they are not so much confessions as proud boastings. He writes as follows :⁴

“It is, in fact, the traditional interpretation of the Articles from the Bishop of Salisbury, of 1689, to the Bishop of Ely of 1865, inclusive, *which has to be upset*. Dr. Pusey is not the first divine who has done this. For, in point of fact, as far as this part of his work is

concerned, it is *neither more nor less* than an endorsement of the celebrated Tract which brought the *Tracts for the Times* to an untimely close. In the elaborate analysis of the Articles which are supposed to be specially anti-Roman, Dr. Pusey has been anticipated by Mr. Newman.”

After giving five pages of the *Remembrancer* to a comparison between the points made by No. 90 and those of the *Eirenicon*, the Reviewer says :¹

“Surely, again, here, if there is any difference between Dr. Newman’s Tract and Dr. Pusey’s *Eirenicon*, the latter has gone beyond the former.”

He is surprised that so few remonstrate :²

“One might almost have thought that the Protestant part of the community had been paralyzed at the astounding audacity of its author in so uncompromisingly vindicating the position occupied by his friend, Mr. Newman, in the publication of No. 90.”

Again :³

“We should have expected the Protestant feeling of the country to be lashed into absolute fury, that the condemnation of the author and his book would have been loudly called for, on the ground of his sacrifice of those very doctrines for which our Protestant forefathers were brought to the stake.”

And all this is from an admirer of the book, and from so servile a devotee of the author that he says :⁴

“To avow any serious difference of opinion (with him) would partake of the nature of impertinence.”

Finally, the Reviewer gives us his estimate of the effects of the *Eirenicon* as follows :⁵

“In the times that are coming over the Church of England the question will arise—What service have the Articles of the Church of England ever done, and of what use are they at the present day? The latter question must be answered very fully and satisfactorily, if the answer is to be any makeweight against the condemnation of them, *virtually pronounced by the Eirenicon*. But we venture to go a step beyond any suggestion contained in this volume, and boldly proclaim our opinion that, *before union with Rome* can be effected, the Thirty-Nine Articles must be wholly withdrawn.”

If, then, it be a settled thing that the *Eirenicon* and Tract No. 90 are what King James would have called only different “toots on the same horn,” it may help us to a just view of the *Eirenicon* to examine the precise state of mind which No. 90 represented. Happily, its author supplies us with abundant testimony in his *Apologia*.

In that melancholy account of his mental processes which the erratic but brilliant genius of its author has furnished, he thus speaks of his Tract and its real spirit :⁶

“Though my Tract was an experiment, it was, as I said at the time, *no feeler*. The event shewed it; for, when my principle was not granted, I did not draw back, but *gave up*. I would not hold office in a Church which would not allow *my sense* of the Articles.”

That Mr. Newman’s sense was one which despised history, and the venerable authority of the Reformers, he does not conceal. He had got so far as to call Rome “the Catholic Church,” even then, and he said :⁷

“It is a duty which we owe both to the Catholic

¹ *Eirenicon*, p. 37, New York Edition.

² This was almost lost labour, as it is no longer concealed that the *Eirenicon* is only No. 90 in triple brass. See *Christian Remembrancer*, July 1866.

³ Now Bishop of Lincoln.

⁴ See *Christian Remembrancer*, January 1866, p. 160.

¹ C. R. p. 167.

² C. R. p. 175.

³ C. R. p. 175.

⁴ C. R. p. 156.

⁵ C. R. p. 188.

⁶ *Apol.*, p. 171.

⁷ *Apol.* p. 172.

Church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; *we have no duties toward their framers.*"

He otherwise expressed the same idea, in a letter to Dr. Jelf, thus:

"The Articles are received *not in the sense of their framers*, but (as far as the wording will admit, or any ambiguity requires it,) in the one Catholic sense."¹

Mr. Newman was then living too near his old training in the Catechism not to feel qualms of conscience about the morality of his position, and so he tells us he wrote a letter in October, 1840, "*to the friend whom it was most natural for him to consult on such a point.*" In that letter he explains the state of mind in which a man who subscribes on the principles of *No. 90* remains, even for a time, in the Church of England. He says: ²

"I cannot disguise from myself that my preaching is not calculated to defend that system of religion which has been received for three hundred years in this place."

He adds: ³

"They understand that my sermons are calculated to *undermine* things established. I cannot disguise from myself that they are. . . . I am leading my hearers to the Primitive Church, if you will, but *not to the Church of England.* . . . If I must allow that whether I will, or no, *I am disposing them towards Rome.*"

As he had already reached that mental stage of his disease in which he could imagine Rome more "Primitive" than our own Communion, it is not difficult to account for a moral sense which was rapidly conforming itself thereto. Still he had qualms: some sense, at least, of the fitness of things; and he goes on to tell his friend what follows: ⁴

"People tell me that I am exerting at St. Mary's a beneficial influence on our prospective clergy: but what if I take to myself the credit of *seeing further than they*, and of having, in the course of the last year, discovered *that what they approve so much is very likely to end in Romanism.*"

He goes on to say that he had unbosomed himself to "A. B., than whom I know no one of a more fine and accurate conscience, and it was his *spontaneous idea* that I should give up St. Mary's, if my feelings continued." Of course, any man of "accurate conscience" could say nothing else; what then must be thought of the conscience of the other friend, whose "judgment was in favour of my retaining my living, at least for the present?"

In accepting this friend's advice, Mr. Newman deliberately avowed among his constraining considerations, and that friend seems to have accepted, the following portentous words: ⁵

"*I do not think we have yet made fair trial how much the English Church will bear.* . . . As to the result, viz: whether this process will not approximate the whole English Church as a body to Rome, *that is nothing to us.*"

Afterwards he says, with respect to these among other views:

"Such was about my state of mind on the publication of Tract 90, in February, 1841."

Surely that friend not of "accurate conscience," was *particeps criminis*. Mr. Newman had a clearer head and a less enviable heart; he soon began to talk in the shameless way he has since adopted, as a habit, and he says, writing to a friend, of the Heads of Houses:

"They have said that my interpretation of the Articles is an *evasi-on*. Do not think this will pain me. You see no doctrine is censured and my shoulders shall manage to bear the charge. If you knew all, or were here, you would see that I have asserted a great principle, and I ought to suffer for it; that the Articles are to be interpreted, *not according to the meaning of the writers*, but (as far as the wording will admit) according to the sense of the Catholic Church."¹

What he already had begun to call "The Catholic Church," we have seen. Trent and Liguori and the Glories of Mary were his Catholicity, and as for the faithful old Confessors who, under God, delivered the English race from the moral and civil condition of Spain and Italy and South America, his scornful sentiment is—"we have no duties toward them."

The author of the *Eirenicon* makes an awful admission as to his own state of mind, which nevertheless does much to explain how it is that a pervert to Romanism becomes so soon transformed into the spectacle which Dr. Manning now exhibits:—

"For myself, *I have always felt* that had (which God of His mercy avert hereafter, also) the English Church, by accepting heresy, *driven me out of it*, I could have gone in no other way than that of *closing my eyes and accepting whatever was set before me.*"²

Here are two important notes of the state of mind in which the *Eirenicon* is written. First, its author would strain out a gnat in the Anglican chalice, and then blindly swallow the whole cup of Rome's fornications. Second, if not the Church of England, *the only alternative* with him is Rome, and blind submission to Liguori and Pio Nono! Why so? Is it not evident that such a writer has no sense of the primary claims of the East, which preserves the Catholic Creed intact, and the authority of Holy Scripture, and which demands no such blind and brutal degradation? This, then, is to be taken merely as a sign of his mental condition: what must be the *moral condition*³ of a guide and leader in Israel, who is so sensitive as to a *possible* heresy in the Church to which he owes everything under God, that he deliberately proposes, as the remedy, habitually kept before him, a blind acceptance of the Roman system, with its unspeakable heresies, its awful idolatry, its imposture of the Decretals, and the Morals of Alphonsus de Liguori?

¹ Apol. p. 173.

² Eirenicon, p. 98.

³ The Moral Theology of Alphonsus de Liguori might seem to account for Dr. Pusey's position as here professed. See Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, Tom. ii, De jramento, Dub. iv.

¹ Apol. p. 173.

² Apol., p. 174.

³ Apol., p. 175.

⁴ Apol. p. 175.

⁵ Apol. p. 176.

3.—FURTHER REMARKS, by the same Author, IN A LETTER TO A LAYMAN.

The holy Bishop Ken, in his last will and testament, said these memorable words: "As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolical Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovation, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross." This is the Catholicity of an Anglican Christian.

But the words in which the author of the *Eirenicon* defends his Mother Church are, to me, almost as distasteful as any part of his book. They are not such words as must have proceeded from one inspired by the spirit of Bishop Ken; they are not the filial words of Bishop Bull; they are not the words of one truly grateful to God for having cast his lot in the most primitive and the most Catholic Church on earth. They are rather the measured expression of a close calculation, a case made out. The writer is just able to satisfy himself, conclusively, but not heartily, that the Church of England is a true Church; that he cannot conscientiously leave it; that the crisis is not reached when he must follow his friend Newman, straining out a gnat of Erastianism to swallow the Ultramontane camel. Where in all his enumeration of favourable symptoms is there anything that approaches to the gush and feeling of the profession, "I will die in the Communion of the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovation?"

This feeble, compromising spirit he has impressed on his admirers. Instead of maintaining our high Catholic position, and calling the Greeks and Latins to meet us on the Nicene ground, he sends them, hat in hand, to Rome, with a proposal to meet them on the Trentine basis; to reduce our Articles of Religion to the terms of that bastard Creed of Pius the Fourth, which is actually of later origin than our Articles: and to accept the Roman Supremacy itself with the humiliating gratuity of a *concordat*. This, as I have shewn, is the scheme of the *Eirenicon*; but, not content with sending his followers on this errand, he goes himself. Such is the astounding "audacity" of his self-constituted diplomacy, and he returns to boast that he has succeeded in arranging all preliminaries: he has even settled the matter as it concerns the rights of his Sovereign. She is to be indulged with the nomination of English Bishops, "though she is a Protestant."

Here is his own story:¹

"I went abroad in order to ascertain whether what I hoped for was a dream or whether it was reality. Of course I cannot repeat anything which I am unable to speak (?). I saw various Bishops, and some that the papers did not know that I saw. (A laugh.) I saw also theologians

whom the papers happily know nothing about; and I went with them through all the details of our case. I stated what our difficulties were—how we believed that they could be explained and how we believed that they could be met. I assure you that people in England will be extremely astonished if I am able to show (as I hope soon to do) how much that is popularly supposed to be *de fide* with Roman Catholics is not *de fide* with them. (Cheers.) I will only give one instance. I saw a theologian, and one of the most eminent. We talked for two hours about the Council of Trent, and about our belief as it is expressed by those whom we considered to be the most genuine sons of the Church of England. The result was that *point after point he was satisfied*; and the interview ended in his saying, 'I shall salute you as a true brother.' (Loud cheers.) As to supremacy, I said, 'I do not know where it is to be found stated in what the supremacy consists.' (Cheers.) It has been said that I have lived so much among old books that I do not know that the modern practice is very different from what I had gathered from those old books. As regards appeals to Rome, which formed so large a portion of the quarrel at the Reformation, this theologian told me that *there is now scarcely such a thing known as an appeal*. (Cheers.) He stated that those things which the Church of England disclaimed were no essential parts of the supremacy; and I may add that a very eminent French theologian said to me, 'If other matters are settled, the supremacy will make no difficulty.' I had spoken to him just the same words as have been quoted, only the emphasis was not laid on the words 'in itself'—that is, 'the consequences which it involves.' He left me saying, 'If other matters were settled the question of the supremacy could be easily arranged by a *concordat*.' As to our Bishops, he said they might be named in any mode which had ever been known to the Church—they might be named even by Queen Victoria, *though she was a Protestant*. And the person who said this was an authority of no common weight." (Loud cheers.)

The Abbé Guettée's view of the Doctor's projected Union may satisfy some as to its probable working. He says:

"What surprises us is that Dr. Pusey could, for a single instant, conceive the idea that it was possible for Anglicans even to enter into negotiations with Rome; and that he did not understand that the sole basis of union between Anglicanism and Popery must always be the *annihilation of the former* and the absolute submission of Englishmen to the Pope. Rome does not recognize the Anglican Church as a Church. She regards (i.e. pretends to regard) its Bishops and Priests as simple laymen, who make themselves ridiculous by assuming designations to which they have no title. She regards Anglicans simply as Protestants; and, as preliminary to all idea of union, would insist upon the reordination of Bishops and Priests, and the re-baptizing of laymen; for the existing ordinations are null in her eyes, and the baptisms are in most cases (though the Roman Church accepts the baptism of midwives and nurses) *doubtful*. After these preliminaries, Bishops, Priests, and Faithful must make profession of obedience to the Pope. The Pope would then grant some small concessions of mere details, just to save appearances. Even these would gradually be withdrawn again, little by little, as obedience became firmly established, and then the Anglican Church would remain purely and simply Ultramontane."

The parentheses are my own, but may direct your attention to the thorough hypocrisy of Romanism in all its dealings with the Church which for three centuries has been the chief object of her fear and hate.

¹ Reported, and afterward corrected, in the *Guardian*.

But, to return to Dr. Pusey's account of himself, such is the last phase of his development, as appears by the report of the "English Church Union," in its late noisy assembly. It need not frighten any one to find such a meeting adopting the *Eirenicon* as its fetish. The meeting was not composed of those who lead the sentiment of England: not a single Bishop was present; few names of note are observed among those of the attendants: and Dr. Pusey himself reminded them that "very few of them" knew anything of three-and-thirty years since. Such was the assembly that rejected a proposed amendment which was designed to guard against a complete surrender of Anglican principles: and which, before it separated, took all the steps necessary to the formation of a visible Trentine party in the Church of England, with the author of the *Eirenicon* as its leader.

I do not wonder that superficial readers of that work were unable to credit my remarks as to the structure of its argument. It is true that a great part of it is a *conclusive argument against Popery*: how then could the rest of it be designed as a compromise with Rome? Does a man take pains to prove that a house is a pest-house, when he wishes us to walk in? Well might one be puzzled with such a *non-sequitur*; yet it is not more strange than true that such is the scheme of a book in which the piety and truth of its author work in one direction, and his theories of unity in another. Utterly illogical as it is, we have the facts before us, and after his utterances at the meeting aforesaid, there is no longer any possibility of denying that he proposes a reunion of the English Church with the Roman, by a surrender of the Thirty-Nine Articles, in their spirit and intent, and by the acceptance of the Papal Supremacy, with a *concordat*.

Such are the ultimate consequences of the morality of No. 90, and it is well for us that we can no longer be blinded as to the fact. I have spoken in strong terms of its duplicity; but, though friendship has beguiled Dr. Pusey into accepting it, it must always be remembered that the author of it is Dr. Newman, who carried it out, to its consequences, long ago. It is impossible that anybody should *practically* adopt it, and remain true to the Anglican Church.

A few words may here be said of the great Oxford movement, which, like Methodism, has passed into the life of the Church, in one form, and is going out of it in another. There can be no doubt that if such a man as Hugh James Rose had lived, and had held its helm, it would have taken the form of a grand revival of such Catholicity as that of Bishop Ken, and would have been wholly primitive and Nicene. But the movement unhappily fell under the engineering of John Henry Newman, a man, in many respects, inferior to his co-workers, but full of that *audacity* which was not natural to them, and of that nervous genius which utters oracles and creates a following. By his own confession, Mr. Newman was never a genuine Catholic, never a sound Anglican. From a

feeble Evangelicalism he flew to an opposite extreme, and very soon his ruling idea became a dislike of the Reformation, which he identified with his former Calvinism. This antipathy suggested a mere reactionary movement, and his mind took its Romeward turn. He conceived No. 90 and he soon followed his own Jack o' lantern into the mire.

Happily, the great movement communicated to the Church at large was Catholic; but, as it was left in the hands of Dr. Pusey, it was doomed, like Wesley's, to develop a counter-spirit. He had, himself, begun his ministry in the Evangelical School, or in something like it. He never felt himself firm on the grand old Anglican Rock where the foot of Ken was planted. His practical horizon was bounded by the Reformation-epoch, and he confounded Catholicity with Western Christianity. To get back again to union with the Western Churches became his ruling thought. To do so, by first calling on these Churches to revert to Catholic Antiquity, never entered his mind. We must take them as they are, Trent-Creed and Papacy included, and we must make our Articles square with these as we may. His friendship for Dr. Newman had fixed his thoughts on No. 90 as the grand Catholicism; and this idea having produced the *Eirenicon*, is now about to culminate, as he promises, in a work designed to "astonish" Englishmen, with his discoveries in France, as to what is really *de fide* among the Romanists. As if any Englishman, who has any information on such subjects, could possibly be ignorant of Gallicanism, and of Port Royalism! As if everybody did not know that all that is *nominally* conceded, is practically exacted, in the one simple fact that you must accept every decree of the Pope or be excommunicated! If Dr. Pusey would really "astonish" us, let him show that there is any freedom of thought or opinion left in the Communion to which Pius IX. gives absolute law and prescribes new dogmas; and to which he claims to be "the Way and the Truth and the Life."

Such is the movement that is now passing out of the Church, like the serpent out of the chalice of St. John, in the form of a small but mischievous Trentine party. In its last efforts to identify itself with genuine Catholicity, it invokes the saintly name of Keble, and pretends to claim its patronage. If it could be shown that his strong affection for his friends had blinded his pure eyes to the real nature of their theories, what would be gained? Keble was but human, and had some infirmities like other men, I dare say. His career has been widely different in many respects from that of his old companions; his genuine love for the Church of England has been the real drag to their Romeward tendencies: and if he loved them too well to see all their mistakes and faults, there is evidence that he regarded Newman's course with strong aversion, and was deeply pained by his bitter and remorseless writings against the Church of England. What that holy man finally thought on many subjects connected with the movement,

would be an interesting question, were it not an impertinent one. I revere his memory too much to drag it into controversy. I leave to their own sober reflections those who are seeking to narrow its influence by identifying it with a party, those who use it to embitter controversy, and those who wound the most sacred feelings of their brethren whose love for his name and character has never led them to surrender their right of thinking for themselves.

So now we have this whole movement defined, in a party which is "going out from us, because they are not of us." In that clamorous meeting of the "Church Union," one voice was raised in behalf of these sound old principles of Bishop Ken, and of the Reformation; but it was drowned in contemptuous outcries, and hooted as well as voted down. Before this was done, however, one memorable warning was uttered against the morality of No. 90 and the *Eirenicon*. It was the voice of a Romish layman who has tasted all the sweets of *concordats* and *de fide*, and whose *suspiria de profundis* might well have suggested wisdom even to an assembly which would have tasked the Town Clerk of Ephesus to keep it in order.

"As a Roman Catholic," said the Count Montalembert, as quoted by Mr. Gurney, "I wish what I believe to be the truth to triumph; but when I consider the *moral bearings of the question*, the high tone of moral integrity that is preserved by the Church of England and the English people, I must confess I fear the consequences of *reunion with us* as we are would be to draw you down to our level instead of raising us up to yours."

In spite of this warning, the assembly went on to confirm the principle of Tract No. 90, by which an English Churchman may subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles consistent with all Roman Doctrine!

Alas! ever since the appearance of that baleful tract, the process pointed out by the Count Montalembert has been going on in the Church of England among all who have accepted it. We see the results in this Trentine party, and its unblushing "audacity." Had the English Bishops who denounced it five-and-twenty years ago been unshackled by State interference, they would have refused to ordain the triflers with God and man who had subscribed the Articles on such principles, and so it would have been nipped in the bud. But they were not able to do this, and now there is a set of men in the Church who claim, as an established right, this liberty to equivocate and swear falsely. I saw the fatal mistake from the outset, and I deplored it. Now when I am in a responsible position, myself, I find an effort made to transplant this noisome pestilence and to naturalize it in our Church; I have resisted it, and have taken occasion before the evil gets head, to let the youth committed to my care understand how I intend to deal with it, should it ever be heard of in this Diocese. I am not responsible for other parts of the flock of Christ; but I know what I have undertaken to do for the fold over which the Master has set me as Chief Shepherd. Let all who may be concerned understand that I have said nothing which I am afraid to make good.

I acknowledge the pain and grief it gives me to oppose the sayings and doings of such a man as Dr. Pusey; if his were a less eminent and respectable name, however, there would be no need of opposition. Such a delusive and impracticable scheme as his has no other vitality than that which his *prestige* imparts to it. But who can forget the sacred interests which his dream endangers, simply because it is a prophet that prefers his dreams to God's Word? Who can read his own account of his doings in France, without blushing for him as well as for the spectacle to which he has reduced our Church by his unauthorized diplomacy? He comes home like one "caught with chaff:" he reports his sayings and doings among Romish theologians, and hints that he has been dealing with very high authorities: he tells how he consulted about the Council of Trent for two whole hours: he is in raptures over his discovery that this and that are *not de fide*; that the Supremacy is actually undefined; that even Romish kings have too much sense to permit appeals to the Pope, and that, all else being smoothed down by his exposition of the Articles, the Queen of England will actually be permitted to nominate English Bishops, by a *concordat*, "though she is a Protestant." Is it really necessary to show that all this is the talk of a "prophet that hath a dream?" Why, the Latin divines themselves fought for seventeen years in the Council of Trent against the innovations which he accepted in "two hours." As for the "Supremacy," was he really ignorant of what he parades as a discovery; or does he need to be informed that although the Gallicans have nominally abjured it for two centuries, it is nevertheless practically forced upon them every time a bull comes from Rome, and every day when they recite the Roman breviary? Is it any honour to the Court of Rome that even Popish princes cannot trust it with appeals? And as to the proposed *concordat*, by which Queen Victoria is to retain her rights "though she is a Protestant," let him expound its value by the vacant Sees of Italy, and illustrate its advantages by the Pope's dealings with Victor Emmanuel—though he is a Papist. Does the author of the *Eirenicon* really imagine that Pius the Ninth would confirm the Queen's nominees if, instead of appointing such men as Dr. Manning, she should name a worthy successor of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley?

Alas! If the unity of the *Eirenicon* be a good thing, these holy martyrs went to the stake for a bad cause, and we have lived for three hundred years in unjustifiable schism. It is not I who have rebuked Dr. Pusey, albeit as a Christian Bishop I have a right and a duty to censure any doctor as soon as his teachings endanger my own Diocese, or the Church which has set me in authority. I have only compared his doctrine with that of the great divines with whom he challenges a contest. He is rebuked by the holy testimony of those who suffered at Oxford and at Smithfield; he is condemned by Laud, by Andrewes, and by Hooker.

Does any one imagine that the judicious

Hooker would have agreed with those Romish theologians after two hours' talk about the Council of Trent? Dr. Pusey tells us they "saluted him as a brother," and "were satisfied." I have no doubt of it!

But, in conclusion, let us look at the scheme of the *Eirenicon*, supposing it practically adopted, as Dr. Pusey proposes. The Church of England accepts the "Supremacy," which it never did before the Reformation, and agrees to the Trent Creed, which was not in existence in those days. Look at the result. It becomes, thereby, a part of the Roman Obedience; it is estranged from Antiquity; it is involved in the schism with the Greeks. It loses, for ever, its grand Nicene position, its oneness with the

Catholic Church, "before the division between East and West;" and the restoration of Catholic unity will be further off than ever before. *Now*, we are in a grand position to act as Mediators: now, we have a glorious part to perform, if we are true to ourselves, on Nicene principles. Let us once adopt the Trentine Scheme of Unity, and we cease to be Catholics; we become a mere appendage of the Popish Usurpation.

It has pleased God to place me, though all unworthy, in the seat of an Apostle; and I know well that it is alike my duty to "rebuke with all authority," and, if need be, to "suffer reproach" in defending the Catholic Faith, and in protesting that portion of the flock of Christ which He has committed to my trust.

In a "Letter to a Bishop,"—on "Ritualism," by Bishop Cleveland Coxe, are these earnest words: "Oh! when I look at the growing prevalence of irreligion and unbelief; when I see the thousands of souls who have no helpers, and none to seek after them; when I behold the work that is first to be done in harmonizing Christians, and in bringing back the wanderers; I own

it does seem to me as mockery of God,—when I see Christian ministers spending their days in studying the mere romance of religion,—about postures and bows and crossings, and about this colour or that; in the solemn service of Him who seeks before all things purity of heart, and a sound mind, and an enlightened faith!"

SECTION 2.—"EVANGELICAL TRUTH, AND APOSTOLICAL ORDER." *

THE UNITED PRINCIPLE OF THE RELIGIOUS REVIVALS IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE TWO GREAT PARTIES, OR SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT, CO-EXISTING IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SINCE THE REFORMATION.

1. *The combination of Orderly Union and Freedom of Thought—a principle inherent in the Church of Christ.*

We are standing, it can scarcely be doubted, on the threshold of a future history full of change in Church and State, in politics and religion. All Christendom is moved; and strange to say, even religions outside of Christendom are moved too. It seems as if a wave of new thought and excited action were passing over the world. Men who live in such a time have much need of wisdom and self-control and disinterestedness, if they are to do their part towards making the future blessed and prosperous, instead of disastrous and evil; and none can need those qualities so much as the clergy, who should be the pilots and directors of religious thought in a troubled sea of change and doubt. If, at similar crises in history—the Reformation, for instance—all those who thought and acted on either side had been more candid, and more temperate, and more true, there would be far less danger now, and a far brighter horizon for the future. No one can read wisely and thoughtfully the re-

cords of such times without many a pang of sorrow that men's passions checked improvements on the one hand, and marred them on the other. Are we not by such examples forewarned? and should we not be forewarned?

The Church of Christ from the earliest times has had in many ways the same elements of good and evil, so the same dangers and the same hopes as now. That Church, from its first foundation, was in one sense an absolute monarchy, because Christ is its King, and the reign of the Omnipotent must be unlimited. But, as regards its human organisation, it was so constructed as to combine order and united action with all just freedom of thought and will. If these two elements of orderly union and fair freedom had been allowed to work harmoniously together, the Church would have been, what its Founder willed it to be—a kingdom subordinate to its King and wisely regulating its citizens. But the Church had a strange struggle from the first. Its victories were its dangers. It took captive the worlds of Judaism and of heathenism and of heathen philosophy around it; and they in their turn tried to corrupt the Christianity which had subdued them. Jews and heathens and philosophers assumed the name and profession of Christians, without renouncing either the opinions or the practices of the past. Freedom of thought ran riot, and order and unity seemed likely to be lost. . . .

* From "A Pastoral Letter to the Diocese," by the late Rt. Rev. Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester.

2. *Subverted by the tyranny of the Papacy.*

He, who guides all things, permits many things not wholly accordant with His will, and yet guides them still—guides them to good—until at length, through the fuller development of evil within them, they, perhaps, become only instruments of ill. The Papacy and the monastic orders seemed to promise security for order and orthodoxy and Christian union. In the end they subverted all. Pressing to excess the claims of order, they suppressed to excess the claims of free thought. It was inevitable that free thought so bound down should at length burst its bonds; hence all those divisions of Christendom, to which the Church of Rome points as the disgrace of the Reformation, but which are in truth the fruits of the Papacy.

The Papacy, even of the Middle Ages, was the extreme development of one important element of the Church of Christ—the element of unity and order. I will not linger on the many efforts to resist this extreme development, which, made from time to time by statesmen and Churchmen alike, finally culminated in what is called the Reformation. The Reformation was the consequence of a common feeling of wrong, a common yearning for freedom and truth; but it was multiform in its development.

3. *Consequent divergence in the course of the Reformation on the Continent and in England.*

The Lutheran and the Anglican Reformations were conceived in a conservative spirit; the one assuming the attitude of protest when unable to effect reform; the other reforming without subverting the national Church, which had existed even before the nation itself. The Swiss Reformation was of a widely different character—Zuinglius throwing down all ancient landmarks and rejecting all ancient institutions; and then the genius of Calvin, building up a wholly new edifice, based on new principles and hedged in with new fences. The distinction is so important to ourselves that I dwell on it for a moment. The Lutherans desired to reform the German Church, eradicating its corruptions, but retaining its constitution. If they could have carried their princes and their bishops with them, they would probably, under the guidance of Melancthon, have effected a true *Reformation*. As it was, they seceded, with the thought of remaining separate till such reformation might be possible, and, at the same time, they put forth a solemn *Protest* against the corruptions which they could not remove. The English was a true *Reformation*. Some may think it

defective and others excessive; but it was not secession, it was not destruction, it was not revolution—it was reform. It took a long time to effect. Its work went through many reigns, beginning with Henry VIII., and certainly not perfected till Charles II. It retained all fundamental doctrines, it respected all ancient formularies, it changed no ancient constitution. It had the same creeds, the same clergy, even the same services—translated and purged, but not abolished—the same Church courts, the same Church laws. There was but one thing which it absolutely swept away, viz., the usurped supremacy of the Pope, and its natural consequences. I am not asserting that the work was all well done, and that there were no defects and no excesses—different men will take differing views of this—I merely maintain that this was the principle of Reformation in England. So it was viewed by the bishops and clergy of the time, whom we commonly call Reformers; so it was viewed and treated by the statesmen, by the sovereigns, by the laws of the land¹; so even was it viewed by the Pope himself, who would have tolerated the changes in faith and worship in the reign of Elizabeth, if only the Queen and people would have acknowledged his supremacy.

4. *Suppression of Free Thought in the Swiss Reformation.*

The Swiss Reformation, though called by the same name as the English, was essentially unlike it. It was probably a blessing to England, though it has been cast as a reproach, that there was no one great master-mind among her reforming clergy, such as Luther or Calvin. Matters, therefore, worked here more slowly and more safely. Calvin saw clearly the difficulty of the Swiss position. He was prepared for radical changes; but he was not ready to go all lengths with the rationalism of Zuinglius,

¹ "It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of either Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church, or of establishing anything at all. In their own eyes they were not establishing, but reforming; they were neither pulling down nor setting up, but simply putting to rights. . . . There was no one act called 'The Reformation'; the Reformation was the gradual result of a long series of acts. There was no one moment, no one act of Parliament, when and by which a Church was 'established'; still less was there any act by which one Church was 'disestablished,' and another Church 'established' in its place."—*Disestablishment and Disendowment*, by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D.

and he knew that no religion could stand without close organisation and strong restraints. The organisation of the Ancient Church was not possible to him, as it was to the English. The rejection of the Papal absolutism had left the restraints of law feeble and helpless. So Calvin elaborated from his own fertile brain a new system, which was to be the substitute for and the rival of the old Catholic system, whether corrupted or reformed. He organised a great republic, binding it together by a strong republican government, and restraining—I had almost said enslaving—consciences, not by the power of the priest, not merely by a belief in the unlimited sovereignty of God, but by a blind submission to that sovereignty, though exercised so as to be apparently (though, of course, only apparently) arbitrary, tyrannical, and unjust. There can be no real question but that Calvinism, whether as a system of theology or as a system of Church government, was utterly unknown in early times. No trace of anything like it can be found in the first four centuries after Christ. . . .

5. *The influence of the Continental System on the English Reformation.*

We well know how much this system influenced earnest men in England in the reigns of Edward, Elizabeth, and the first Stuarts. It was apparently the strongest, boldest countermove to Popery. At first all (or almost all) who aimed at Reformation naturally sympathised with all the opponents of Rome. Romanism, the power of the Pope, and the rising powers of the Jesuits, constituted the common danger; and all who opposed the common danger seemed to be friends. Then the Marian exiles taking refuge among the Swiss brought back to England Swiss theology, and sowed it broadcast among the people, at a time when horror of the Marian persecutions, dread of Philip's invasions, and indignation against Papal conspiracies, had created a panic—cruel, alas, as it was timid—on the subject of Romanism. The Puritans, who owe their origin to this, well deserve our respectful remembrance. There was much that was noble and spirited in their sturdy independence; in their resistance to tyranny, whether civil or ecclesiastical; in their stern, simple habits of life and faith. But they were as intolerant as those to whom they were opposed, whether Papists or Anglicans. People had not learned at that time that it was possible to tolerate either doctrines or practices, without wholly agreeing with them. The ques-

tion really was, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., whether the English Church, reformed but preserved, should continue the Church of the nation, or whether it should be rejected in favour of Puritanism (*i.e.*, Calvinistic Presbyterianism) on the one hand, or Romanism on the other.

6. *The two chief Schools of Religious Thought in England, originating from the Great Rebellion, the Restoration, and the Revolution.*

The Rebellion and the Revolution were the results of this fierce struggle. Since those great events the English Church has had professedly within its bosom, what it had always had with less formal acknowledgment, two great schools of religious thought. They have been permitted to work side by side, not struggling for the absolute supremacy of the one to the utter extinction of the other, but acknowledged as necessary factors of the great National Church. It may be difficult to define exactly the relative positions of the two schools in all cases, for the various "revivals" in the one direction or the other have been marked by various characteristics; but we may say generally, though not universally, that the one school has taken the side of order, the other craved for greater freedom of action; that the one has upheld Episcopal, the other has at least sympathised with Presbyterian, government; that the one has esteemed highly the Christian Sacraments, the other has laid most stress upon preaching the Word; that the one has been favourable to the higher adornment of Divine service, the other has been content with barer walls and simpler ceremonies; that the one has given more thought to the training of the young, the other has relied most on converting the adult sinner; that the one has been more devoted to pastoral labour, the other more zealous for public preaching and for foreign missions; that the one has produced nearly all our theological literature, the other has contributed chiefly to devotional and practical writings; that the one has made much of corporate life, the other has given its chief thoughts to personal religion; that the one looks back with sympathy and respect to Christian antiquity, feeling that in all its changes the Church has still had one stream of life running through its history, the other has, for the most part, shrunk from identifying the present with the former conditions of Christianity, believing that for centuries it existed only in the Bible, and could be scarcely found in the organised societies of

the world ; that, once more, the one has dwelt much on repentance for sin and striving after holiness, the other has more cheered the penitent with the thought of pardon purchased and blessedness assured.

7. *The combination of these has proved a blessing to the Church of England.*

I am aware that the above does not characterize all members of either school, and that there are many other distinctions and differences which have frequently arisen ; but I believe that the two chief schools in the English Church have generally, though not universally, exhibited these distinguishing characteristics. We may have our closest sympathies with one or with the other ; but no one who thinks seriously can doubt that, when they have worked quietly together, the presence of both has been a blessing to the Church. The mistake of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the determination of those in power, on whichever side they might be, that only one school should exist, or at all events should prevail, and that the other must succumb or secede. The true principle of a Church should be that union of order and free thought of which I spoke at first, permitting within all reasonable limits differences of sentiment such as must exist where men truly think at all ; not breaking unity of communion because of variety of thought or even of usage, but yet maintaining in all cases fundamental truth, and that outward order without which no human society can prevail and prosper. So permitted, variety rather contributes to strength than engenders weakness ; the variety itself stirs up, not to hatred, but to emulation in good works ; and the danger of stagnation, imminent where all think exactly alike, is warded off by the watchfulness of one school over the deficiencies or excesses of the other. Unhappily, in such a state of things, stagnation is too often the only home for peace, and when-ever zeal revives conflict revives with it.

8. *Their agreement in fundamental truths.*

There are, indeed, those who say that the English Church holds within its bosom two different religions, two different faiths. Surely this is untrue. If we look back on our past history, and at the tenets and practices of both schools, there may have been, perhaps, in each of them some things to deplore, *erat quod tollere velles*, but in both of them there has been much to esteem ; and though there may be at times points of important difference, surely they cannot be compared with the many points of agreement, or

rather with the great fundamental agreement in the deep verities of the Christian faith. Can men be said to belong to two different religions when both classes accept the same Scriptures as the authoritative rule of faith ; both believe in the same mysterious, infinitely holy, infinitely merciful Triune God, loving Father, redeeming Saviour, sanctifying Spirit ; both acknowledge the same corruption of our nature, the same redemption and restoration, through the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ ; both join the same public prayers, partake of the same appointed Sacraments ; both look for the same Judgment, both believe in the same immortality, both expect the same rest in Paradise, both hope for the same home in Heaven ? Differences, doubtless, exist, which zealous and sometimes designing men fan into a flame of discord ; but the deep unity in those great points of common faith is infinitely greater than any differences of detail or of ceremonial can be. Is it not, then, wise and right to endure the diversity in subordinates, in thankfulness for unity in essentials ? What can be hoped for from intolerance or extravagance ?

9. *The opposing systems on each side, of the Papacy and Protestant Dissent. (1) The Papacy.*

On each side of us, no doubt, there are two great human systems of doctrine and of discipline, gigantic efforts of human device. The Roman system was a masterpiece in its own way, built up gradually, almost imperceptibly ; sometimes with entire honesty of purpose, from the hope of suppressing threatened dangers to the faith ; sometimes with a strong desire in the master-builders to aggrandise power and authority over the kingdoms and the consciences of men. The system of Calvin was also a masterpiece ; a tower of strength built over against the fortress of the Papacy ; meant to hold its own against the Papacy, and, perhaps, to destroy it. It, too, in all that was peculiar to it, was purely human ; not gradually worked out in the lapse of ages, but sprung full-grown in a single generation, full-armed from a single brain. The natural result to us in the Church of England of pressing our own differences to a crisis will be to throw religious men on the one side into the arms of one human system, on the other into the arms of the opposite ; systems to which we may willingly give all the credit that belongs to them, but which can never have on us the claims of our true mother, the ancient Apostolic Church of England, brought here, perhaps, by Apostles in Apostolic times ; growing with our national

growth ; feeding year by year our national life ; the source of our national greatness ; the au hor of our national civilisation ; not untinged in times past with errors which overspread all Christendom, but waking to a sense of their evil, and casting off the errors without losing historic faith or historic life.

Let us remember, too, that the Ultramontane Romanism of the present day is very different from the better forms of mediæval Christianity, and that we cannot recall the earnest, vigorous, severe spirit of Calvinism in its days of youth. It can be only in the most corrupt development of Romanism, and in a degenerate form of the extreme opposite, that we can find a refuge if we leave or lose the home which we have now. We need not be insensible to the desires for union, on the one hand with Continental Churches, on the other with the Nonconformist bodies at home. No holier desire can well animate Christian hearts. If I may speak of myself—and a Bishop may surely speak heart to heart with either clergy or laity of his diocese—I believe that through life I have laboured for no one thing so earnestly as for the union of the Churches of Christ. But of this I am very sure, that it will be a mistake of the most fatal character if we attempt either corporate union, or even concession tending to union, with the Churches of Roman obedience, whilst bound down to that obedience by the Vatican decrees, and before they have gone through internal reform and have obtained spiritual freedom, such as we ourselves did at the Reformation, or such as the Old Catholics are striving for now. We may hope and pray and labour for peace ; but it must not be by a sacrifice of purity.

(2) *Protestant Dissent.*

On the other hand, I cannot believe in what is called an Evangelical alliance, much as I can sympathise with the spirit that gave rise to it. The very word "alliance" seems to indicate an acknowledgment that we do not care for "unity." Independent nations, which cannot possibly unite, make treaties of *alliance* ; but the Church should be *one* in Christ. Let us do all we can to remove defects in our own system, and to exhibit its excellence for satisfying all spiritual wants. Let us act with all brotherly kindness to those who do not see as we see nor wholly walk with us. Let us work steadily and honestly in our own fields of labour, opening the bosom of the Church wide to receive all that will take refuge in its folds ; but let us not ignore our differences ; let us not concede that

our own position is an usurped one, that we are not the ancient Church of this land, but merely one of the many sects which sprang up two centuries ago, and so, by throwing down the ancient landmarks, make all hopes of future unity impossible.¹

10. *United action and freedom of thought, should be the rule and aim of each Party within our Church.*

And, as regards our action at home, if it be desirable that the great National Church should continue to hold within it two or three great schools of thought—which, when it ceases to hold, it will cease to be the National Church and become at best but a privileged sect—then surely two things should be borne in mind : First, we must allow each school fair latitude, fair freedom of thought and action, not readily troubled even if at times, especially in reactionary or exciting periods, any school should

¹ There are points in which we are at one with the Roman Catholics, and points in which we are at one with the Nonconformist communions ; and it is most desirable to make the most of those points of contact as being so many hopes of union ; but we should do well, too, to look boldly at our points of fundamental difference. Anglicans believe the Church to be a great human society, composed of visible elements, under an *invisible* King. Romanists believe the Church to be a great human society, composed of visible elements under a *visible* King. Nonconformists and many foreign Protestants believe the Church not to be a visible human society at all, but an *invisible* company, known only to God, under an invisible King. Anglicans and Romanists believe in a Body ; Nonconformists believe only in a Spirit. Anglicans and Nonconformists equally acknowledge no Head but Christ. Romanists believe in an infallible head on earth. We may willingly hope that there may still be fundamental unity in faith, but there cannot be unity in work.

There has of late grown up a new distinction between England and Rome which is very significant. In olden times the controversy constantly was as to which could most truly claim antiquity in its favour. Both, of course, appealed to Scripture ; but both, too, appealed to the primitive interpretation of Scripture, and the light which primitive practice shed upon Scripture. England still does this ; but Cardinal Manning, the mouthpiece of Rome in this country, says that "the appeal to antiquity is both a treason and a heresy. It is a treason because it rejects the Divine voice of this hour, and a heresy because it denies that voice to be Divine."—(*Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, p. 226.) And again : "The appeal from the living voice of the Church to any tribunal whatsoever, human history included, is an act of private judgment and a treason, because that living voice is supreme ; and to appeal from that supreme voice is also a heresy, because that voice by Divine assistance is infallible."—(Letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 8, 1875, signed "Henry Edward Card. Archbishop of Westminster.") I am greatly mistaken if Vincentius Lirinensis and the Church of his day—let alone Irenæus, Tertullian, &c.—would not have pronounced these sayings to be traitorous and heretical.

[What can exceed such perverse folly—even from Rome !—Verily an example for the "infliction" of that "strong delusion that will believe a lie !"—Ed.]

develope extreme partizans or extreme practices. We must remember that the wisest of men will have unwise followers, and must be fairly tolerant of un wisdom and extravagance. But, next, we must try to keep all schools, especially our own (if we belong to one) reasonably within those limits which are absolutely needful for the preservation of order and unity among members of the same body. Free thought and united action must be constantly kept in view. Only a sect can exist without freedom, and a Church will become a wilderness if it loses order.

11. *A serious cause of distrust is the wrong use of words and terms by both parties.*

Let me venture, then, to suggest some principles which may tend to these ends. I am thankful that other warning voices besides my own¹ have lately been raised against the forming and uniting with societies for propagating the opinions of one party and prosecuting those of the opposite. Only ill can come of such unions, though good men may have lent themselves to them.

Let me speak next of the use of certain words, which by misuse become badges of party and often the sources and supports of erroneous thinking and teaching. It is, probably, familiar to all of us that the constant use of certain words of Scripture in the sense attributed to them by special schools or sects is calculated to obscure the meaning of Christian truth. Often, where the sense is itself good, it is not the sense in which a sacred writer has used it.

To apply this principle to our present controversies; it is much to be deplored that words are used, and often pressed by one party, which convey a very different significance to the ears of the other party. In a controversy which raged some quarter of a century back the two schools in the Church quarrelled over the term "regenerate" in baptism, greatly because they attached two different meanings to it. Is not the same true now about such words as "Real Presence," "Sacrifice," "Altar," "Priest"? Probably no one in the English Church, when he claims to hold the "Real Presence" in the Eucharist, means that the consecrated bread and wine have literally become the natural Body and Blood of the Lord. Yet persons on the other side in controversy understand that this is meant; and, indeed, language has been sometimes used as if the speaker or the writer desired to be so understood. Again, when the

phrase "Eucharistic Sacrifice" is adopted, and in relation to this the holy table is called "altar," and the ministering presbyter "a priest," there are many who simply understand by "sacrifice" the slaying of a victim and offering the slain victim to God; by "altar," the place on which the dying and bleeding victim is placed; and by "priest," the person who slays the victim and then offers up the body and sprinkles the blood. There are many, again, who understand the words "Eucharistic Sacrifice" to mean of necessity that the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross was but partial and insufficient, not in any way "full, perfect, and sufficient," unless supplemented by the sacrifice "offered day by day continually," in the Eucharist by the priest. The unexplained use, therefore, of these phrases gives constant offence to many that hear them. Probably the word "sacrifice" of the Holy Communion is used by many persons who do not altogether agree among themselves as to what they mean by it. The Fathers, undoubtedly, from very early times, spoke of "offering," and of the *sacrificium incrementum* as applicable to the Holy Eucharist; but there has been much difference of opinion as to the sense in which these terms were used; and there is, indeed, every degree of significance attributable to them—even from the simply Zuinglian commemoration of the great sacrifice up to the highest Roman belief, that the elements have been changed into the very crucified Body of Christ, and are offered afresh by the priest each time the mass is celebrated. I cannot help thinking that the rule of charity should make us careful to explain our language when we use that which may thus be misinterpreted.

There is another set of phrases which are used inaccurately, and often offensively. I mean the words "Catholic," "Protestant," "Reformation," and the like. As to the two last, I have already observed that the English, the Lutheran, the Swiss, and the Socinian Reformations, though called by the same name, were in truth vastly different events in history. The Lutheran was distinctly a protest against that which it was unable to remedy. Therefore, as it is well known, the Lutherans were the true Protestants; and were, till of late, exclusively called so by German historians. It may not be vitally important, but it seems to me very desirable, that, when we speak of the "Reformation," we should speak definitely and explicitly. The principles of the Swiss Reformation were not

¹ See the Charge of the Bishop of Llandaff (1875), and his speech in Convocation in July 1875.

the principles of the Lutheran Reformation, nor were the principles of either of them the principles of the English Reformation. Much has been said about the word "Protestant," and it would be well if it could be confined to its original meaning ; but this has, perhaps, become well-nigh impossible. Properly, neither the Swiss nor the English are Protestants. The Lutherans protested against what they could not remedy. They protested against the arbitrary conduct of their rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, who would not let them reform the religion of the land. The Calvinists, on the contrary, not only reformed but subverted the Church in Switzerland, and substituted a wholly new condition of faith and discipline in the cantons where they bore sway. They had, therefore, nothing to protest against. They had got the victory, and could not complain.

In England, again, the Church and the nation, by a conjoint act, ejected the Papal domination, and "set to rights" the religion of the land. It was not for English Churchmen, who accepted the Reformation, but for those who were attached to the Papacy, to protest then ; and protest they did, often and in good earnest, against the new learning and the reform of the faith, and the dethronement of the Pope. The true "Protestants" in England were the Papists, not the Anglicans. Still, in modern times, the word "Protestant" is so constantly used of those who agree to reject the authority of Rome that it is well-nigh useless to attempt to restrict it to its historical sense ; and, as the Lutherans acted wisely and temperately when they protested against the injustice of the Pope and the Emperor, I do not see why we should hesitate in such matters to throw in our lot with them.

But the word "Catholic" is of far more consequence ; and it seems to me that, on every account, accuracy in the use of it ought conscientiously to be aimed at. It may be impossible to prevent writers in newspapers from applying it exclusively to members of the Church of Rome, it may be difficult to teach other people that it is not applicable equally to all Christian sects of whatever colour or creed ; but every well-educated man ought to know that such applications are historically inaccurate, and that the inaccuracy is mischievous. I need not say to you, my reverend brethren, that for many centuries in the history of the Christian faith, the name "Catholic" was held in the highest esteem ; that it did not convey the thought of communion with the Church of

Rome, nor, on the other hand, did it embrace all who professed and called themselves Christians ; but that it designated that great body which continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in contradistinction to those who, by schism, or heresy, or unbelief, cut themselves off from the main body of the Church. As applied, therefore, to a Church in any nation or city or district, it meant the sound and orthodox Church there. Until the Bishop of Rome, by usurping an authority which was not his due, divided Christendom, first into East and West, and then into numberless sects and denominations, there was one great communion throughout the world, holding the same faith, governed by the same laws, partaking of the same sacraments. It was, therefore, called Catholic ; while schisms and heresies, being local and partial, were un-Catholic. For English Churchmen, therefore, to admit that the Roman communion is the Catholic Church is distinctly to acknowledge that we ourselves are either schismatics or heretics. The Catholic Church of the land is the ancient, orthodox, Apostolic Church there. If we understand our position aright, we claim that the National English Church is that ancient Catholic, Apostolic, orthodox Church in England ; and, with no feeling of disrespect either to members of a foreign communion or to those who have left the bosom of our own true mother, we ought not to concede to them the title of Catholics. It is an ancient, venerated name, to which the saints of early days attached the utmost consequence ; and to use it carelessly is to be careless of our birthright.

And, again, if the ancient Church of a nation maintaining the ancient faith and order of the Apostles, be the Catholic Church in that nation, then every member of that Church is a Catholic. It is a misuse of terms for a certain section of the Church to call itself the Catholic party, to speak of Catholics and Protestants as distinct elements in the same Church, to call certain practices Catholic and others Protestant. If the English Church be Catholic, its members are Catholics, and its practices are Catholic practices. No doubt some of its members will sympathize more with primitive, others more with mediæval, others more with modern, others even with heretical or schismatical principles ; but, so long as they remain members of a Catholic Church, they are Catholics, and the principles and practices of a Catholic Church are Catholic principles and practices.

I may seem to be dwelling on trifles, making too much of names and words; but words are the great symbols of thought; little words have often done great deeds; and once, as we all know, the least of all letters settled the greatest controversy that ever shook the Church of Christ. Every conscientious Christian ought to watch and to protest against careless or ignorant or arrogant misuse of religious words. And few things, as I think, have more tended to aggravate our differences of late than such misuse, sometimes even than the right use rashly obtruded and unexplained. . . .

As I have protested against a careless, ignorant or irritating use of words, and also against their use in an unsound and unhistorical significance, so I would now protest against an exaggerated and unreal significance being attached to dresses or ornaments or attitudes. It is true that one party has claimed to wear special vestments and to worship in an eastward direction, because they attach a doctrinal significance to these usages; and then the opposite party has insisted on holding them to this principle; and so things in themselves indifferent, have become watchwords of two hostile camps. It is certain that originally neither an eastward position nor what are called Eucharistic vestments had any such significance at all. . . .

And there are important practical reasons why, instead of forcing a doctrinal significance on these usages, we should try to detach them from it as much as possible. It is certain that those to whom we owe the present state of our formularies protested against the assigning importance or symbolical significance to similar acts. They even said that ceremonies, dresses, attitudes, were unimportant in themselves, and only valuable as serving to promote order and maintain unity.¹

12. *With so much fundamental agreement on both sides; and the need of Union for the real work of the Church,—how grievous the danger of causing her disruption by party dissensions!*

Without question, on both sides there are a few men of extreme opinions and extreme practices; but, from the experience derived from acquaintance with two very different dioceses, I can say with confidence that the great body of the clergy are more sober and moderate in their views, and have really more sympathy with one another, than in almost any period of our past

history—certainly, than in any period of active life and zeal. The so-called Evangelical clergy are, in general, far more attached and intelligent Churchmen than those of a past generation, and in this respect quite unlike the Puritans of the seventeenth century. The High Church clergy are incomparably more agreed with their Evangelical brethren on many points of faith and practice than the High Churchmen in the period of the Stuarts. Evangelicals are anxious for decency and order and even beauty of Church ornament and service, and ready to obey Church authority. High Churchmen have none of that Pelagian element in their theology, from the charge of which so great a teacher as Jeremie Taylor was not exempted. Can there be no peace between such as these? And let us remember that a disruption will not rest with a few extreme men only. It will shake the building like a house of cards; you cannot tell which next will fall. . . .

Surely reasonable men on either side will acknowledge the debt which is due to the opposite side. I believe that every wise man on the High Church side will feel how deep is our obligation to those who, when a spirit of slumber and worldly forgetfulness had so crept over the land that it was hard to distinguish Christian theology from Deistical indifference, raised the standard of faith in Christ crucified and won back the wanderers to the fresh pastures of the Gospel of God. The Evangelicals will, surely, not deny, that in all periods of our history those High Churchmen, who have been from time to time suspected and accused of sympathy with Romanism, have not only been the great thinkers and writers in theology and Christian faith,—such as Hooker and Pearson and Butler and Bull and Waterland—but have left us the strongest and most enduring defences of the Reformed faith against the assaults of Roman and Jesuit error. Let me name Hooker, Andrewes, Ussher, Bramhall, Jeremie Taylor, Cosin, Sanderson, Hammond, Leslie, Bull, Beveridge, Barrow, Stillingfleet, Wake, even Laud himself. There have been no more successful combatants on the side of the Reformation anywhere; in England they stand quite alone; but they were all writers of the so-called High Church school of belief. Yet, with all these reasons for union, we hear from one extreme party threats of a large secession unless their voices prevail; whilst from the other we have threats of throwing themselves into the cry for disestablishment. It would be well if both would reflect that a

¹ See, for instances, the so-called "Black Rubric" at the end of the Communion Office, and Canon XXX.

large secession would involve disestablishment, and that conversely disestablishment would carry with it disruption. . . .

Disestablishment would be a revolution of so extensive a nature that it could not but carry other revolutions with it. No one institution has been so strongly interwoven into our national life as the National Church. For at least 1,200 years the Church has been as much England as the State has been. Notwithstanding the great changes from the time of Augustine to the time of Anselm, and then to the time of Cramner, and still again to our own time, yet no national institution has changed so little as the Church. There was a time when England had no single Sovereign, when it had no true Parliament, when all the relations of noble to peasant, governor to governed, man to man, were utterly unlike what they are now; but the relation of the Church to the people, amidst all corruptions and reforms, has ever been substantially the same. I am certain that you cannot rend the Church out of the national life without shaking every other institution to its base. . . .

13 *Conclusion.—Our Duty—Loyalty to our Church; our Hope—Unity and Peace.—The true EIRENICON!*

To recur once more to disruption and secession:—first of all, “to whom shall we go?” I do not believe that “Evangelicals” are prepared to join any sect of Dissenters, nor that “Ritualists” are disposed to submit themselves to Rome. The fate of Free Churches is to weaken by secession the influence of their own school, and to strengthen the opposite school, and then gradually to fade away. A Free Church of England, as a secession and as distinct from the great National Church, is quite sure to fail. “Our strength” the strength of both parties, “is to sit still.” Fair tolerance of one for the other, and fair effort by lawful persuasion and Christian argument to increase the influence of our own convictions and sentiments; this is the constitutional, the wise, and the successful way of working in such a society as our own. Every other brings mischief on that society, and mostly ruin on the workers of mischief. We have plenty of enemies without, watching to widen the breach between us. Alas! that we should have to cull fellow Christians our enemies. But it is certain that Romanists, political Dissenters, and secularists of all sorts, are united, if in nothing else, at least in this—that they joy over our disunion, and that they lose no occasion for exaggerating its magnitude,

and for trying to increase it. They, at least, all think that they can weaken us by destroying our national existence. I believe they are mistaken. I believe that England's Church is much deeper in England's heart than they suppose. Notwithstanding our divisions, notwithstanding our excesses, see how the people gather round us, crowd our churches, give freely of their wealth, give largely of their labour, which is more than wealth; see how even our communicants daily multiply where those who minister Communion give it freely and fully. Yes, wherever there is earnest zeal, even when there lacks much wisdom with the zeal, laymen always are to be found supporting and honouring their churches and their clergy; and, if once the Church was shaken off by the State, there can be no doubt that with still greater readiness and with more educated intelligence the nation would rise up in defence and for the maintenance of that ancient House which has been the home of Christian and loving hearts in England since first Christian faith and Christian hope were sown in the midst of it. I do not think Romanism or Nonconformity would gain by what they think would be our ruin. Infidelity and indifference would gain, not Christian Dissent of any type. But, surely, we ought not to play into their hands and help their tactics.

Deeply do I sympathise, on the one hand, with that devoted love for the ancient traditions of the faith, with that warm attachment for the Catholic integrity of the Church's body, which is the watchword of one school amongst us. Deeply do I sympathise, on the other, with that love of purity in doctrine which is zealous for the honour of our Lord and King, refusing to permit any fellowship in His great redeeming labour either to Saints or to saintliness, to powers without or to powers within ourselves. True Catholic piety and true Evangelical purity are, I am very sure, compatible with each other. Only, let us look largely at both, not narrowly and exclusively on one alone. The Church, the Sacraments, the apostolic ministry, set forth, exalt, and enthroned Jesus Christ, sole Saviour, Head and King. There is none other name under heaven which the Church of God proclaims to the world as that by which it can be saved. Let us not rend the seamless coat, nor even cast lots on it whose it shall be. It is the one priceless heritage of Christians, and it is held as an undivided whole by the Church of Christ.

SECTION 3.—THE DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES OF THE "ANGLO-CATHOLIC" CHURCH.*

1. *Appeal to Primitive Truth.*

The nearer we can get to the times of the Apostles, the more likely we are to reach the truth which had been promulgated by them ; and the less likely will it be to have been overlaid by error. This was certainly the principle of the English Reformers ; this was the principle of the Christian fathers, enunciated over and over again by them ; this even used to be the principle of the Roman divines, until it was found to be a weapon which was dangerous to its wielders. Whether the English reformers always used the principle rightly or wisely, it is certainly that which they professed. Every leading man among them declared that they had no thought of leaving the Church of their fathers ; but that, whereas in the lapse of time and during ages of ignorance, the simplicity of the faith had been overlaid and incrustated, they desired simply to scale off the incrustation and to restore all as nearly as possible to the condition of the early centuries. To me it seems not only that this principle is consistent with reason and religion, but that no other principle is possible. If Christianity is to be defended, it must be so defended ; and one great reason why its defence has been so feeble is, that its true historical character, historical from the first to the last, has been so imperfectly understood. The principle which ignores the past, which may be called the Zuinglian principle, leads straight to unbelief ; Romanism, subjecting the past to the present, provides for every conceivable development of error : Anglicanism holds on to the past, whilst it stretches forward into the future. If all the sons of the English Church faithfully and intelligently worked out her principles, then, like the first Christians, they could win the world.

I wish to impress on both clergy and laity of the Church, that "the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places," that "we have a goodly heritage," and that there are many dangers on the right hand and on the left. The true standpoint of the English Church is that of one whose feet rest on ages past, but who can stretch upward to the future. She has never repudiated her long line of ancestry ; but she does not rest only on an unbroken pedigree. Acknowledging herself

one with the Church of the middle ages, she rejoices to have renewed her youth by returning to the purity of Christian childhood. She holds the personal identity of a long historic life, but she has remembered her first love and tried to repent and do her first works (Rev. ii. 4, 5). Her change in the sixteenth century was a restoration, not a revolution. It reverted to what was old, did not invent what was new.

I ask you, brethren, to acknowledge, that this is a sound and logical position, as it is a Christian and Scriptural position. I repeat, that if Christianity can be defended in this age of doubt, it is on these principles that we can defend it.

2. *Our Sacred Trust.*

The conclusion which I draw is this : We in England have a trust, sacred beyond all word or thought. "I charge you before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at His appearing," that you do not neglect the deposit and prove faithless to the trust. If by our carelessness, our hasty words, our unchristian discord, the witness of the English Church should fail ; God, no doubt, can find Himself a witness,—can raise up new defences for the faith,—but we shall have done our worst to darken the light of truth and to rob the world of Christ. When Judas betrayed his Master, the work of his Master did not fail ; but Judas went to his own place. As far as human wisdom can foresee, there seems but one thing which can hinder a division of the whole thought of civilized Europe between the two extremes—philosophical scepticism on the one side, and Ultramontane Romanism on the other. That one thing is a Church reformed on a true primitive and Apostolic basis. Hitherto the Anglican Church has stood the consistent witness against error on the right hand and on the left. It is only the unfaithfulness of her own children that can possibly quench her light and silence her protest.

I am speaking now to those who can hear me, to those within the pale of the English Church, her professed servants and ministers. I ask whether all do not too much forget how their own self-will, their own eagerness to have their own way, is threatening to drag asunder the Church which God has planted among us, and has blessed to us. There are many without watching eagerly for her destruction,—shall it

* From "A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese," by the late Rt. Rev. Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester.

be that we within are to do their work whilst they look on?

3. *Right of Private Judgment, Inadmissible.*

Indeed, it seems to me that we *only*, of all the kindreds of the earth, claim the right to prefer each one his own way to the interests of the great body to which we all belong. This charge is not true against us generally, but it is true against all extreme schools in the Church. Most happily the English Church allows the amplest scope to personal inquiry, honest search, and freedom of thought; and alas! some of her children have always made the most of it to destroy the mother who so fondly cherishes them. They are spoilt children of an indulgent parent. On the one side there are those who say the fundamental principle of the English Church is this: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation"; therefore we want nothing but Scripture; therefore we will reject the guidance of her who has taught us this, and will follow only our own interpretation of the Scripture to which she has referred us. You well know how often this is said, even by men who profess to think. I hardly like to say how it conflicts with common sense and common honesty. Without question the English Church asserts the supremacy of Scripture in opposition to the theory that there was a deposit of concurrent tradition, which adds to and overlays the testimony of Holy Writ. Yet she does not deny the value of tradition and history as throwing light on Scripture, or as instructing on matters of secondary consequence, such as Church government, and the like. All she says is, that what is not read in Scripture, or is not capable of being proved thereby, is not to be required of men to be believed *as necessary to their salvation*. The meaning is plainly this, that the Church has no right to impose on its members any doctrine or practice *as essential to their salvation* which cannot be proved by sound Scriptural argument. Nowhere has she said or hinted, and I venture to say that those who drew up her formularies never dreamed, that every child, or men more senseless than children, should be encouraged to reject the guide of their youth, and frame for themselves systems of Theology and schemes of Church government from their own crude and ignorant fancies. Men may think and study for themselves; no one would desire that they should be bound to one iron rule of thought; but they are not at liberty to impose their own private opinions on the community, as though they only

could be right; nor are they justified in breaking Church fellowship because every ordinance of the Church does not approve itself to their limited judgment. Indeed, if we will remember how during the eighteen centuries in which the Church has been privileged to possess the Scriptures of the New Testament, interpretations of the most singular diversity have been put on some of its most momentous passages, by men of learning, judgment, and piety, we can hardly think that the half-learned men, who so often profess to be infallible interpreters, can be safe guides to follow.

4. *From its results.*—(1) *Diverse interpretation of Scripture.*

Let me refer to one single example. No question is now so hotly debated as the meaning of our Blessed Lord's utterances when He ordained the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. It is a question, be it observed, wholly Scriptural. All parties are agreed to refer to Scripture and to stand by it. The question simply is, on what principles to interpret Scripture. The varieties of interpretation are indeed endless, but three chief theories are patent. The Romanist takes the literal sense; the Zuinglian prefers the figurative; the Anglican claims the spiritual. Now, which of these is the true! If you take as your rule "the Bible and the Bible only," what a tangled question it is! The Romanist has, at least, the advantage of the Zuinglian. Our Lord's words are express, "This is My Body." There is not a hint about its being a *figure* of the Body; not a word to indicate that our Lord was speaking figuratively at all. It can be only from the reflection that He surely did not hold His own crucified Body in His own living hand, that we could infer that the most literal was not also the truest sense. But this is reason, not Scripture. The Romanist appears to me to have an unanswerable reply to those who say, We take Scripture only as our guide; and who then go on to say, We believe the words of Scripture are to be taken figuratively whenever we do not think it reasonable to interpret them literally. The reply is of this kind: We (Romanists) believe Scripture, even when it transcends our reason. You (who call yourselves Protestants) believe Scripture only when it squares with your feeble understandings, and reject it when it speaks mysteries. The third mode of interpretation, which I have called the Anglican, is altogether different from the Zuinglian, and not open in the same manner to a simple refutation. It does not explain our

Lord's words as mere figures. Taught by Him Himself, when He said, with reference to them, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing : the words which I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are *life*"—taught, I say, by these His own words, the English Church has held that our Lord *truly* gives us Himself to feed upon, but that He gives us Himself *spiritually*, not carnally. Her formularies, her most faithful children, her most learned divines, have ever held the verity, but the spirituality of Christ's presence in His Sacrament. But you will observe what I said at first, that all these three widely differing theories are founded equally on the express words of Scripture. There is something to be said for each one of them. I should rather say, that so much may be said for each, that no one can form a full and fair judgment upon them, who has not studied the whole literature of the question, who is not well read in Jewish customs and Jewish modes of speech, who is not conversant with the sentiments of the earliest post-Apostolic Church, and who has not well weighed the principal arguments on both sides. Certainly without such knowledge, no one can be justified in attempting to impose on others (whatever he may choose for himself) principles which, like Zuinglianism, explain Scripture away, or which, like Romanism, explain reason away. The common argument, by which men justify disobedience to the Church by appealing to Scripture alone, is, in fact, only one way of saying that they mean to follow their own judgment and to go their own way, irrespective of any consequences which may ensue.

(2). *Rejection of Church Authority.*

Let us turn to the other side, the opposite school of thought. *Mutato nomine* the same may be said of both. If it be true that the Church of England takes Holy Scripture for her guide and commends it to her children for their study, it is equally true that she is a great historic Church, and that she succeeds to an inheritance of ages. Those who dwell most on this side of truth, often claim a right to reintroduce customs from the middle ages, which have no sanction from the Prayer Book, and which have long been disused. The argument is that the English Church, though she has broken with Rome, has rejected nothing that is Catholic, and that as these things are Catholic, both in their use and their significance, they must be lawful and profitable. No authority of the present Church, nor of its legitimate rulers, is allowed

to interfere with this principle. If a ceremony or a dress can be called Catholic, it is claimed as a rightful possession. Now, what is this, but the same abuse of private judgment in matters ecclesiastical as that with which the opposite school is charged in things scriptural? And is it not the less defensible of the two? The other side consistently plead for the Bible, and the Bible only; meaning, of course, only their own interpretation of the Bible; and that, sometimes, in professed antagonism to all Church authority whatsoever. But these plead Church teaching to depreciate Church authority—the supposed teaching of the past to resist the order of the present. Surely both are logically and morally wrong. The Anglican principles on which they build are true and sound. Nothing ought to be taught as essential to salvation for which authority cannot be found in the Bible. This is a sound premiss; but it can never lead to the conclusion that every man is as well qualified as every other man or as all other devout and learned men put together, to interpret Scripture; and not only so but to force his own interpretations, or the interpretations of his sect, on the whole Christian community. The Church's principle is a principle of constitutional liberty. The conclusion is constantly pressed to support the most intolerable tyranny or the wildest anarchy. On the other hand, the principle is true, that the Church is one body, with an historic, continuous life, and that, though excrescences have grown which need pruning off from it, yet its main structure is sound and good, and so nothing need be rejected but what is erroneous or dangerous. But it does not follow that single members of the Church, or particular schools in the Church, are to be the judges as to what is Catholic and necessary, and what is adventitious and dangerous. In no age, in no section of the Church, has this been tolerated. The Canonists tell us that in nothing, especially not in the celebration of Holy Communion, must individuals claim as Catholic or primitive certain rites or customs not sanctioned or accepted by the authorities of the living Church. To every faithful member of the Church the present Church bears the authority of the Church of all time. If it be not so, it cannot but be that conflict should be perpetuated and peace lost for ever. The legitimate principle of private judgment (not so much a right as a terrible responsibility), whether it be exercised on the Scripture or on the Church, is that, aided by the enlightening Spirit of grace, we should seek to know more

and more of God in Christ for ourselves; and that in peaceful, gentle labour we should try to lead others with us to Him; if need be, patiently endeavouring to improve what may be wanting in the great Society to which we all belong, but not by self-will and self-assertion imperilling the very existence of Christian society altogether.

5.—*The true Christian Priesthood.*

If there be danger to the community on the right hand and on the left from the excessive claim to private judgment by rival sects, there is a danger more serious still, lest the clergy and the laity should be set at variance, by jealousies and misunderstandings the one of the other. The extent of prerogative and of freedom, the interest of classes, and the like, are fruitful sources of discord in all commonwealths, civil or ecclesiastical. A little too much tension often destroys legitimate authority. Nowhere is this more visible than in religious societies. Sacerdotal claims and popular resistance to them are not peculiar to any Church nor even to Christianity. At the present moment the very word "Sacerdotalism" seems the general war cry. I can hardly expect to say anything which may calm the passions or still the fears on either side; yet perhaps a little quiet thought might help to allay the tempest. Let us try to see what the real position of the clergy was in the Primitive Church, and whether, allowing for the difference of times, it may not be an example for us now. The Church of Christ, before the conversion of the Empire, was of necessity a little separate society—a close corporation if you will; not repudiating any social duties, nor any loyalty to existing governments, but still ruled by its own laws, subject to its own great King, and organised by its own officers. Under that great King the clergy without doubt were the presidents of that society. "In the regeneration,"—in the new commonwealth of the Israel of God,—the Apostles sat "on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes." Under them were presbyters, ruling Churches in the different towns and hamlets, and again deacons, who exercised subordinate offices in the Church polity. There can be no kind of doubt but that thus the clergy had a paternal authority in the infant community. "Let the presbyters who rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." (1 Tim. v. 17.) "Obey them which have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account." (Heb. xiii. 17.) The rulers here

spoken of are undoubtedly the elders of the Church, who are themselves exhorted to "take heed to the flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, to feed the Church of God" (Acts xx. 28); to "feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof." (1 Pet. v. 2.) . .

I repeat that no candid reader of the New Testament and of Church history can doubt that the Bishops and presbyters, in the earliest ages, were the leaders and governors of the Church, of that spiritual kingdom which Christ had founded, and over which He Himself reigned as supreme. It was to strengthen them for this authority that He committed to them the keys of the kingdom, the power to bind and to loose, to forgive and to retain sins—a power which they constantly exercised, admitting men into the kingdom by Baptism, excluding them from the kingdom by excommunication, restoring them to the kingdom again by absolution. It is true that on the first order of the ministry, the Apostles and afterwards the Bishops, this authority, as it was conferred by the Lord Jesus, so was it believed specially to rest. No one was baptized into the Church but by the Bishop himself, or by his immediate direction (*Tertullian de Baptismo*, C. 17); no one was ever excommunicated but by his sentence. Still the presbyters in the absence of the Bishop ruled in his name, and in his Master's name, and in his presence they formed his Council. The Church in those early days was one of the most highly organised societies that the world has ever known. If it had not been so, it would soon have gone to pieces, and could never have made the marvellous progress of which we read. . . .

We must now look to the other side. As the elders of the Church were invested with power, so they were warned to be humble, as well as faithful in its exercise. When our Lord spoke of special blessing to the faithful and wise servant, whom He should set over His household, to give them meat in due season—promising that if He found him so doing, He would make him ruler of all His goods—He added that, if such servant, thinking that his Lord delayed His coming, should smite his fellow-servants, and eat and drink with the drunken, the Lord would cut him asunder, and appoint him a portion with the hypocrites. (St. Matt. xxiv. 45-51.) St. Paul in his exhortations to Timothy, though laying great stress on the authority to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort," warns him that "the servant of the Lord must not strive; but

be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves." (2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.) And St. Peter, who though an Apostle of Christ modestly calls himself a fellow elder with his brethren in the ministry, exhorts them to "feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but as being ensamples to the flock." (1 Peter v. 2, 3.)

6. *Not "Sacerdotal."*

I believe this is a true picture, chiefly in the very words of the New Testament, of the primitive Christian Church, and the relation of its pastors to the people. Yet I have said nothing thus far on that aspect of the clerical office which is commonly called by the name "Sacerdotal," and here my task is undoubtedly more delicate and more difficult. I would remind you first that the clergy were ambassadors for God to man. "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us." (2 Cor. v. 20.) Their special commission was to preach, or, more properly, to *herald*, the kingdom of the Messiah; to declare that God had reconciled all to Himself, and to pray men to be reconciled to God. Thus then, from the side of heaven, they might be said to stand between God and man, as a herald or ambassador stands between a king and the nation to which he is sent; but it was not in any way to keep God and man apart, but to declare that God had come to man, and to ask man to go to God. Looking at the other side, the side of man, the clergy were not so much mediators as leaders, spokesmen of the people. We are told that the whole Church of Christ is a "holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" (1 Peter ii. 5); that Christians "are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood" (ver. 9); that Christ "has made us unto our God kings and priests" (Rev. v. 10). This indeed is by no means an argument to disprove the priestly office of the clergy, for it is the Old Testament language concerning the Jewish people adapted in the New Testament to Christians; and as the Jews, though a kingdom of priests, had yet a peculiar priesthood, so certainly it may be with Christians. Yet it does throw light on the nature of those offices which the Christian clergy fulfil on behalf of the laity. The whole Christian Church is a great priestly kingdom. Every Christian is anointed to be a royal priest. The whole

Christian society is a kingly priesthood. The high priest is Christ. Every Christian therefore may come boldly through Christ to the throne of grace. Yet in the public services of the Church it must be that one should lead its worship, and that one always has been, as it had been before in Jerusalem of old, a specially consecrated servant of God. In his own name, and in the name of his people, he offers up the worship of the sanctuary; not as having personally more right of access than others, not as personally holier than they, not as substituted for them, but as one specially dedicated to holy work, and so as going before them, leading them on, and joining with them. And I think that this is not only true, but that it was ever held to be true of all public worship of Christians.

The highest act of Christian worship is unquestionably the celebration of the Holy Communion. It was the regular Sunday service of the Church; we do not even know that there was any other public service on Sundays at all. Every Christian was present at it, every Christian joined in it, every Christian partook of it, unless he was under penance or excommunicated. It had many purposes, the two chief being (1) that Christ's death and sacrifice should be kept in special memorial, told out to men and pleaded before God; and (2) that the believing soul should be fed with the spiritual food of Christ's sacred Body and Blood. Now, in this most characteristic and most frequent service of the Church, the presbyter or priest was emphatically the mouthpiece of the people. He consecrated before them, and on their behalf, the broken bread and the outpoured cup; and he pleaded as one of them, their leader but not their substitute, the merits of that precious death which they were all commemorating. I would observe to you that in this which is thought to be the most priestly office of the Christian presbyter, even the Roman Church and the Canon of the Mass clearly guard the principle that the whole congregation of Christ's people perform this great service before God. You will, perhaps, see it too in a rubrical direction of our own Church—that, namely, in which it is ordered that the Bishop, if present, shall always pronounce the absolution and the blessing, the highest acts of ministerial authority; but he is not enjoined as of necessity to consecrate, consecration being an act of the whole Church of God, and not merely of its chief rulers and pastors. I know that I am treading all along on controverted ground, but I

think it can well be borne out by Scripture and by history that the true relation of the clergy to the people was ; first, that of paternal rulers, each guiding his own little flock, his own region or district of the great commonwealth, not as a lordly tyrant, but as a friend, an adviser, and an example ; secondly, that of an ambassador from God to man ; thirdly, that of a leader and representative, offering up for and with the people the spiritual sacrifices which are acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. So far as all these offices were priestly, the presbyter may legitimately be called a priest. The whole Church is priestly, and so the Church's representative has without question a priestly character. But in any such sense as should signify a keeping of the people off from God, mysteriously shrouding the sacred presence from them, or arbitrarily dispensing His favours—in any such sense as this, the Christian ministry never was and never can be called a priesthood. This was the very pretension of priestly castes among the heathen ; this is not the character of the shepherds of Christ's flock and the dispensers of His mysteries. . . .

7. The Church of England—Catholic and Protestant.

If we lay aside social and political jealousies, which at present are largely at work, it will perhaps be found that the advocates of disestablishment are largely influenced by one or two motives. The one side dislikes the Catholic, the other side dislikes the Protestant character of the Church ; both hope that disestablishment will efface that impress to which they themselves object. In other words, they dislike the comprehensiveness of the Church, and they think that it is fostered by its connection with the State. Yet this comprehensiveness of the Church is its greatest glory. Only let us not use it for ourselves, so as really and virtually to narrow it—that is, in fact, to destroy it. I am sure that Christianity itself is comprehensive and large-hearted. Our blessed Lord's call was to every one weary and heavy laden. The call of the Spirit and the Bride are to all that will : "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." The early post-Apostolic Church rejected none that would receive the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. The attitude of every sound Church must be this. It has signally been the attitude of the Church of England. But then, whilst this comprehensive character is maintained, it is clear that we must tolerate the existence of different schools within the

same communion. Laying aside for the present questions concerning the ancient organisation of the Church, Catholic doctrine is essential to its very existence. Especially I would say that the great Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is of the very essence of Christianity. The popular neglect of this has practically imperilled Christianity in many lands and many minds. Where there is a humanitarian bias, or where, on the contrary, the true humanity of our Lord is underrated or forgotten, faith in every other Christian truth is speedily lost. The doctrine of the true Godhead of Christ and of His oneness with the Father, in harmony with the doctrine of His true manhood, and His consequent union with all humanity ; passing on again to His mystical presence with His Church and in His ordinances,—this is the ground truth of Christianity, this is the great safeguard against error of every kind. If this were deeply laid as a strong foundation, the difficulties concerning the Atonement, concerning the Sacraments, perhaps even concerning the inspiration of Scripture, would be far less likely to present themselves. Indeed, the Protestant doctrine (shall I call it so ?) of the Atonement is evidently untenable without the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. And this is why so many of the Protestant bodies in Europe, and so many enquirers amongst ourselves, are tempted to give up the Atonement altogether, and to call the death of Christ a martyrdom for truth, or an example of noble self sacrifice, or anything but that which Scripture represents it to be—viz., the great Head of redeemed humanity struggling with the great giant power which was destroying humanity,—overcoming its prowess, exhausting its penalties, and so setting free from its tyranny that race or that body which He had made His own, and which, by being God as well as man, He could altogether appropriate, embrace, and permeate. Therefore let me say, that, happen what may, we can never loose our hold of all this vital truth. Whilst we hold it we live, and when we lose it we die.

8. The Protestant Reformation.

Let us turn to the other side. It is sometimes said that the principle of "Protestantism" is a mere negative principle. It is a "protest" against certain errors or exaggerations of truth ; but it has no substantive truth of its own. To avoid misunderstanding, then, it may be well to speak of the "Reformation aspect," or the "Evangelical aspect," of the Church, rather than of its "Protestant aspect." Now this is

by no means simply negative. It is negative, no doubt, as it rejects the usurped supremacy of a single Bishop, as it repudiates saint worship, material views of the Sacraments, and undue domination of the priests. But there are three most important doctrines on which it is positive, substantive and emphatic. *One* is the sole supremacy of Christ; *another* is the necessity of personal, immediate, direct union with Christ; and the *third* is the sole meritoriousness of Christ, to the exclusion of all human merit whatsoever.

I do not think it possible that we can exaggerate the value of this last principle, which was the great watchword of the Reformation, and which was held to contain within it almost all beside. Luther indeed pressed it in the guise of a scholastic formula, viz., "Justification by faith," and both he and those who followed him may have spoken unguarded words concerning it. But, laying aside scholasticism and deprecating extravagance, we may well press close to our bosoms and hold fast as our dear-bought heritage the blessed truth, which is indeed "very full of comfort," that though we are too dependent on God's bounty and too deeply indebted to Him by our sin, ever to deserve from Him anything but punishment; yet there is in Christ a fountain of grace and mercy, and that by our union with Him, and by that only, we may rest safely in the grave, may rise hopefully at the Resurrection, and may stand in the last day acquitted of guilt and clothed in righteousness by Him who is at once our Saviour and our Judge. It really was on this doctrine that the battle of the Reformation was fought. Brethren, let us never let it go. There have been times when it has been nearly lost, times since the Reformation as well as times before the Reformation. Its neglect has often roused a spirit of extravagance in reasserting it; as when, to check Pelagius, Augustine invented predestinarianism, when Luther narrowly escaped Solifidianism, when Wesley taught salvation by personal assurance of safety. This should only teach us to guard the more carefully the true doctrine, not the less Catholic for being Evangelical, not the less primitive for being restored at the Reformation—the doctrine that merit is not to be found in ourselves, not in saints or angels, not in the Blessed Mother of our Lord herself, but in the Beloved Son of God, in whom indeed He is well pleased.

9. Conclusion.—Unity and Truth.

With all my voice then, and with all my heart, I deprecate the much agitated divorce between the Catholic and the Evangelical elements of our Reformed Catholic Church. Let them both grow together. They do not truly utter discordant sounds, though everyone cannot catch their harmony. Let there be large liberty of prophesying, and large charity and self-control in those that prophesy. Let us not seek our own but others' wealth. Let us all seek peace, and that by which one may edify another.

Many of those who are now seeking to disestablish the Church, do so because they hope—the one side to destroy its Catholic, the other to eradicate its Evangelical element. I fully believe that they would be disappointed, and that both would still remain, stronger and perhaps more apparently consistent with each other. God grant that it may be so. It is their happy union in the English Church which has puzzled so many of those who have looked at her from without. It has been the desire to rend that union which has made some of her children leave her maternal guiding; it is the misunderstanding of that union which has caused so much of discord within her own body; but it is the excellence of that union, which has made her for centuries so powerful for good, and which through her influence has made England, on the whole, the most prosperous and the happiest nation in Christendom.

For my own part I will ever resist, and I would ask you, brethren, to join in a firm resistance to every effort to deprive the Church of our fathers of its Catholic heritage, which has come down to us from the Apostles; or of our Reformation heritage, which led us back to Apostolic principles and practices. We shall not become more Catholic by greater proximity to Rome, we shall not become more Evangelical by losing Apostolic doctrine or Apostolic discipline. Let others in narrow exclusiveness look only to the one side or to the other; let it be our privilege and our glory to be at once deep and broad—settled down on the foundations of eternal truth, and reaching out as far and wide as truth itself can lead us. This is the true mind of the Church of God. Is it not THE MIND OF GOD?

End of Section 3.

SECTION IV.—A REVIEW OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE CHURCH. *

1. *Two points to be first considered.*

There are two considerations, which may well tend to mitigate the natural excitement of the present moment, and induce men to look calmly and seriously at the questions now before the Church.

(1) *Agreement in Fundamentals.*

In the first place, it is plainly true, and it would be well if it were more constantly remembered, that the divisions in our Church, even at the worst, do not go down to the ultimate foundation. On the three great Articles (for example) of the Apostles' Creed—the beliefs in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, which correspond to the Divine Formula of Baptism, there is happily no division of parties among us. A sermon on the great verities of Christmas and Good Friday, of Easter and Ascension and Whitsuntide, might be preached without variation in any of our churches. In the great struggle, moreover, against sin and unbelief, even if we may differ somewhat in our methods, yet essentially we all stand shoulder and shoulder, and all alike rely on the light and grace of Christ. Our differences, important as they are, turn on the last subsidiary Article of the Creed on the Holy Catholic Church and its spiritual privileges. Even here, moreover, there is unanimity in the acceptance of that Article as a great spiritual reality, and in some important points of its interpretation. As a matter of theory, this will be, I suppose, conceded; it applies, indeed, even beyond our own Church. But in practice it is too much forgotten; "the proportion of the faith" is apt to be lost in the excitement of controversy; the underlying unity is not allowed to soften bitterness, and to comfort us in the perplexity of division and conflict. While, therefore, we have to acknowledge the seriousness of the matters now at issue, it is well to remind ourselves that to all alike Christ is the Head; although, it may be, by some He is thought of more as the Head of the individual man, by others as the Head of the whole Church, by others still as the Head of all humanity. "Every way Christ is preached, and we therein may rejoice."

(2) *Distinction of Parties in the Church.*

And the second point is this—that the main

body of those who are known as "High Churchmen" are substantially loyal to Anglican principle and to the Prayer-book, which expresses it. They may be more or less "ritualistic" in regard to the purely ceremonial ritualism of which I have spoken; they may lay especial stress on the corporate life and authority of the Church; they will be inclined to emphasise very strongly the doctrine and sacredness of the Sacraments. But if "Ritualism" implies serious dissatisfaction with the Anglican position and a tendency to revert to pre-Reformation idea and practice, they ought not to be numbered among "Ritualists." The section of our clergy which does appear to deserve the title in this sense is active, indeed, earnest, self-assertive, embracing some of the most ardent spirits among our younger clergy. But it is comparatively small; and, while it is not to be thought too lightly of, it is most important that the other class, infinitely larger and more powerful, should not be confounded with it, and driven by such confusion to give it a qualified support. Many of the loose statements made on this subject have been already proved to be erroneous.

2. *The combination of the two leading principles—or Schools of Thought—existing in our Church.*

But, nevertheless, it is true that there are issues in this "Ritualistic crisis" which affect profoundly the life of the Church and the soul. I do not think that the main question with which they are concerned is confined to the religious sphere. It is "in the air" generally. We are obviously living in an age which simple Individualism, religious or secular, will not satisfy, either in theory or from experience of its fruits. "Socialism" in the largest sense of the word, as the assertion of the rights and authority of the community, is claiming a leading place in the evolution of humanity. The great problem before society is the right co-existence, in balance and harmony, of these two principles, of which both evidently belong to human nature as at once individual and social. . . .

Clearly the higher form, which it assumes when it passes into the supernatural sphere—harmonising, as usual, with the natural, while it transcends it—is the reconciliation of the spiritual individualism, which is the essence of what is called "Protestantism," with the Catholicism which asserts the authority of the Church, both in itself and as exercised through

* (From an Article by the Right Revd. Bishop Barry, in the November number of the 'Contemporary Review,' 1898.)

the appointed ministry. Now the distinctive idea of Anglicanism, as taken up at the close of the Reformation period, and as embodied in our Prayer-book and Articles, is undoubtedly an attempt, all the more successful because half-unconscious, to solve this religious problem. Naturally it involves more difficulty, more irregularity, than systems which subordinate, wholly or almost wholly, one or other of the conflicting principles. But it has had the vitality and the wide influence, which comes from comprehension of all the facts and all the needs of the religious life.

The great Church movement of the last fifty years—intended, as its earliest leaders declared, to supplement rather than to supersede the strong assertion of personal Christianity in the Evangelical revival,—has brought home to us the half-forgotten principles of true Catholicity—the continuity from the Apostolic age downwards of Christian truth, and of the corporate life of the Catholic Church, as the interpreter of that truth on the basis of Holy Scripture. By its realization of the position of our own Church as not a mere Establishment, but a branch of that Catholic Church, having mission in this land, and gradually extending that mission over the world-wide sphere of our English influence, it has by universal confession given to it a strength, a vitality, a power over public opinion and feeling, which it has not had for many generations. Naturally it has expressed itself in our Church worship, and especially in the ministrations of the Sacraments, which have their efficacy from the indwelling Presence of Christ in His Church, and (as Hooker says) “derive it to each individual member thereof.” It is this expression of fundamental principle which has given a higher power to the merely æsthetic advance of ceremonial in our day. There is not (I think) any fear that the effect of this great movement, in respect either of the maintenance of Church principle or of its visible effect on the dignity and fervour of our Church worship, will ever be undone. It should be remembered that faithful adhesion to the letter and spirit of the Prayer-book was the motto of the movement itself. There might be difference as to the interpretation of this or that passage in its substance or its rubrics; there might be reasonable claim under it for large ritual variety and ritual development. But the loyal acceptance of the Prayer-book, embodying, as it undoubtedly does, the essential principles of Anglicanism, was unhesitatingly proclaimed, and in

that proclamation was in great measure the secret of its success.

3. The Anglican Revival, and the Romeward Reaction.

But while this was the guiding principle of the movement and of the great majority of those who directed or followed it, yet there arose in the course of its advance the crucial question, whether its adherents could continue to rest contentedly on the Anglicanism, which recognizes individual freedom and responsibility as rightly harmonised with Catholicity, or, in impatience of the inconsistencies, imperfections, perplexities, which necessarily attend on all efforts to harmonise two apparently opposite principles, they would take refuge in a religious absolutism, claiming unlimited authority and infallibility, and securing unity by the extinction of liberty. Those who accepted the former alternative remained to do valuable service to the Church of England; those who thought themselves forced to the latter seceded to Rome. The same division seems to manifest itself in a different form at this moment. The present controversy shows us plainly that there is a section of our Church which is again dissatisfied with the complication of the Anglican position, but which, instead of seceding to Rome, desires to alter that position for the Church itself, and to attain, or to revert, to a system of greater “Catholicity,” expressing itself in the exaltation of the authority of the priesthood, and the concentration of all religious life on the Sacraments which require its ministration. By that section the work of the Reformation is derided or disowned, and the name of “Protestant” is held to be an abomination. The Articles, which define on certain crucial points the position taken up in the sixteenth century, although the clergy have all signed them as “accordant to the Word of God,” are put out of consideration, and either ignored or explained away. But the most important point is that the Prayer-book, which most comprehensively embodies the essential principles of Anglicanism, apparently fails to satisfy its theory of Church doctrine and life, is rather acquiesced in than accepted, and is tampered with by addition or mutilation. Those who have this desire of greater religious absolutism naturally turn their eyes to the strongly compacted and resolute despotism of the Roman system; many seem to regard it with admiration and sympathy; some even desire reunion of our Church with it, which, as most men have

seen throughout, must be simply a submission to the Roman obedience. History, of course, cannot be undone. The open English Bible and the vernacular service, which were the great trophies of the English Reformation, cannot be taken away, nor can they fail to exercise a dominant influence over all our religious thought. But yet there is abroad what may rightly be called a "Romanizing" tendency, not only adopting, as far as practicable, eagerly, and often without much real liturgical knowledge, Roman names, usages, rites, but verging towards Roman doctrine on certain crucial points, and sympathising in great degree with the Roman idea of priestly authority, even if it does not recognise the natural culmination of that idea in the absolute and infallible power of the Pope.

4. *The teaching and practice of the disloyal, or "Revolutionary" Section of the Clergy.*

The character of this section of our Church may be ascertained by the teaching which it puts forth publicly in the pulpit and in the Press, and by the tone and action of the voluntary societies, in which it takes an active, if not a dominant, part. Some of these publications have been recently exhibited in the newspapers to the astonishment of the world; some rash utterances of leading men in these societies have been justly criticised. But it is hard to know how far these publications have large acceptance and importance, and how far the mass of any society sympathise with the utterances of individuals. It is, perhaps, better to examine certain "ritualistic" usages, more or less widely adopted, which are not matters of mere ceremonial, but involve important principles. These are, indeed, far more important than any utterances of opinion, however authoritative, which commit only the utterer; for ritual professes to express the mind of the Church, and involves the participation of the whole congregation. It would be impossible within the limits of an article to examine these usages on their own merits, in relation to Scriptural truth and primitive Church order. It will be sufficient to consider how far they indicate this dissatisfaction with the Anglican position as it has been understood for the last three centuries.

5. *The Rights of the Laity.*

In this light the most general and significant is that tendency of which I have spoken, to depart from the Prayer-Book, which most distinctively expresses the Anglican position, by

unauthorised alteration, addition, or mutilation. On this tendency public attention has been recently fixed, and the great body of Churchmen, after long toleration of these variations—through reluctance to enter upon ecclesiastical disputes, respect in many cases for the zeal and earnestness of those who have introduced them, and, perhaps, a hope that they would wear themselves out—are prepared to demand as their right two all-important things. First, in regard to the Prayer-book itself, the maintenance of its services, with, no doubt, some large freedom and variety of ritual, but without alteration, addition, or omission; without neglect or depreciation, or practical supersession of any of these services; without anything which can make them inaudible or unintelligible to the people. Next, the prohibition of any other services in the church, which are not in accordance with the Prayer-Book, and have not been sanctioned by the lawful authority of the Ordinary. Considering that we clergy have solemnly undertaken that in public ministration we will "use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority," there ought, it appears to many of us, to have been no question whatever on this subject, no infringement of so plain and solemn an obligation. But that there has been such infringement, actual or virtual, we have been of late forced to know. Against it not only has the all but unanimous public opinion of the Church pronounced, but the episcopal authority, rightly invoked to deal with the matter, seems to be generally ready to use all its power, legal or moral, to prevent any tampering with the letter or spirit of a book, which is simply invaluable as our standard of doctrine and devotion and as the bond of unity which keeps us all together. . . .

6. *Loyalty to the Prayer-Book.*

The question on which Churchmen have to make up their minds is this,—whether in the nineteenth century there is to be a modification of the Anglican position taken up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as expressed in the Prayer-Book. No one, of course, assumes that the utterances of those centuries are to be regarded as infallible, or that the Prayer-Book is absolutely perfect. But it will be clear to all thinking men that, if there is to be modification, it must be by the authority of the Church as a whole, and not of the clergy alone, still less at the will of individual clergy and their congregations, supported, it may be,

by irresponsible voluntary associations. For my own part, I believe that the great body of Churchmen, while they may wish for some greater elasticity of system and some practical developments, have no desire to modify that position in any essential point. Accordingly, I cannot doubt that they will conclude that, as in other critical times, so in the present risk of internal conflict, disorder, and possible disruption, their wisdom is to rally to the Prayer-Book—appealing as it does in every page to the supreme authority of Holy Scripture—as the best available standard of Christian truth and Church order, and the best security for peace and unity. There ought to be in this no distinction of party; but perhaps most of all the appeal should come home to the adherents of the great Church movement, which made this loyalty to the Prayer-book its guiding principle.

7. *Episcopal authority, and the law of our Church must be maintained.*

My anxiety is that distinction should be made between Ritualistic usages which are purely ceremonial and those which have a plain religious significance, and so the attention of Churchmen concentrated on the really crucial points of the present controversy. It will, I think, be seen that the question is one of some complexity; that any action in relation to it involves the dealing with matters in which men are very deeply and earnestly interested; that such action, if hasty, intolerant, and inconsiderate, may seriously impair the energy and break the unity of the Church; that, on the other hand, the policy of inaction has already gone on too long, and is now morally impossible. There is always (as a cool and somewhat cynical statesman remarked) a serious danger in listening to the cry that "something must be done" without knowing what that something should

be. But it would be an error at least equally grave to ignore the seriousness of the points at issue, and to allow things to drift on towards revolution and catastrophe—the serious catastrophe of Disestablishment, the worse catastrophe of Disruption. On the Bishops rests, by common consent, the main responsibility of action, and never, perhaps, was a heavier responsibility laid upon them. They have surely done wisely and rightly, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the first instance, to maintain the comprehensiveness of the Church, to attempt conciliation, and to appeal to loyalty.* With many—I believe and hope with very many—the appeal will not be made in vain. But what shall be done where it is disregarded? It is under our present circumstances all but impossible, under any circumstances it would be undesirable, to trust mainly to the rough and ready action of law. But for that very reason there must be no hesitation in bringing to bear the moral force of authority, firmly and temperately used, and backed by a public opinion which is able to judge and discriminate. How to form and elicit that public opinion, and how to induce the great central body of Churchmen, which is, I am convinced, thoroughly loyal to our Anglican principles, to express itself against the noisy and self-confident utterances of partisans on either hand—this is, after all, the great problem. Any one who can contribute, however slightly, towards its solution will do good service in very critical times.

*I cannot but wish that it had been found possible to put forth to the Church some collective expression of authoritative opinion from the great body, if not the whole, of the Episcopate. On this question, at any rate, some substantial agreement must exist, and might be expressed with great advantage to the Church.

"LIBERTY AND LAW."

"No one can take up a newspaper without being confronted with the fact that the laity of England are alarmed by seeing that there are some of the clergy who are bent on restoring the Mass and the distinctively Roman doctrines which this country rejected at the Reformation. . . . It could not be denied that there were some Churches in the country where the Romish Mass, which our Reformers died to resist, was sought to be restored, and he must ask,—Can the Bishop's authority stand still while the affections of the people are being

alienated by practices intended to undo all the benefits which the Reformation had conferred upon this country? We hear, it is true, a plea for liberty in the Church; and such a plea must not be treated lightly. Liberty we must not lose, *but it must be liberty within the limits of the law.* If the Bishop is called upon by a proper authority, it is evident that he must act, and it may be that he may find it necessary to act of his own accord."

Address by the late ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (the most Rev. A. C. Tait,) to the Archdeacons and Rural Deans. Oct. 4, 1871.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART III.—(*Second Division.*)

THE UNITED TESTIMONY OF THE ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND AMERICAN EPISCOPATE AGAINST THE ROMeward TEACHING OF A "COUNTER-REFORMATION" PARTY OF MODERN GROWTH IN THE CHURCH.

"Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer Thy holy Sacraments."—
(*Holy Communion Service.*)

1. ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY, 1851.

WE, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, do most earnestly and affectionately commend the following Address to the serious consideration of the Clergy of our respective Dioceses:—

Beloved Brethren,—We have viewed with the deepest anxiety the troubles, suspicions, and discontents which have of late, in some parishes, accompanied the introduction of ritual observances exceeding those in common use amongst us.

We long indulged the hope that, under the influence of charity, forbearance, and a calm estimate of the small importance of such external forms, compared with the blessing of united action in the great spiritual work which is before our Church, these heats and jealousies might by mutual concessions be allayed. But since the evil still exists, and in one most important feature has assumed a new and more dangerous character, we feel that it is our duty to try whether an earnest and united address on our part, may tend, under the blessing of God, to promote the restoration of peace and harmony in the Church.

The principal point in dispute is this—whether, where the letter of the Rubric seems to warrant a measure of ritual observance, which yet, by long and possibly by unbroken practice, has not been carried out, the Clergy are either in conscience required, or absolutely at liberty, to act each upon his own view of the letter of the precept

rather than by the rule of common practice. Now, as to this question, we would urge upon you the following considerations:—First, that any change of usages with which the religious feelings of a congregation have become associated is, in itself, so likely to do harm that it is not to be introduced without the greatest caution; secondly, that beyond this, any change which makes it difficult for the congregation at large to join in the service is still more to be avoided; thirdly, that any change which suggests the fear of still further alterations is most injurious; and, fourthly, that, according to the rule laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, where anything is doubted or diversely taken "concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in that book, the parties that so doubt, or diversely take anything, shall always resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in that book."

The fair application of these principles would, we believe, solve most of the difficulties which have arisen. It would prevent all sudden and startling alterations, and it would facilitate the reception of any change which was really lawful and desirable. We would, therefore, first urge upon our Reverend Brethren, with affectionate earnestness, the adoption of such a rule of conduct. We would beseech all who, whether by excess or defect, have broken in upon the uniformity and contributed to re-

lax the authority of our ritual observances, to consider the importance of unity and order, and by common consent to avoid whatever might tend to violate them. In recommending this course as the best under present circumstances, we do not shut our eyes to the evil of even the appearance of any discrepancy existing between the written law and the practice of the Church. But there are many cases where the law may be variously interpreted; and we believe that we are best carrying out her own principles in urging you to have recourse in all such cases to the advice of her chief pastors.

But beyond mere attempts to restore an unusual strictness of ritual observance, we have to deal with a distinct and serious evil. A principle has of late been avowed and acted on, which, if admitted, would justify far greater and more uncertain changes. It is this—that as the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church settled in this land before the Reformation, and was then reformed only by the casting away of certain strictly defined corruptions; therefore, whatever form or usage existed in the Church before its reformation may now be freely introduced and observed unless there can be alleged against it the distinct letter of some formal prohibition.

Now, against any such inference from the undoubted identity of the Church before and after the Reformation we feel bound to enter our clear and unhesitating protest. We believe that at the Reformation the English Church not only rejected certain corruptions, but also without in any degree severing her connexion with the ancient Catholic Church, intended to establish one uniform ritual, according to which her public services should be conducted. But it is manifest that a licence such as is contended for is wholly incompatible with any uniformity of worship whatsoever, and at variance with the universal practice of the Catholic Church, which has never given to the officiating ministers of separate congregations any such large discretion in the selection of ritual observances.

We, therefore, beseech any who may have proposed to themselves the restoration of what, under sanction of this principle, they deemed a lawful system, to consider the dangers which it involves; to see it in its true light, and to take a more just and sober view of the real position of our Church; whilst with equal earnestness we beseech others, who, either by intentional omission

or neglect and laxity, may have disturbed the uniformity and weakened the authority of our prescribed ritual, to strengthen the side of order by avoiding all unnecessary deviations from the Church's rule.

Such harmony of action we are persuaded would, under God's blessing, go far towards restoring the peace of the Church. This happy result would more clearly exhibit her spiritual character. The mutual relations of her various members would be more distinctly perceived, and our Lay brethren would more readily acknowledge the special trust committed to us as stewards of the mysteries of God "for the edifying of the body of Christ." They would join with us in asserting, and, if need be, defending for themselves, as much as for us, the true spiritual freedom of the Church. They would unite with us in a more trustful spirit, and therefore with a more ready will, in enlarging her means and strengthening her powers for the great work she has to do amongst the swarming multitudes of great towns at home and of our vast dominions abroad; and that Church, which has so long received from the hands of God such unqualified blessing, might continue to be, yea, and become more and more, "a praise in the earth."

J. B. CANTUAR.	G. PETERBOROUGH.
T. EBOR.	C. ST. DAVID'S.
C. J. LONDON.	H. WORCESTER.
E. DUNELM.	A. T. CICESTER.
C. R. WINTON.	J. LICHFIELD.
J. LINCOLN.	T. ELY.
C. BANGOR.	S. OXON.
H. CARLISLE.	T. V. ST. ASAPH.
G. ROCHESTER.	J. CHESTER.
J. H. GLOUCESTER	S. NORWICH.
AND BRISTOL.	A. LLANDAFF.
C. T. RIPON.	AUCKLAND, SODOR
E. SARUM.	AND MAN.

Signed (with two exceptions) by all the Bishops of the then founded Dioceses in England.

* * If this paternal admonition and remonstrance from the united Bishops of both Provinces to the Clergy, at the beginning of the last half-century—and again renewed—had been loyally followed throughout the Church in the years that have since passed,—how it would have secured confidence and peace between Clergy and Laity, and allayed that mistrust, and those embittered contentions, arising from the bold defiance of lawful authority, which have impeded that great work of the Church of England, at home and abroad, which God has given her to do;—and if not soon arrested, threatens her with disruption!—Ed.

2. TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY.

A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and York.

Lambeth Palace, March 1st, 1875.

"We, the undersigned archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, under a deep sense of the duty that rests upon us of endeavouring to guide those committed to our pastoral charge, desire to address some words of counsel and exhortation to the clergy and laity of our dioceses in the grave circumstances of the present time.

"We acknowledge, humbly and thankfully, the mercies vouchsafed by Almighty God to the Church of England. By His blessing on the labours of the clergy and laity our Church has of late been enabled in a marvellous manner to promote His glory and to advance His kingdom, both at home and abroad. If we judge by external signs—the churches built, restored, and endowed during the last forty years; the new parishes formed in that time, especially in our great towns and cities; the vast sums of money voluntarily contributed for the promotion of religious education; the extension of the Church in the colonies and in foreign countries, including the foundation of more than fifty new sees: the great increase in the number of persons of all classes who by prayers and labour assist in the work of converting souls to Christ—all bear witness to the zeal and earnestness of the clergy and laity of the English Church, an earnestness and zeal which we rejoice to know is by no means confined to any section or party. We may humbly trust that the inward work of the Holy Spirit of God in the hearts of men, a work which He alone can measure, has been great in proportion to these outward efforts.

"While, however, we thankfully recognize these abundant mercies and blessings, we cannot but acknowledge with sorrow that serious evils disturb the peace of the Church and hinder its work.

"One of these evils is the interruption of the sympathy and mutual confidence which ought to exist between the clergy and laity. Changes in the mode of performing Divine service, in themselves sometimes of small importance, introduced without authority and often without due regard to the feelings of parishioners, have excited apprehensions

that greater changes are to follow; distrust has been engendered, and the edification which ought to result from united worship has been impeded. The suspicions thus aroused, often, no doubt unreasonable, have in some cases produced serious alienation.

"The refusal to obey legitimate authority is another evil in the Church at the present time. Not only has it frequently occurred that clergymen fail to render to episcopal authority that submission which is involved in the idea of episcopacy, but obedience has been avowedly refused to the highest judicial interpretations of the law of this Church and realm. Even the authority which our Church claims, as inherent in every particular or national Church, to ordain and change rites and ceremonies, has been questioned and denied.

"We also observe with increasing anxiety and alarm, the dissemination of doctrines, and encouragement of practices repugnant to the teaching of Holy Scripture and to the principles of the Church, as derived from apostolic times and as authoritatively set forth at the Reformation. More especially we call serious attention to the multiplication and the assiduous circulation among the young and susceptible of manuals of doctrine and private devotion, of which it is not too much to say that many of the doctrines and practices they inculcate are wholly incompatible with the teaching and principles of our Reformed Church.

"Further, we feel it our duty to call attention to the growing tendency to associate doctrinal significance with rites and ceremonies which do not necessarily involve it. For example, the position to be occupied by the minister during the Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion, though it has varied in different ages and different countries, and has never been formally declared by the Church to have any doctrinal significance, is now regarded by many persons of very opposite opinions as a symbol of distinctive doctrine, and, as such, has become the subject of embittered controversy.

"We would seriously remind our brethren of the clergy of the solemn obligation that binds us all to be ready to yield a willing obedience to the law of the Church of England of which we are ordained ministers, and to recognize the necessity of submitting our own interpretations of any points in that law which may be considered doubtful to the judicial decisions of lawfully constituted

courts. We, the clergy, are bound by every consideration to obey the law when thus clearly interpreted; and to decline to obey, when called upon by lawful authority, is to set an example that cannot fail to be most injurious in its influence and effects. We are convinced that the number of those who would refuse such reasonable obedience is small, and that the vast majority of the clergy and laity of the Church of England are thoroughly loyal to its doctrine and discipline. We fully recognize the difference between unity and an overstrained uniformity, and are well aware that our Church is rightly tolerant of diversity, within certain limits, both in opinions and practices. We would not narrow in the least this wise comprehensiveness; but liberty must not degenerate into licence and self-will; as fundamental truths must not be explained away, so neither must those clear lines be obliterated which separate the doctrines and practices of our Reformed Church from the novelties and corruptions of the Church of Rome.

"We live in an age which prides itself on freedom of thought and emancipation from the control of authority. In every portion of Christendom men are more disposed than ever to run into extremes of opinion and practice. While, on the one hand, fundamental truths are increasingly neglected or denied, vain attempts, on the other, are made in many quarters to meet this infidelity by the revival of superstition.

"Under these grave circumstances, we solemnly charge you all, brethren beloved in the Lord, to cultivate a spirit of charity and mutual forbearance, laying aside dissension and disputes which must issue not in the victory of one party over another, but in the triumph of the enemies of the Church, and, indeed, of those who are enemies to the faith of Christ. We exhort the clergy not to disquiet their congregations by novel practices

and unauthorized ceremonies, and to discountenance those who seek to introduce them. We entreat the laity not to give way to suspicions in regard of honest efforts to promote the more reverent worship of Almighty God in loyal conformity to the rules of the Book of Common Prayer. Surely this is not a time for estrangement, but rather for drawing closer the bonds between the clergy and their parishioners, when vice, ignorance, infidelity, and intemperance are calling for united prayer and united effort on the part of all who hold the faith of Christ crucified and love and serve Him as their common Lord.

"Let us all, then, both clergy and laity, be faithful to the doctrine and discipline of our Church, founded as they are on Holy Scripture, and in accordance with the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church. We entreat all whom our words may reach to strive together with us in prayer to Almighty God, that as there is but one body, and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

"A. C. CANTUAR.	"J. HEREFORD.
W. EBOR.	W. C. PETERBOROUGH.
J. LONDON.	C. LINCOLN.
E. H. WINTON.	ARTHUR C. BATH AND
A. LLANDAFF.	WELLS.
R. RIPON.	F. EXON.
JOHN T. NORWICH.	HARVEY CARLISLE.
J. C. BANGOR.	J. F. OXON.
H. WORCESTER.	J. MANCHESTER.
C. J. GLOUCESTER.	R. CICESTER.
AND BRISTOL.	J. ST. ASAPH.
WILLIAM CHESTER.	J. R. ELY.
T. L. ROFFEN.	W. BASIL ST. DAVIDS.
G. A. LICHFIELD.	H. SODOR AND MAN."

RESOLUTION OF UPPER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.—Feb. 13th & 14th, 1867.

"RESOLVED.—That having taken into consideration the report made to this House by the Lower House concerning Ritual observances, we have concluded that, having regard to the dangers (1) of favouring errors deliberately rejected by the Church of England, and fostering a tendency to desert her communion; (2) of offending even in things indifferent devout worshippers in our

Churches, who have been long used to other modes of service, and thus estranging many of the faithful Laity; (3) of unnecessarily departing from uniformity; (4) of increasing

¹ The Bishop of Salisbury published a separate letter, explaining the reason of his not having signed the above letter, while concurring in the general purport of it; and the Bishop of Durham refrained from subscribing it, as he considered it treated too leniently the errors of the Ritualists.

the difficulties which prevent the return of separatists to our communion; we convey to the Lower House our unanimous decision that, having respect to the considerations here recorded, and to the Rubric concerning the service of the Church in our Book of Common Prayer, to wit:

“Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same, to appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties that so doubt or diversely take anything, shall always resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this book; and if the Bishop of the diocese be in doubt, then

he may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop.”

“Our judgment is, that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual Ritual ought to be made in our churches until the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto.”

RESOLUTION OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCAION.—Feb. 15th, 1867.

“That this House, having respect to the Ritual observances treated of in the Report presented to this House on June 16th, 1866, do concur in the judgment of the Upper House, viz, ‘That no alterations from long sanctioned and usual Ritual ought to be made in our churches until the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto.’”

RESOLUTION OF THE CONVOCAION OF THE PROVINCE OF YORK.— March 20th, 1867.

“In full Synod,—Resolved,—That whereas certain vestments and Ritual observances have recently been introduced into the Services of the Church of England; this House desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that these innovations are to be deprecated, as tending to favour errors rejected by that Church, and as being repugnant to the feelings of a large number both

of the Laity and Clergy. And this House is further of the opinion that it is desirable that the Minister in public prayer and the administration of the Sacraments and other rites of the Church, should continue to use the surplice, academical hood, or tippet for non-graduates, and the scarf or stole, these having received the sanction of long-continued usage.”

THE PASTORAL LETTER OF THE SYNOD OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.—1858.

[The following Pastoral Letter of our Sister Church in Scotland, in condemnation of the teaching of one of their Brethren, is a document of grave importance, though many years have passed since it was issued. Although it is doubtless now little known to many members of our Church,—the unanimous decision pronounced by the Spiritual Rulers of the Scotch Church against the erroneous Sacramental views maintained by the late Bishop of Brechin, have a special value for us at this time, as condemnatory of the same erroneous teaching now prevalent in a section of our own Church, and causing so much distress and contention.]

THE PASTORAL LETTER OF THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS.

“To all faithful members of the Church in Scotland, the Bishops, in Synod assembled, send greeting:

“Brethren beloved in the Lord,—It must be only too well known to you all that a charge delivered to his clergy in the month of August last year, by our Right Rev. Brother the Bishop of Brechin, and afterwards published by him, has called forth much opposition, and given rise in an unusual degree to anxiety and alarm. Our notice was drawn to the publication by two of our body at our ordinary Synod in September last; and again when we met for special purposes in December the same subject was brought before us more formally. Unfortunately we were not all then present; and such being the case, and there being a difference of opinion amongst us as to the course which it would be most expedient to pursue in so grave a matter, it was ultimately resolved to postpone the determination of it till our next ordinary Synod. At the same time it is right you should be informed that there was but one feeling and one opinion expressed by those who were pre-

sent, as there is now but one opinion expressed by us all (except the Bishop of Brechin), in regard to the publication itself. We unanimously regret that such a charge should have been delivered and put forth by one of our body. We regret it on other accounts, and because it forces upon us the painful duty of making known that we do not concur with our right. rev. brother in the views he has expressed on so material a point as the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. We think those views, in the extent in which he has defined and urged them, unsound, erroneous, and calculated to lead, if not resolutely opposed, to still graver error. The case may not amount to a direct call for a formal presentment of the Bishop, as liable to judicial penalties; and no such formal presentment has been lodged before us. But the publication of such views in a document for the guidance of clergy, and still more, the republication of the Charge 'in its integrity,' notwithstanding the grave remonstrances with which it had been met, and the scandal which it had raised—this, attended by the avowed confidence of the author in the eventual 'triumph of his teaching,' (Preface, p. 6,) leaves us, we feel, no alternative but to declare our own dissent, and to caution you against being led astray either by the teaching itself, or by the undue confidence with which it is maintained.

"At the same time, however, let it be clearly understood that we cordially concur with our brother in his desire to protect the most holy ordinance of our religion from all irreverence, and to impress upon the hearts of all men a deep, faithful, thankful conviction of its unspeakable blessedness. It is not on account of any variance between us as to the importance of these duties, but for the attempt which he has made to rest them upon a false foundation, that we feel we have cause to differ from him. We cannot forget that the aversion to the doctrine of sacramental grace, and even its entire rejection, unhappily prevalent in many quarters since the time of the Reformation, is to be regarded as the natural reaction from excesses with which the primitive teaching had been overlaid; and we have learnt abundantly, both from history and experience, that the violence of such reaction, instead of gradually diminishing, is liable to be renewed and aggravated, whenever it is attempted to restore those excesses. This, we believe, is the fundamental

error into which our brother has fallen. Anxious to assert and uphold the grace, the dignity, and efficacy of the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he has adopted a line of argument which, as it exceeds the truth of God's Holy Word, so it is calculated, we are sure, by no slow or uncertain process, to defeat that very end. He has pleaded for what has recently been called 'the Real Objective Presence,' in such a manner that the inferences he draws from it, however doctrinally unsound, become, as he represents, logically inevitable; that is supreme adoration becomes due to Christ as mysteriously present in the gifts (p. 27), or, as it is expressed elsewhere, 'to Christ in the gifts' (pp. 28, 33); and the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the altar 'become substantially one,' and 'in some transcendental sense identical' (p. 42).

"Convinced, as we are, that neither of these conclusions is to be found in Holy Scripture, or has been deduced therefrom by the Church; and persuaded that the teaching of them has given rise to corruptions and superstitions, from which we have been set free through the blessing of God vouchsafed to the wisdom and courage of our forefathers; we feel it our duty to resist the attempt which has been made to press these conclusions upon your acceptance, and we earnestly entreat you not to suffer yourselves to be disturbed and misguided by it. After due consideration we do not hesitate to say that the reasoning by which they are maintained is, in our opinion, fallacious; and that the testimony of authorities produced in their support, when fully and carefully examined, will generally be found not to justify the use to which it has been applied.

"More particularly we feel called on, at this season of trial, to exhort you our dear brethren of the clergy, that you be not moved under the excitement that prevails around us, so as either to exceed or fall short in your teaching of the truth with respect to the doctrine of the blessed Sacrament which has thus unhappily been brought into controversy.

"1. Instructed by Scripture and the formularies of the Church, you will continue to teach that the consecrated elements of bread and wine become, in a mystery, the Body and Blood of Christ; for purposes of grace to all who receive them worthily, and for condemnation to those the same unworthily. But you will not, we trust, attempt to define more nearly

the mode of this mysterious presence. You will remember that as our Church has repudiated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, so she has given us no authority whereby we can require it to be believed that the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, still less His entire person as God and man, now glorified in the heavens, is made to exist with, in, or under, the material substances of bread and wine.

"2. You will continue to teach that this sacrifice of the altar is to be regarded no otherwise than as the means whereby we represent, commemorate, and plead, with praise and thanksgiving before God, the unspeakable merits of the precious death of Christ; and whereby He communicates and applies to our souls all the benefits of that one, full and all-sufficient sacrifice once made upon the cross.

"3. You will continue to teach that the consecrated elements, being the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, are to be received with lowly veneration and devout thankfulness. And inasmuch as doubts have been raised with regard to the true interpretation of the rubric affixed to the Communion Office in the Book of Common Prayer, we desire to remind you of a canon which was passed by the Convocations of both provinces of the object of the Church of England in 1640, and which we are satisfied to accept meanwhile for our guidance in determining the sense of the aforesaid rubric, the matter not having been ruled by a general synod of our own Church. According to that canon it was resolved that gestures of adoration, in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, are to be performed 'not upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the Body of Jesus Christ on the holy Table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's Majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due to Him, and no otherwise.'

"These words of fatherly guidance and admonition, in a time of trouble and offence, we claim to offer to you all by a right essentially inherent in a provincial episcopate; a right which was constantly exercised by the bishops of the primitive Church. Whenever, in the exercise of this right—or rather in the performance of this duty—they had occasion to animadvert upon the teaching of one

of their own body, doubtless they would feel their position of responsibility doubly difficult and painful. And the same, most assuredly, has been felt by us. We would gladly, most gladly, have avoided the course now taken if we could have done so consistently with the solemn obligations under which we lie towards you all, and not least towards our brother himself.

"The reluctance we have shewn to adopt any synodal action in this case, and the calls we have made upon our brother, both privately and in Synod, and the opportunities we have given him to re-consider what he has written, are a proof of this. But tracing, as we plainly do, in the teaching of this Charge, a tendency to undermine the great foundations upon which our formularies rest, and to weaken our sense of gratitude and respect towards the holy men from whom we have derived them in their present state; and seeing also on his part an apparent determination not to surrender the position he has taken up; we have felt ourselves constrained to deal with the matter as we have now done. For this purpose we have assembled in special Synod, which a due regard to the peace and security of the Church appeared to us to require. We earnestly entreat you to join with us in prayer that the issue of our anxious and solemn deliberations may be blessed to the restoration of mutual confidence and harmony, and to the avoiding of all causes of dissension and offence for the time to come.

"Grace be with you, brethren, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"C. H. TERROT, Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus.

"ALEXANDER EWING, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

"W. J. TROWER, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.

"ROBERT EDEN, Bishop of Moray and Ross.

"CHARLES WORDSWORTH, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

"THOMAS GEORGE SUTHER, Bishop of Aberdeen.

Edinburgh, May 27, 1858.

THE PASTORAL LETTER OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS OF THE
AMERICAN CHURCH.—GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1895.

"Beloved brethren, we, your Bishops, have recently addressed to you, and do now reaffirm, a Pastoral Letter, dealing chiefly with two of the great fundamental verities of the Christian faith: the dwelling among us of the Word made flesh, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary,' and the inspiration of the written Word of God, in which 'the Holy Ghost speaks by the prophets'; two truths which underlie Christianity, and without which God has not been fully revealed to man.

"We are left free, therefore, with no fear of seeming to disregard the incomparable value of 'the faith once for all delivered to the saints,' to speak to you now about the expression of that faith, in certain details of the public worship of the Church. Let us remember that it is of the essence of all acceptable worship (for God will only be worshipped 'in spirit and in truth'), that it should rightly express the Catholic faith. While it is true, in reason and in fact, that the faith loses its hold upon the conscience if it be framed only in theological formularies, it is true also that false doctrine finds no readier medium for conveying its poison to the mind, than in unsound or unregulated forms of service. The hymn, *Te Deum*, and the constantly recited creeds, the recurring cycle of the festivals of the Christian year, the Trinity in the Litany, the Incarnation on Christmas Day, the Resurrection at Easter, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit on Whitsun-Day, the intercession of the great High Priest in the ending of every prayer—these have kept bright and clear the faith, when decrees of councils and elaborate catechisms would have been forgotten. The Book of Common Prayer is the guide to a true worship, because, in every page and part of it, it is the guardian of the true faith.

"It is on this ground that we base our plea to the clergy and congregations entrusted to our care to stand loyally by and contend earnestly for pure doctrine, by submitting their public teaching and their public conduct of divine service to the spirit and the letter of the Prayer Book.

"Nor are we contending for any narrow use or interpretation of the book. Neither of the two theories is true, in any sweeping

sense, that 'omission is prohibition,' or 'that failure to forbid means freedom to introduce.' On the one hand, the Prayer Book is not, and is not intended to be, a minute and detailed directory, entering accurately into the minutiae of every separate act. It was not compiled by a 'congregation of rites,' but it breathes the devotion of God's worshippers in all the centuries since He first revealed Himself to man. It is very easy to point out, here and there, deficiencies of direction as to vestments or postures. It is easier still to make too much of them, as excuses for individualism. On the other hand, the drift and intention of the Liturgy are unmistakably positive and plain. And to the loyal Churchman, the instinct will be to fill up what may seem to be lacking in clearness or distinctness, with only such ritual as may be in entire accord with the spirit of the Prayer Book; and to regard himself as clearly forbidden to introduce any act or service or word which violates its intention and purpose.

"Before passing to any specification of warning or counsel, which the present condition of the Church seems to us to demand, there are two other principles which need to be plainly stated. Ours is a book of Common Prayer. It is intended to serve, first of all, the purpose of expressing the united devotions of a congregation of people. Congregations will be everywhere made up of varying temperaments and mixed characters; and it is unseemly and unbecoming, in the sanctuary or in the pews, to allow the excrescences of individual practice to thrust themselves into too great prominence. St. Paul's warning to the Corinthian Christians, about the use of their extraordinary gifts in the public congregation, is not without application here. At the same time, it is not to be denied that the greater rule of charity ought to forbid either the harsh criticism of personal practices, or the attempt to compel a dead level of absolute uniformity, where allowances should be made for really allowable differences of feeling and its expression. But postures and acts of reverence, perfectly natural to an individual, and perfectly proper in his private devotions, become improper and unnatural, if they are forced upon the attention of others to whom they are not



only distasteful but distracting. Self-effacement and the promotion of reverence in the congregation should be the governing motives of the men who are set to lead the public worship of the Church; and the courtesy of mutual consideration ought to rule the worshippers themselves. It can hardly be necessary to dwell at any length upon two other practical considerations. First, the larger danger lies in exaggerating the importance of minor accessories. Valuable as they may be within the laws and limitations of the Church, they are not worth contending for, as though they were articles of the Christian faith. The man who puts into his creed questions of ceremony is guilty of the sin of disproportion. It is far better to teach the truth persuasively than to force it by practices which antagonise and annoy. And, secondly, it must be plain to any intelligent and earnest priest, that in villages and towns where there is but one congregation to which all members of this Church must go, he is far less free to press things, which, though lawful, may not be expedient, than if the people had a choice of going to other places of worship, where the ritual would be more helpful to their devotion.

"Our attention is naturally directed first to the service of the Holy Communion. We rejoice to witness a growing appreciation of the privilege of the weekly Eucharist; but we regret that we are somehow in danger of falling into the error of disparaging all other worship, by the intense feeling of reverence for this sacrament and by the increasing frequency of its celebration. The two great sacraments stand upon the same high level of tremendous dignity, not only as instituted by Christ Himself, but as 'generally necessary to salvation.' Names are of consequence, because they become symbols and descriptions of things. The Church, undoubtedly, not denying grace and an outward sign to confirmation and ordination, for instance, nor implying that they were not instituted by Christ Himself, by the use of the qualifying words, 'generally necessary to salvation,' shows that the two, which are 'generally necessary to salvation,' are the two which she is content to call sacraments. Of the other words, which are sometimes used—'the sacrament of penance,' while the Church knows only the gracious power of absolution; 'the mass,' which would be as harmless as it is unmeaning,

were it not for its indication of a desire to import the language of another communion—it is enough to say that they involve the surrender of the manly independence of a Church rooted in the primitive soil of Christianity, to a Church which has no claim upon the allegiance of the English-speaking race.

"But we are far more concerned with the misusing of the sacrament of the Holy Communion than with its misnaming; and this lies in three directions: the virtual introduction of what are called 'solitary masses'; the advocacy and adoption (in few instances, it is true) of an unauthorized Office of Holy Communion adapted to this theory; and the reservation of the consecrated elements, as objects toward which a special adoration is to be addressed.

"The practice of celebrations at which the worshippers, to say the least, are discouraged from receiving the Sacrament, grows out of two theories: first, the magnifying of the element of offering, which is half, and the first half, of the object of the institution; and, secondly, the overweening importance attached to the practice of fasting communions.

"The Holy Communion is the great act of offering, the Christian sacrifice, 'the unbloody sacrifice.' But the teaching of the Holy Scriptures makes inseparable the union of the two appointed acts of the institution: 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come'; and we have no right to separate that which God hath joined together. There is no need, in the reaction from the thought of a mere empty reminder of an absent person and a past event, or from the thought only of the personal benefit of eating and drinking nourishment for the soul, to pass to an unscriptural division of the Sacrament by separating the offering and the receiving, the Eucharist and the Communion.

"The very title which this Church has chosen, with the authoritative expression of command, 'The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion,' corrects and condemns this error. The whole construction of the office so takes for granted the reception, so intertwines the thought of celebrating and making the memorial which Christ hath commanded us to make, with receiving the consecrated elements 'according to His holy institution,' that they cannot be separated without violating the whole teaching and purpose of

the institution of our Lord. Indeed, it is plainly the consciousness of this fact which has led to the second wrong. Instead of recognizing the fact that a theory which makes inconsistent and impossible the use of the Church's required service is untenable, some have presumed to compile an office which, by omission and adaptation, shall bring the Church's teaching into conformity with their views. But clearly this is not 'ministering the sacraments as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same.'

"So far as the motive of this discouragement of communicants is the urging of people to receive fasting, we, your Bishops, desire to speak with due consideration of an ancient and prevalent custom in the Church. But the claim that it is a *requirement* of the Church is unwarranted and indefensible. Reverent in its intention with the guarantee of long usage, and with the commendation of very saintly men, it is not to be elevated to the dignity of an ecclesiastical *command*. It has, of course, no warrant in the words or in the circumstances of the institution of the Sacrament. And there is no statement in the Prayer-Book as to the requirements for the right reception of the Holy Communion, which includes it or implies it. And, therefore, no minister of this Church is justified in doing more than to commend it, where it may be safely used, to 'such as can receive it.' Between the alternatives of infrequent communion and fasting communion, there ought to be no question as to that choice which conforms most literally to our Lord's language and design. And we cannot but feel that the stress and urgency ought to be directed, first, to bring people to receive the Holy Communion; and, secondly, to bring them with those three spiritual qualifications of *repentance, faith, and charity*, without which no man can worthily receive the Holy Eucharist.

"We cannot leave the question of unauthorized methods of celebrating the Holy Communion, without rebuking the lawlessness which omits any part, or parts, of the appointed office of the Holy Communion, other than those allowed by the rubrics in that office to be so omitted. This unseemly practice destroys the whole value and object of a Book of Common Prayer, and is in every instance to be condemned.

"The practice of reserving the Sacrament

is not sanctioned by the law of this Church, though the Ordinary may, in cases of extreme necessity, authorize the reserved Sacrament to be carried to the sick. We are deeply pained to know that any among us adopt a use of the reserved elements such as the article condemns as 'not ordained of Christ.' Whatever theological motive or metaphysical meaning may be assigned to the rubric in the Communion Office, whatever historical colouring may be given to it, as a study of liturgies, no ingenuity of evasion can turn the plain 'shall not be carried out of the church,' 'shall reverently eat and drink the same,' into an authorization of the use of the remaining elements for a service of benediction or for purposes of adoration. Most earnestly do we appeal to the clergy to consider the wrong of such disobedience alike to the letter and the spirit of our ecclesiastical law.

"We are pleading for loyalty to the Church; but there are deeper reasons and higher motives even than this. It must never be forgotten that our only relation to the Catholic Church is through our communion with the National Church whose ministers we are, and through our inheritance from the reformed Church of England. And this Church stands to-day claiming to be in America, in doctrine, discipline, and worship, the fullest and fairest representative of the Church of the Holy Scriptures, of the Apostles, and of the first centuries. She believes that she has to offer to those who have retained primitive order, the faith and the worship of the primitive Church. She believes that she has to offer to those who have kept the faith, at least pure from Tridentine and later Roman traditions, the primitive order and a form of worship in which the old faith is and can be preserved unaltered. And she has offered, in most definite and official terms, the principles which express her desire and her plea for a united Christendom. But this broken front, these divided teachings, these diverse customs among ourselves, distract the minds of those who, from outside, are looking for an accordant presentation of the faith. There can be no question that the wide divergencies of ritual and service—far exceeding the broad limits of the Church's toleration—are scandals, 'stumbling-blocks,' to those whose feet tend towards the old paths, in which they long to stand fast and find rest for their souls. On the other hand, where the longing for

reunion looks toward the Church of Rome, these here-and-there imitations of her corrupted worship, these now-and-then echoes of her modern teachings, either awake her scorn and contempt for the inconsistencies of those who pretend to have escaped them, or else strengthen her in the conviction that, by a bold maintenance of her modern position, she can win their allegiance to her claims.

"We are, indeed, between two perilous tendencies. On the one hand there is a demand for concessions which will make it easy for members of the Christian bodies not in communion with this Church, to enter her ministry, to transfer themselves bodily as congregations, with faint and feeble guards of soundness in their forms of worship. On the other, there is a plea put forth by some to enter into negotiations with the Bishop of Rome with a view to reunion, which is now known to be possible only by absolute submission to his unscriptural and unlawful demands. It is a time of intense religious stir and thought. The very attacks upon the strongholds of our faith in God have not only directed the attention of the whole world to the Holy Scriptures, but have won for them a carefulness of study, a reverence of recognition, and an assured confidence in their authority and authenticity, which vindicates the abiding and unchanging traditional recognition of their inspired authority to which the Church has clung; sometimes with a critical foresight which anticipated the discoveries of modern scholarship, sometimes with an uncritical positiveness which has saved them in the past centuries from neglect and loss. The great and continuous growth of our Church in numbers and in influence, in broadened activities and deepened energies, has brought about a conviction in the popular mind, of her combination of adaptability to changing conditions of life, with fast hold upon the unchanging facts of history and revelation, which to-day puts her in a position of enormous responsibility

to the Christian world, longing for rest and relief from the divisions and distractions of the spirit of sect.

"What is the wise thing for us to do? Surely not to surrender the very essential elements of our attractive strength. Rome, which is willing enough to absorb us, would have no reminder left of the old traditional 'evangelical truth and apostolic order' if we are to dally with her by gradual assimilations to her errors as to the faith. And the disorganized and unorganized Protestantism will find nothing to seek in us if we play fast and loose with the trust that we have received, not for to-day and ourselves, but for the human race in all time.

"The wise thing for us to do now is to hold fast to our position; to be more and more at unity among ourselves; to 'speak the truth in love'; to 'love the truth and peace'; to be patient with differences, while we are positive about distinctive truth; to be conscious rather of our own shortcomings than of the deficiencies of others; to dwell most upon the much there is in common among all 'who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity'; to maintain the points of separation, with the clear conviction that only absolute faithfulness to truth compels their maintenance; to train our people in the 'principles of the doctrine of Christ'; to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free'; to 'pray always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and to watch thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints'; and above all things to 'put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.'

"And now, dear brethren, waiting for the Second Coming of our adorable Saviour, and commending you to God and to the Word of His grace, we pray that He will 'make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.'"

I love the Church,—the holy Church,
The Saviour's spotless Bride;
And Oh, I love her palaces
Through all the land so wide!
The cross-topped spire amid the trees,
The holy bell of prayer;
The Music of our Mother's voice,
Our Mother's Lome is there.

And here—eternal ocean crossed,
And long, long ages past;
In climes beyond the setting sun,
They preach the Lord at last;
And here, Redeemer, are Thy priests
Unbroken in array,
Far from Thine Holy Sepulchre,
And Thine Ascension-day!

From "Christian Ballads,"—Bishop Chever and Coxe.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE.

1. THE COMPARATIVE EFFECT OF THE LINCOLN JUDGMENT, EXPLAINED.
2. CAUTION AGAINST RITUAL CHANGES, AND REGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE LAITY.

"My dear Archdeacons and Rural Deans,—

1.—At the close of our annual gathering last Wednesday, you asked me to assist you in meeting the wishes of the clergy who wrote to you for guidance and advice as to the bearing upon their own services of the judgment which, with five right reverend assessors, I have been called upon to deliver in a recent ritual suit. The request is plainly a reasonable one, and indeed I felt that I scarcely fulfilled my duty to my beloved diocese if I left myself in the distant relation towards it of provincial Judge, without, as your Bishop, writing you a few words of counsel for Christ's and His Church's sake on questions involved. To judge of particulars wisely we must take up one or two general considerations. We cannot learn our latitudes without reference to higher objects.

"I ask the clergy, then, to consider the disproportion between those points of ritual which have been contested, and the grand characteristics in which all agree of our English Eucharistic service—a liturgy Scriptural, primitive, with Communion in both kinds, in the mother tongue, free from superstitious or doubtful devotions, most reverent, yet truly 'Common,'—the humblest people sharing every prayer and every action. Beside this great Catholic and Reformed heritage the diversities are small indeed. And when these diversities and questionings are contrasted with the tremendous burden of duty to Christianity and to mankind which this age, above all ages, binds on the shoulders of our Church, above all Churches; the overwhelming contrast casts a new light on Christ's searching saying, that the world itself has to suffer for the 'stumbling-blocks' among ourselves (St. Matt. xviii. 7).

"I ask all to consider the vital importance of peace, charity, unity. Without these we can make no impression on the world's tasks which are ours to do. Without them we can carry no conviction of Divinity in our Faith. Without them we cannot solve one great problem. Without them in the presence of an enemy ready to pour in at every breach, our highest aims will become unattainable and our position almost indefensible. And peace and charity and unity are being visibly set at naught because we

will not impose this essential on ourselves,—such silence and stillness about differences as make for the peace of families, above all of the household of God.

"I ask the clergy to consider the ruling principle of St. Paul's life and counsel, that all that is lawful is not expedient; that the feeling of the flock of Christ is the substance and evidence of expediency; that they who have insight *γνώσις* enough to know and act safely on the knowledge that things which bordered on even heathen ceremonies (1 Cor. viii.—x.; vi. 12; Rom. xiv.) were not really dangerous but admissible when understood by Christian intelligence, were nevertheless bound by a wisdom higher than knowledge, and a law greater than that of the new freedom of the Church; bound, like himself, to limit choice by expediency; bound to abstain not only from the parade of their convictions, but from the very use of them when surrounded by eyes that would be pained and spirits that would suffer at sight of what seemed their dangerous advance.

"I feel that to say so much as this gives to those who are uneasy the right to ask me if I do not fear that men are in danger of being led to the Church of Rome. I answer, I do not. Considering how much wrong Christianity and this country suffered during the Roman domination, I do not wonder that fears arise. I lament the imperfect acquaintance with the subject, the unworthiness, the injustice to worshippers, with which the dignity and simplicity of the English use may anywhere be spoilt by imitations of past or foreign modes. But I do not think this will lead to Rome. With my predecessor, I believe that while our service is in this mother tongue of ours and is the glory of it, and Scripture makes so large a part of it, and inspires the whole, and is in every home and every hand, and the clergy are citizens and fathers of families, there will be no following for Rome. It has been shown that in all these years she has effected here a multiplication of edifices and institutions, but not of souls; that she makes no statistical progress. No. The ancient Church of England is with us. I do not fear that the new Italian Mission will make anything of our clergy or people. This is a digression I feel bound to make,

"Again I entreat the clergy to reflect that there is no Church in the world in which parish priests or ministers have anything like the same independence, in or out of church, as our parochial clergy have. This means that there is no Church in the world in which so much responsibility for the preservation and good estate of the whole rests on each one of them. We are trusted as Englishmen only trust. Nothing but the sense of honour in many cases forbids our abuse of independence. What delicacy of consideration ought to possess our spirit towards thoughtful, troubled, even over-sensitive, even prejudiced parishioners.

"If there were any whose first impulse would be to give no attention to any judgment or ruling, spiritual or temporal, but their own and their 'organ's,' I should still not despair that one hour's sober communing with themselves and with history would reveal to them what have been always the beginnings of schism and separation; what is the secret of the lost influence and serviceableness of the clergy in some other countries, not Roman only, and what the guiltiness of undermining our own power of good.

"Such strong impressions are, however, made on our minds by extremists on either side that it is easy to forget that these are, after all, few in comparison with the solid central mass of moderate and earnest men whose work is carried on in peace. By them, in happy conjunction with the laity, a universal, unimpeached advance in the devout beauty of public worship has been made in the last half century.

"Looking now to the conclusions of the Court, the accurate limits of those conclusions, and that which emerges from them, I would ask the clergy preliminarily to observe that each conclusion relies on the whole chain of the history of each observance, and on the fact that the English Church is a true, faithful branch of the Church Catholic, enjoying the right of every branch to order its rights and ceremonies, within the limits of Scripture, and of that 'edification whereunto all things done in the Church ought to be referred'; and that our Church asserted in its reformation and made use of this its authority, and specially by the restoration of primitive order and tone in the Holy Communion.

"I would then ask you to observe generally that the conclusions reached are simply

the decision that such or such an act is or is not, expressly or by necessary implication, forbidden by the law of our Church—is or is not, in immediate or ultimate consequence, actually penal by that law as it now stands. It is evident that decisions of this character are far from throwing the weight of the Court's authority upon the side of any act which it does not find to be illegal. We had not as a Court to allow or disallow anything on grounds of advisability or policy. Our sole duty was to ascertain whether existing Church-law forbade or did not forbid certain practices. The circumstances under which the inquiry was committed to us rendered it imperative to make the ascertainment as complete as we could.

2. "The Judgment speaks for itself. It would be out of place for me to expand, compress, or restate its conclusions. I am ready to trust the living spirit of unity and loyal faithfulness among us. As to particular observances which the Judgment of the Court has found allowable, I feel confident the clergy of the diocese will be with me when I make it my own undoubting recommendation and earnest request that the clergy will make no changes in the direction of adopting any of them in their conduct of Divine service, unless, at the least, they are first assured of the practical unanimity of their people in desiring such change. And that, even if any do, in accordance with the clear sentiment of their people, make any change within the limits of the Judgment, yet they will make it their bounden duty to provide at the most convenient hours, especially on the first Sunday of the month, and at the most frequented hour, administrations of the Holy Communion which shall meet in all ways the desire of those parishioners whose sense of devotion seeks and feeds on the plain and quiet solemnities in which they have been reared, which they love, and in which their souls most perfectly 'go in and out and find pasture.' Those simplest forms are liturgically true. The people have a right to them, and through them the true pastor will delight to be one with them, to break for them the Bread of Heaven, to feast with them on its inmost spiritual realities. He will fear no loss when, like his Master, he girds himself to serve them and pay them all observance.—Believe me, ever your faithful brother and servant in Christ, "EDW. CANTUAR."

"6th Dec., 1890."

"OUR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES."

THE LATE BISHOP OF LONDON,—THE RT. REV. DR. JACKSON,

- 1.—ON THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE CHURCH, DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.
- 2.—A WARNING AGAINST THE CONSPIRACY NOW STRIVING TO SUBVERT THE PRIMITIVE FAITH OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND INTO CONFORMITY TO THE CORRUPT TEACHING OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.*
- 3.—THE AUTHORITY FOR CORRECTION AND OBEDIENCE.

1.—It is no novel phenomenon, but rather the repetition of the facts of history, when a sceptical age, like our own, develops also tendencies towards a religion of excitement, and an exaggerated and sometimes superstitious estimate of the importance of the aids to devotion and a holy life which our Church supplies for us in sober, though sufficient, measure in the offices of the ministry and of public worship. This takes place at such a time, partly from the natural action of any system, when aggressive, upon those who believe it to be erroneous; whom it alarms, repels in the opposite direction, and disposes to accept and employ anything which appears to widen the distance and emphasize the distinction between them: and partly because minds entangled, or dreading entanglement, in the meshes of scepticism, and conscious of weakness, are ready to lay hold of anything external to themselves, in the hope of strengthening their feeble faith and quickening their failing piety; and are even tempted in their distress to surrender the noblest gift of God to man,—personal responsibility,—and to throw into the hands of another their faith, their conscience, and the government of those lives, which are to be judged hereafter. And our times have witnessed men of intellect and integrity, as they felt their footsteps sinking in the quicksands of unbelief, flinging themselves for safety into the arms of the Papal schism, and, as a refuge from doubt, accepting that saddest and most impious imposture of the Church's history, the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome. Such tendencies it is our bounden and difficult duty to recognize and regulate; to supply any real want from which they arise, so far as is expedient for the health of the spiritual life, but to check their progress towards the evil to which they lead

It is not altogether to the causes above alluded to that is to be attributed the preva-

lent taste and desire for display and ornament in the ordinances of public worship; churches more correctly designed and more richly decorated; coloured glass, bright flowers, vested choirs; music more in quantity and better in quality. All this is, no doubt, attractive to a weak and self-distrusting faith, as something outside itself which it may grasp and cling to; while it is at the same time a protest against the negations of religious feeling and worship which are in the practice, if not in the teaching, of every varied form of unbelief. But it is also a natural, perhaps necessary, result of the æsthetic movement which has for many years been affecting, partially at least, all classes of society, educating at the same time, and stimulating a taste for colour, form, and sound. Nor can we regret that, when such a taste is created, there should be a desire to employ it in God's service, and to make the worship of the sanctuary conform, as far as possible, to the mind's ideal of "the beauty of holiness." And although extremes are here, as elsewhere, to be avoided, and it is steadfastly to be maintained that the true beauty of holiness is in the adornment of "the inner man of the heart," yet we are wise, I think, so to order our churches, and their services that they may not offend an educated taste, but may administer just so much healthy excitement as may aid, without distracting, the devotions of the worshippers.

But the special danger which the current of the æsthetic movement has brought into the province of religious worship is this,—and a very serious and prevalent danger, I am persuaded it is. The gratification of all the tastes which belong to art excites emotions; and emotions akin to, and in themselves not very dissimilar from, the emotions belonging to adoration, worship, praise: and thus, though altogether different in their cause and object, they may be confounded with, mistaken and substituted for, the feelings of true devotion. A sense of solemnity is in-

* From the Bishop's last Charge to the Clergy of London, 1875.

duced by the architecture and harmonious colouring of a beautiful church ; but this sense, though it may aid it, is not the awe of the soul which realizes the presence of God. There is a pleasurable excitement when a full tide of human voices flows in the murmur of prayer or the strains of praise ; but the mind which feels and enjoys it may not be itself in contact with God, nor even conscious of the meaning of the words the lips are uttering. Music may soothe, elevate, and delight, and yet not have struck one note of "the melody in the heart to the Lord." And thus there may be even keen enjoyment of religious worship with very little of either worship or religion ; and the deceived soul may leave the house of God excited and satisfied, though it has never been really humbled in penitence, brought into felt communion with God in prayer, nor fed and strengthened with the bread of life. This is a danger which we should recognize ourselves, and point out faithfully to our people, especially to the young of either sex. It is not always a full church which is the proof of a fruitful ministry, nor what is called a hearty service the evidence of a praying people. The test must be the life. When that is worldly and selfish, self-indulgent or uncharitable, the pleasure felt in public worship may be itself but worldliness and self-indulgence in another shape.

Almost from the first struggles of the Reformation there have co-existed in our Church two schools of thought, differing in their appreciation of the Sacraments, the Ministerial authority and commission and some other cognate points, but at one on all fundamentals, equally accepting and appealing to the Prayer-Book and Articles, and equally rejecting, though perhaps on somewhat different grounds, the usurpation and errors of the Church of Rome. Though conflicting at times, and alternately prevalent in various degrees, these two schools, which blend together on a large middle or neutral ground, have learned, for the most part, to tolerate and respect each other. And at the present moment, though there may be individuals, there is no party which would desire either section to be excluded from the Church.

Each of these currents, when it runs strongly, is sure to bear some beyond the limits of moderation and truth ; the one to the Communion of the Church of Rome, the

other to some of the sections of Nonconformity. It is no wonder then that the movement of the last thirty years, which has set almost wholly in the same direction, has caused, both in its earlier years, and thenceforth from time to time, defections from the doctrines of the Reformation to those of Trent. But the peculiarity of our day is the development of a party *within* the Church, not numerous, but zealous, active, and bold, who, having assented solemnly to the Articles and the Book of Common Prayer, and asserted their belief that the doctrine of the Church of England, as therein set forth, is agreeable to the Word of God, avow it their wish and purpose to undo the work of the Reformation, attack or explain away the anti-Roman positions of the Articles of which they confess their dislike, and depreciate the Prayer-Book in comparison with Roman or pre-Reformation service books, from which they supplement, not their private only, but their public devotions. In their teaching almost every doctrine and practice is reproduced which at the Reformation was renounced and laid aside.

2. We find the 'Catholic revival,' so called, asserted as the antithesis and antidote to the Reformation, which is deplored as a misfortune, if not sin ; its work is admitted, and indeed avowed to be to undo what was then done ; Holy Scripture is disparaged as the rule of Faith unless as supplemented and explained by 'Catholic teaching,' and the Thirty-nine Articles are complained of as an unfair burden, put aside as obsolete, or interpreted in a sense which, if their words can be wrested into bearing, is undoubtedly not that which they were intended to bear ; the doctrines of those who drew them up are disclaimed as uncatholic and condemned as heretical ; language is used, popularly and without qualification, on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, which whether capable or not of being absolved, under qualification, of contradiction to our formularies, is not only declared by Protestants but claimed by Romanists to be identical with Transubstantiation ; seven Sacraments are again taught, and Confession with absolution is enjoined, not as an occasional remedy for exceptional doubts and sorrows, but as the ordinary rule of a holy life, and the needful preparation for Holy Communion ; Prayers for the dead are recommended, and Purgatory more than hinted at ; the *cultus* of the Virgin and the

invocation of saints are introduced into books of devotion, which are framed on the Romish model, and adapted to and distributed among persons of all ages, ranks, and occupations; finally, we are told, that in order to stabilize the conquest over Protestantism and to re Catholicize the Church of England, it still remains 'to make confession the ordinary custom of the masses, and to teach them to use Eucharistic worship, to establish the claim to Catholic Ritual in the highest form, to restore the Religious Life' (meaning the life of the Cloister), 'to say Mass daily, and to practise reservation for the sick.' When this movement is thus developed in its results or explained by its supporters, it is not possible that it could be received by Bishops of the Reformed Church of England with anything but disapprobation, warning, and sorrowful rebuke, unless they were unfaithful indeed to their office, their vows, and their Master the Lord Jesus Christ.¹ . . .

No wonder that Roman Catholic divines have asserted what some leaders of this so-called "Catholic movement" have indeed themselves admitted, that they are doing in the Church of England the work of the Church of Rome. This revolutionary party has, of course, adopted—in most cases it has introduced—changes in ritual or ornament unknown or obsolete in our Church, but conformed to pre-Reformation, or to modern Roman usage. It would have been a happy thing for the peace of the Church, if at such a juncture that great school of theological thought which is represented rather by the writings of Andrewes, Laud and Cosin, than by those of Jewel, Hooker, Hall and Leighton, had marked themselves off distinctly from the Romanizing party to which, if true to their own principles, they in no wise belong. Unfortunately it was not so. Ignorant, as it would seem, of the extent to which Roman doctrine was being taught; having themselves adopted or defended some few points of the ritual which the others had carried to excess; fearing lest the attack on them should diverge on doctrines which they themselves maintain; and dissatisfied with the constitution or decisions of the Courts before which ecclesiastical causes are heard; they rather ranged themselves on the same side and gave it at least a moral support. Their notes of disapproval were few and feeble: their signs of adhesion were marked. This it was which above all else

alarmed the great bulk of English Churchmen, and caused a feeling of insecurity and distrust. . . .

3. As the great ecclesiastical movement of this century proceeded, to which, I do not hesitate to avow, our Church and the religious life of our country owe much, it naturally threw out new ideas of form and ritual, to which zealous men, who exaggerated their importance, were not slow in giving life and action. These being innovations, and often distasteful and alarming to the laity, and believed for the most part to be illegal, the Bishops were bound to discourage. But a moral check is not strong enough to cope with the zeal of a party, or to restrain the extreme men of a movement. The Bishops were disobeyed, and justification of disobedience was soon found and believed in. 'Admonitions need not be followed which those to whom they are addressed do not consider "godly." Canonical obedience is due only in matters which, being honest can be enforced by law: and why apply to the Ordinary for the resolution of doubts, when one party concerned, at least, has no doubts whatever?'—And thus, although by a large majority of the Clergy the advice and ruling of the Bishop in *foro domestico* is still sought and accepted, with those very persons, and in those very cases, which cause the laity to appeal to the Bishop for protection or redress, they have lost their efficacy altogether.

The control of the Diocesan Courts—at least over lesser offences against the laws ecclesiastical, such as matters of ritual—has proved ineffectual from an entirely different cause. The course of proceeding against accused clerks was remodelled and regulated by the Church Discipline Act of 1840; but it proved on trial, partly from defects in the act itself, but principally from the cumbrous and antiquated procedure of the Ecclesiastical Court, that the cost of suits, which must all be defrayed by the parties to them, were so heavy as to be well-nigh prohibitive of prosecutions. . . .

It was evident that something must be done to restore the lapsed discipline of the Church, and that quickly, if more violent measures were to be averted. The wish of the Bishops would have been to revive what I have called their *forum domesticum*, with just so much coercive force as might have replaced the sanction of the declarations and oaths as formerly interpreted. This, how-

¹ A portion of the Bishop's Charge, 1871.

ever, did not satisfy. It was feared that the remedy would prove too feeble; the individual discretion given too great; and that the rule might be applied in different Dioceses too diversely.

A Court already provided in the Church Discipline Act was at first adopted, merely because it was already in existence, but was soon laid aside as unsuitable; and the Public Worship Regulation Act, in the form in which it has become law, was carried through both Houses of Parliament by majorities which can leave no doubt of the conviction of the people of England that some such remedy was necessary, and that this remedy at least appears applicable to the evil. It is an act almost entirely of procedure. It creates no new offences. It limits, instead of extending, the facility of making complaints. It gives directly to the Bishop the discretionary power, which by the Church Discipline Act he is only presumed to have, of allowing proceedings to go on. It does, no doubt, create a new Judge; but this Judge will ultimately, and indeed almost immediately, become at the same time the Judge of the two Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York. . . .

It is certain that the Bishops, in exercising the discretion given them, will cause dissatisfaction. By some they will be thought culpably lax; by others needlessly severe. But I venture to believe that the power thus given them will not be used partially or harshly. To defend not to vex; to balance with a steady hand the rights of parishioners and Clergy; to discourage frivolous personal and party complaints, while requiring obedience to the plain, distinct and declared law of the Church of which Bishops, Clergy and laity are alike members, this is the difficult duty imposed by the Public Worship Act on the Bishops. May God give us grace to discharge it wisely and well!

And may it not be hoped that the present crisis may become the occasion, by the exercise of moderation and mutual forbearance, of reconciling differences, and drawing the bonds of union closer? Never surely was union more essential than now. With much to thank God for and to sustain our courage by, the time is a time of danger. Within is a small, perhaps, but energetic body, too much in earnest to care for secrecy, employing ably the power of the public press, and privately disseminating thousands of tracts doctrinal and devotional, whose object is to

undo the great work of the sixteenth century, and to promote the union of western Christendom by surrendering all that is distinctive of the Reformation. Without, is the compact and well led phalanx of the Roman schism, attentively watching the work which is being done for them, sedulously gathering in all stragglers from our ranks, and ready for attack wherever and whenever an opening is made. Without, too, are the advocates of disestablishment and disendowment, whose main hope now is in our internal disunion. They have learnt that the Church, while united and trusted, is too deeply seated in the heart of the nation to be easily moved; but that it may fall asunder by its own division, and would inevitably be cast away as not worth preserving, so soon as it ceased to be the Church of the Reformation.

There is the force of scepticism and infidelity, which we are bound by our duty to God and for the love of souls imperilled, to use all our united powers to encounter; but which spreads and strengthens, while time and energy are wasted on questions trivial by its side, and while the divine argument for the truth of the Gospel is obscured or discredited,—“By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one for the other.” And our great and increasing warfare against ignorance and ungodliness, vice, worldliness, and indifference,—that for which we are specially enlisted and commissioned in God’s service, and which is waged in this metropolis with unequal numbers which can afford no diversion, and ought to lose no advantage,—how seriously is it impeded and enfeebled by every movement of jealousy or party, by mutual fear or mistrust, and by the intrusion of controversies, interesting no doubt and not unimportant, but which on that very account distract our attention and turn our energies from our own work which urgently needs them all. Oh! at the great day of account, if not before, upon the deathbed, how small will appear many a question and controversy on which men—and Ministers intrusted with the awful cure of souls—have written and spoken copiously, ably, perhaps bitterly: how infinitely more important one day spent in pleading and praying with vice and sin, one link knit up again in the broken chain of charity, one soul brought to the Saviour or kept close to Him to be a seal of our ministry, and a jewel in our crown of rejoicing!

"THE PRESENT DISTRESS."

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE DIOCESE,—FROM THE LATE RT. REV. A. W. THOROLD,
AS BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,—LATE OF WINCHESTER.

- 1.—RITUALISM ("Romanism") THE RECOIL FROM INFIDELITY.
- 2.—THE CHANGED FRONT OF THE ROMEWARD CLERGY; REMAINING NOW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO EFFECT HER PERVERSION TO THE ERRORS OF ROME.

1. FEW will deny that ours are anxious times, and there is no advantage in flip-pantly bidding men not to be scared, when we ought to feel alarm about the issue of questions which go down to the roots of all that touches our present duty and our unseen future—the truths that give dignity to our life and illumine the grave with the hope of immortality. One thing, however, is consoling in it all; the fact that Religion is still recognized as something worth contending about.

It is quite true that the Church is distracted by hot dissension, but it is only because men are so passionately in love with Truth, as the supreme possession of their lives, that they defend and proclaim it at any risk.

First among the features of our present distress is put unbelief, because it is the first and the greatest.

Indisputably, unbelief is a wide expression, since it begins where a subtle Arianism almost imperceptibly parts company from the orthodox formula, and ends by a blank abyss, where modern thinkers blandly inform us that modern research gives no glimpse of a Personal God, and where the human spirit, with all its ineffable hopes, undeveloped powers, and exquisite forces of joy and sorrow, faith and hope, is austere told that its short life, so full of tragic interest, will be but as the brief sob of a wave as it rises and falls on the shore. The outcome is, that conscience becomes a lie, creation a misfortune, existence a bubble, reason an enigma, and death—the supreme end. No doubt the more prudent of our sceptics do not exactly say that God cannot be; simply that He is unknowable and undiscoverable. But practically it comes to the same thing; and since God is the Keystone of a Revealed Religion, if He falls the Religion falls with Him—with its august credentials, its accepted authorities, its blessed traditions, its glorious future! . . .

But let us, who are the humble workers in the Church, steadily work on. All the

philosophers under the sun will never rob us of the Character of Christ; of the stupendous marvel of the Church's life, growth, and victory; of the gifts of grace, of the assurance of the life to come. If we believe in God, let us go on working as if we did, in spite of those who tell us that we have no Master to work for, and no tools to work with. *We know better.* If you want a calm and strong faith in God, the best place to find it is not always in gilded saloons, nor in clubs, nor even among the folios of a library, nor in the coteries of leisurely divines. Rather go to those whose blessed duty it is to preach the Gospel to the poor, to take the message of Christus Consolator to the young, the sick, the sorrowful, the dying; whose best energies are devoted in putting their belief into action; who feel that the surest evidence of a Living Saviour is to represent His life among men. They will tell you that Christ is still sought, welcomed, and worshipped by countless human souls, of whom society is ignorant and the world unworthy, but who are the salt that keep it from corruption, the hope that saves it from despair.

At the opposite pole of thought, nay, in what some affirm to be an intense and inevitable reaction from it, we encounter what is popularly understood as "Ritualism;" and which for the sake both of fairness and accuracy, it will be convenient to examine from the stand-point of its own supporters. Ritualism, in its intention, claims to be a return to "Catholic principles." Regarding rites and ceremonies as but insipid and cumbersome accessories to worship, unless expressive symbols of doctrine, it firmly contends for them as essential to the faith, and claims vestments, lights, and mixed chalice, leavened bread, and incense, in addition to the eastward position, as "main elements of ritual," and as dating back to the fifth century, some to the very beginning. Its main principles are "a deepened sense of the presence of God in His Sanctuaries; with a higher estimate of Holy Orders and the Sacra-

mental Life." The specific doctrines and views that characterize it are alleged to be in harmony with what has been held from time to time by such men as Andrewes and Bramhall, Thorndike and Ken. Their Eucharistic doctrine is "that there is a mystical and sacramental identity between the real Presence and the consecrated elements, and that the act of consecration is the turning point of the mystery,—substantially there is no difference at all between us and the Church of Rome in regard to the Holy Eucharist; the only difference is as to the mode of the Divine Presence: not as to the *Res Sacramenti*, but as to the co-existence of the *Sacramentum* with the *Res Sacramenti*." On confession, the points sought to be established are these—"that confession, while no longer compulsory, is yet freely offered to all who may feel the need of it: that it is a help, though not a necessary one, in the way of repentance at any time, especially on the two occasions mentioned in the Prayer-Book, preparation for the Holy Communion and for death,"—that such freedom extends equally to use or disuse, and if used, to the question of more or less frequency, and the being occasional or periodical,—that though confession itself is not to be regarded as a sacrament, and therefore, not of obligation, yet that absolution which is sought as the consequence is of sacramental efficacy, "having," as the homily says, "the promise of forgiveness of sins."

2. In the attitude of this movement towards Rome there has been of late a marked change. Ten years ago, no scruple was felt in irritating English Churchmen by coarse boasts about educating a Protestant public into a speedy return to the Papacy. Now, all that is changed. The younger men, and, notably, the more responsible members of the school, repudiate, almost with indignation, any intentions of the kind; and stoutly claim a place and a liberty within the English boundaries. "To stigmatize Ritual development in its origin as Romanizing is not borne out by fact. Romanizing is a trite and easy reproach." For much of what I have here written, I have borrowed the "*ipsissima verba*" of Canon Carter, who will, I conceive, be generally accepted as a reliable exponent of the views of this school, and for whose erudition, sincerity, and lofty character I entertain a deep respect.

In proceeding to make some observations on this important matter (and the limits of

this letter prevent my developing them into a complete argument), let me first remark, that while there is indisputably a growing preference for musical services, and for a more elaborate ritual, and for grandiose architecture, and any amount of flowers, there is no solid reason for identifying it all with Romanism. They are but the phenomena of a high wave of ceremonialism, which has washed on the shores of Nonconformist communions quite as much as on our own, and probably affected them more. While indisputably, sometimes, accompanying a steady progress towards the Roman corruption, they are not *necessarily* symptomatic of it. This growing interest in the externals of religion, while it has its unspiritual and dangerous side, is in great measure owing to the influence of musical taste, to more artistic cultivation, to what goes by the name of æstheticism, and to our domestic and educational habits. To confound High Churchmen as a body with their extreme wing, is a ludicrous injustice; and if half the Church services in England were choral to-morrow, I should be as confident as I am now in the staunch loyalty of the great body of English Churchmen to the doctrines and principles of the Reformation.

The Ritualistic controversy immediately affects three parties: the individuals who raise it; the Church from which they invite liberty and recognition; the Bishops who are the heads of the spiritual society to which they claim to belong.

Springing as I do from a school of Churchmen which has had its full share of obloquy and neglect for the sake of those fundamental truths of the Gospel which are now loved and preached, almost as common-places, by all our theological schools in turn, I hope to be incapable of easily misunderstanding or unjustly censuring any man who honestly believing himself to be in possession of truths, which others are missing, had rather die than let them go. Nor does anything justify the use of bitter and exasperating language. Epithets are too often the rhetoric of passion that has lost its head. This further may, I honestly believe, be said, that not a few of our brethren are somewhat dismayed to find themselves in an attitude of uncompromising defiance to all authority, except that of their own conscience, and would welcome a way of return consistent with honour.

Of the personal goodness of many of these men I say nothing, for it is not to the purpose. Nor of their hard work, for others work hard, and obey as well. Nor of the danger of exasperating large congregations, for that is unworthy, if it is God and truth we consider. Nor even of the soundness of their arguments, if I am correct in supposing that all such discussion is quite outside the case. They are either right or wrong. If they are right, God must be on their side, and will take their part: the Truth will sooner or later push itself to the front and assert itself; the Church will slowly come round to them and thank them for what they have done; and what is vital in their teaching will presently and finally be absorbed. If they are wrong, God will show it to those who are willing to see it, and sooner or later the movement will pass away and be forgotten.

But to discover this, they should have had patience, and given their system time to approve itself, and had faith in the Lord of Truth, that His wisdom would be justified by His children, and manifested that humility which does not refuse to confess its own fallibleness, and that dutifulness which dares not scoff at authority, and that meek Charity which is the very beauty of Christ. Then none of these hard things which are said, and so justly said now, would have been possible. But instead of this they have first of all anticipated what they thought the law would be found to be, by putting their own interpretation of it into force, and then, when the law has declared against them, they have not hesitated to discredit it by the twofold method of attacking the constitution of the tribunal, and depreciating the materials of the judgment; and when reminded that they have accepted duty and promised obedience under a spiritual society, to which, in the person of its chiefs, they owe allegiance, either we are told that the Bishops are "creatures of the State," which they were, neither less nor more when they, our friends, first made their promises, or that it is "quite impossible to suppose that such solemn words imposed as a life-long obligation, a vow dating from earliest times, and framed under constitutional precedents, can be understood to cover by anticipation whatever the State alone may impose upon the Priest, or require the Bishop to enforce upon him."

It is certain that no civil society could hold together on such conditions, and the Church,

with all her amazing tenacity, cannot long bear the strain. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." A Church with a foreign body inside it, such as the Ritual polity declares itself to be, must very soon either absorb, modify, or expel it. It comes to this, that what in the army would be mutiny, and in the State outlawry, in the Church is schism. My own course is clear.

With the full liberty of my Clergy, in all things pertaining to their office, and right up to the very border line of our authorized order, I have neither the intention nor the desire to interfere. For twenty-three years in the London Diocese I have gratefully appreciated under three large-minded Bishops a very ample liberty; and my own brethren need never fear from me a fretful or petty interference with their proper liberty in the practical details of their work.

In the case of infringements of the law in relation to Ritual, it is not generally understood that the initiative of proceeding does not rest with the Bishop. The official court of the Ordinary, while still in force for matters of doctrine and conduct, is held by competent lawyers to be superseded in Ritual offences by the machinery provided under the Public Worship Regulation Act. All irregularities hitherto brought under my notice, though in an informal way, have had a full consideration; and in every case, so far as the law enabled, have terminated in a substantial result. If it should happen, that as time goes on, other and more formal proceedings are instituted, I shall not shrink from the duties that my office imposes on me; while not holding myself justified, as an impartial administrator of the law, in volunteering my advice to others. It is certain that in the event of the circumstances of the case compelling me to let it proceed, it would be with a real and sorrowful slowness that I should use force, where a thousand times rather I would win by charity. Still in my own view of my function, for me to decline to administer the law, when such administration was on sufficient grounds proposed to me, would be to incur the risk in the eyes of my countrymen, of being a lawbreaker myself.

My individual method of personally and officially dealing with those of the clergy who feel conscientiously unable either to obey the courts of the realm or to accept the private monition of the Bishop, is that of Isolation. These brethren of ours are

outside the law, and it is their own act that has placed them there. Where I find them I leave them! and what they have made themselves, that I must recognize them to be. Consequently, I am compelled to decline either to confirm, or preach, or perform any official act in churches adopting an illegal Ritual, on the simple ground that, as one of the Church's rulers, I cannot even appear to condone, by my presence and ministration, a distinct violation of the Church's order. Deeply as I regret the necessity of such a rule, I intend strictly to adhere to it. Though it of course implies to several important congregations, the loss, such as it is, of the aid and sympathy of their chief pastor, I cannot admit that congregations are more at liberty in this respect than individuals; and they have it in their own power, whenever they think proper, to summon their Bishop to their side.

SECTION 2.—OUR DUTY.

AN EARNEST APPEAL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY.

IT is always easier to indicate evils than to remedy them—to criticize a neighbour's advice than to give better of our own. Some of us, moreover, feel it wiser when we are in the dark as to our right conduct to sit still and do nothing, preferring to be reproached for indecision or timidity rather than take a false step, which it may be impossible to retrace. Nevertheless there are some first principles which it is always seasonable to recall and ponder, if we would be ready to act when the moment comes.

My first plea is for kindly but firm patience. No one can know better than I how much it is needed among us. None will suffer more than you if we fail in securing it. Of course we can have nothing to object to that almost inevitable mental necessity, through which a conscientious man will more or less attach himself to that school of thought with which he has most in common. The human mind cannot grasp all truth with equal coherence, nor succeed in holding it either in due proportion or exact relation to other truths. Also, being naturally attracted to some truths more than others, it apprehends such more clearly, and uses them more readily. Nay, possibly, on the whole, Truth is a gainer by it, for thus each great doctrine in turn comes to be valiantly garrisoned deep behind its own entrenchments, and Divine wisdom turns to

account our very imperfections in accomplishing its own designs. . . .

To my brethren of the laity I would say (and I ask no indulgence for saying it) it is the simple truth that we cannot do without you. We desire your moral support, your steady judgment, your kindly sympathy, your instincts of practical life, and of course your material aid. Occasionally, it may seem to you, that we do not quite deserve them; and it vexes you, and reasonably, if you do not appear to receive from your accredited teachers what you yourselves feel to be the full teaching of the Gospel; if the ritual used in the church you frequent either offends you by its ornateness, or chills you by its meagreness; worst of all, if the shepherd neglects his flock, and only thinks of pleasing himself. . . . As to the former difficulties, remember these two things: First, that the English Church comprehends within her ample boundaries many shades and phases of thought, both among clergy and laity. Your brother laymen, who differ from you about these things, have their rights as well as you have, and will be careful to assert them, if necessary. Were the teaching and ritual of the Church ever to be forcibly cramped into one uniform type, of any sort or kind, there would be a disruption in a week. Then remember the kind of men you have to deal with, and that they are your brethren; with your faults, and your virtues. You would be the first to despise them if they tried to preach a colourless doctrine to please everybody.

There can be no doubt that the attitude of those who have put themselves outside the law is not only distressing, but even exasperating, to a great body of lay churchmen. It weakens the influence of religion, it menaces the nationality of the Church, it sometimes shakes a red flag in men's faces, saying, "Drive us out if you can;" and no doubt the longer it is maintained, the more the popular mind becomes habituated to it, until the mere flux of time seems to claim toleration for it, and rebellion is condoned by success. The public voice calls for vigorous treatment; in other words, prompt execution of the law. Now it seems to me that there are two things to be borne in mind here: the end to be reached, and the best way of reaching it. As to the end—Peace, through Truth—every English Churchman wants that. But as to the best way of reaching it we are all of us at sea.

Independently of the fact, that sometimes the weapon of the law in process of being used turns right round and nits the wrong person (in which case the scene is shifted, and a good cause scandalized and impunity augmented), those who watch the curious fluctuations of public opinion cannot help seeing that many who condemn most loudly the violation of the law hesitate about enforcing it.

It does not, however, follow that much may not be done in other ways of a permanent and salutary character. Be quiet, and firm, and wise. While careful to discourage innovations that smack of Romanism, be sure to see the difference between what is merely Anglican and what is more than Anglican, and do not play your enemy's game by confounding the two in an exaggeration that must damage yourselves. To try to check Ritualism by discouraging a bright and dignified service, is the wisdom of a mother, who to prevent her boy from being a sailor, never lets him go near the sea. If you do not wish to encourage illegal ritual, be careful how you yourselves encourage it by constantly going to see what it is like. If you fear harm to your families from going there, use authority to prevent it—at least, with those of tender years. And wait. No kind of good can be done by hysterical alarm, or hasty violence, or bitter invective. It is the quiet and watchful strength that lasts and tells.

Now these plain words will not, I feel sure, make you for one moment doubt where I stand or what I mean. Before all things, I am an English Churchman; and our English Communion, if she is not Protestant, has no standing-place among the Churches. But I do say let us be very careful about our Protestantism, just because we are so much in love with it, and let us see that it is consistent with its own essential principles, and that it shall not stoop to soil its hands with weapons which assuredly it does not need, and which do it enormous harm; and that it does not itself come presently to be protested against as a coarse and brutal tyranny. Some of us who thank God for the Reformation from the bottom of our hearts, are filled with shame and confusion of face at the weapons and arguments with which those who claim to serve the truth sometimes drag it through the mire. If we stand true to the Church, loyal to our faith, just to our brethren, most of all dutiful to our

Master and Head, in course of time things will right themselves; mists will clear, the truth will vindicate itself, passion will have time to cool, the really good men among those now unhappily alienated from us will have had time and patience to listen to the counsel of God;—the great middle body of the Clergy, never more learned, or exemplary, or sagacious, or devout than now, will have discovered some *modus vivendi* for all who, because they love Christ, feel it a grievous sin to wound the unity of His body; and so a potent, though silent force of Christian opinion will gradually shape itself, out of which shall eventually emerge an honest way out of our present difficulties; and God in His goodness will have kept the Church together to do yet more service for Him.

On my brethren the Clergy—many of whom I have learned heartily to esteem, and whose ready and generous sympathy has been of great value to me—I presume solemnly to lay this one burden: that while with all the strength we possess we intelligently defend, fearlessly proclaim, and consistently adorn the pure faith of our Reformed Church as we severally understand it, we also endeavour, in the language of the Apostle, to be of one mind and one judgment, careful not so much to exaggerate that in which we of necessity differ, as to recognize that in which we substantially agree. Do not, indeed, suppose me, in urging this, to be advocating a hollow and insipid unity, or to desire peace at the expense of truth, or to wish, by a cheap civility, to blink real differences. Before everything else, let us be straightforward, neither cowards about our own opinions, nor intolerant towards those of our brethren. But the great work we Clergymen in this truly missionary Diocese have got to do, is to spread and consolidate the Kingdom of Christ by the methods and doctrines of the Church of England. Let us face this task with a fresh courage, and a united front, and a compact discipline, and a calm faith, and a real joy, and a hope that shall not be ashamed. . . . As for the people! those toiling, sorrowful masses, what do they think and feel about our unhappy divisions? Sometimes, assuredly, we must appear to them like the Pagan Gods in the clouds, contending over questions which they cannot comprehend, and neglecting duties which they sorely desire, with one plain result—"No

man careth for my soul!" To be visited, taught, taken by the hand, brought face to face with their Saviour, met in all their spiritual needs by simple services and instructions which they can understand and enjoy, gently lifted out of the mire, patiently waited for, kindly made the best of, taught to pray, encouraged to believe in the love of a reconciled Father; this is the spirit in which we desire to approach them, this the method in which we intend to instruct them, this good news of the free, present gift of the forgiveness of sins and eternal life in Christ, the Gospel we propose to preach to them. Will you take your share, and choose your task, and fill your place, as children of a Father who will have all men to be saved: as members of a Church which, if she does not justify her trust as the Church of the nation by sending the Gospel to the poor, does not deserve it for another hour?

And will you tell me why we should not work together: we, I mean, who within the recognized lines of our authorized formulae and Ritual, honestly join hands in Christ? . . . As to the Sacraments generally, do we not all regard them not as mere naked signs and emblems, but when rightly received as effectual means of grace? The Sacrament of Holy Baptism, we believe, incorporates us into the Visible Body of Christ, and into a fatherly covenant with God, and into the forgiveness of our inherited guilt, and into the full promise of the Holy Spirit. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not merely an act of grateful commemoration, but to the Faithful into their hearts it conveys, after a heavenly and spiritual manner, the Body and Blood of Christ, for their strengthening and refreshment. The Atonement is that sacrifice for sins once offered, wherein the Lord Jesus Christ as our Head, Representative, and Surety, did in our nature, and for us in His own Incarnate Person, bear our sins with all their consequences, and perfectly expiated them before God. We are counted righteous before God by faith in Jesus Christ, and being in personal spiritual union with Him, are righteous with His righteousness before the Father. The Holy Ghost dwelling in us, and communicating to us Eternal life, builds us up in the image of Christ, and enables us to restrain and overcome sin. The Church is a Supernatural Society. Her charter and credentials are the Holy Scriptures, which, written by inspired men, contain all things necessary unto

salvation. Her Three Creeds are the depositories of the Primitive Faith. Her traditional form of Government is that of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Though Reformed, she is Catholic, and dates her birth not from Henry VIII., but from a pure mother in a far back time. . . .

My friends, by all that you hold dear in your work and its great issues, I pray you be careful how you make changes, even when it is clear they ought presently to be made; and instantly take your people into your confidence when anything of importance is to be done. There is enough misconception that we cannot avoid without creating what we can. Give no occasion for suspicion or disturbance. Many things are legitimate and excellent in themselves, but done at a wrong moment or in a wrong method they rub into a chronic sore. My own experience is, that no men are so liberal, so reasonable, so hearty as English Churchmen when properly invited to rally round their clergymen; and none so hard to win back when their confidence is gone.

To my brethren, the younger clergy, I feel bound, both by duty and affection, to say a special word of counsel, and if it is one of excessive frankness, it is because my interest in them is so deep and so true. Three chief gifts the younger clergy of our time should continually seek from God. They are diligence, and patience, and humility. Form the habit of doing everything as well as you can do it; and try never to be beaten. Make the best of mortifications, and see what they mean for you. Count the day lost in which no solid addition has been made either to your stock of knowledge or your sum of duty. Be diligent students of the Word of God. Then be prudent in the formation of opinion, in final convictions about controversies, which for centuries have vexed the heart of the Church, and will go on vexing it to the end; in hastily taking sides,—as probably, sooner or later, if you are clear and honest thinkers, you must do;—or in pledging yourselves to an extreme wing.

And it is with the simple object of preventing you from prematurely committing yourselves to what you may hereafter come to view with very different feelings, that very earnestly and seriously indeed I distinctly caution you against joining those extreme religious associations which are now becoming so common among us, and two of

which—the Society of the Holy Cross and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament—have lately superinduced much dismay and serious apprehension to the Church. Quite apart from the doctrinal specialities of these two societies, I personally seem to discern in the general idea features of grave peril. They tend to separate the Church into small sections instead of compacting the unity of the whole. They attract vital heat from the centre to the extremities, and keep it there. They bring into an abnormal and exaggerated importance particular verities or principles at the expense of the comparative insignificance of those they leave behind. They have also the result of manufacturing an unhealthy and isolating cliqueism, which must, sooner or later, seriously impair the corporate feeling of the Church, and increasingly separate us from each other. There were circumstances connected with the Society of the Holy Cross, to which I need not recur now, which gave a specially repulsive character to an association which it is certain had been originally started with a distinctly religious purpose. The religious office in the Manual of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, insidiously embedded in the Communion Service of our own Prayer Book, is barely distinguishable, except by critical theologians, from the Eucharistic teaching of Rome.*

People are apt to wonder why the Bishops do not use their authority to put those associations down. To my own mind there are two reasons against it. In the first instance I am not aware of possessing the power, and to stretch a prerogative which does not exist, would soon provoke a cheery defiance which would further impair an authority not too much respected now. Yet did we

* Instructions to a "Confraternity."

The following specimens of subjects for "intercession" are taken from the monthly instructions issued to the members of the "Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ":—

"The Prayers of the Associates are desired for—
1.—"Guidance of the Bishops to a right conclusion on the subject of Confession.

2.—"For the restoration in God's time, to the English Church, of the primitive custom of reserving the B. Sacrament for the sick and dying.

3.—"For deliverance of the Church from wilful or ignorant unfasting communions.

4.—"For God's direction of the Rulers in the State to a wise nomination of Bishops, so that the Faith of the Church in the B. Sacrament may not be obscured.

["The Intercessions under this first division, as being of a Sacramental character, should be used, if possible, frequently.]

"Sunday. Right dispositions of soul for the last Sacraments [plural], for M. G., &c.—For the Sacrament of Penance for three persons.—For matrimony for J. P. C., &c.—Holy Matrimony for 'R. M.' [and six others,—sex not indicated.]

possess it, and put it into force, one consequence would certainly be this: that these societies would be henceforth formed and practised in secret, and thereby would be far more perilous than open ones; and then what advantage would be gained? But if I cannot prevent, I do most earnestly and seriously deprecate them, and while I see no advantage in attempting other than moral persuasion in a matter which must inevitably be left to individual discretion, you know my distinct mind, as I give it you before God.

I named Humility, for indeed it seems to me grievously lacking in these latter days of sturdy partisanship. It was the first Beatitude, and it is the supreme perfection. Is it too caustic, is it even unjust to say that a predominant feature in some of the very young clergy of our own time is a superb self-conceit? True, if it is nothing worse, it may soon mend. Still, make the best of it as we may, it grieves Christ; it disturbs the peace of the Church; it interrupts useful work; it must blunt the sensibilities of conscience. Young brethren in Christ, we cannot do without you, and in many things you are not only a help but a blessing to us. Generosity, sacrifice, courage, ardent hopefulness, these are yours: yours for the Church of God. . . .

Let us believe in the grand future of the English Church. Let us see her the Mother of yet many Churches all down the coming time, who shall rise up to call her blessed for the priceless heritage of Apostolic faith and order which they have thankfully received at her hands. Instead of magnifying her faults, and brooding over her calamities, and bemoaning how her children wound her unity, and strangers vex her with scorn, let us cover her faults by mending our own—let us secure her triumph by each doing with his might his own task from Christ.

All Saints' Day, 1878. A. W. ROFFEN.

"Decrease of non-fasting Communions at—[three places named];—Reverence at King's College and Lichfield Cathedral;—Catholic teaching at Godalming;—Spread of Eucharistic truth at Bagle Cliffe; Catholic teaching for 12 godchildren of a Sister;—Permission to confess for M. C. and H.. &c.;—Repose of the souls of 41 persons, particularly Samuel, late Lord Bishop of Winchester; also of all deceased associates."

Elsewhere the repose of the soul of Napoleon III. is to be prayed for with the Bishop. Also instruction to pray for—"Grace to keep 'Retreat' resolutions for 'Retirents' at S. J. B.; Acts of Reparation for an insult at C.; an intentional non-fasting Communion; and all other injuries done to Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament." [And among the "Thanksgivings" for Sundays], "that a Priest was enabled to say Mass in a Church at Christmas" (1)

(From the 2nd Edition condensed.)

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CLERGY, IN DISLOYALTY TO THE CHURCH.

BY THE LATE MOST REV. W. C. MAGEE, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.*

1.—*Loyalty to the Church of England.*

If the Church of England be largely tolerant and comprehensive, if she grant to her clergy a degree of liberty and independence greater probably than that enjoyed by the ministers of any other religious community, it is clear that she must largely rely upon their loyalty to prevent their abusing their freedom. It is with the Church in this respect as it is with the State. In proportion as the citizens of any country are well affected and law-abiding, laws may be comparatively few and liberty of individual action large; in proportion as men show themselves ill affected to the State, laws must be multiplied and individual liberty abridged. The Church of England has not multiplied her laws, whether of dogma or ritual, because she has reposed a generous confidence in her sons that they would not misuse this confidence to her hurt. They may easily do so if they choose. They may force into her broadly catholic statements of doctrine meanings which may be technically and legally within their limits, but which are foreign to their true spirit and intent. They may warp and strain her few and simple rules of worship, until they make her public services the expression of some private dogma of their own, which even if it be just legally permissible for them to teach in their own words, she has never authorized them to express as hers in her ritual. They may affect in matters lying outside the legal limits of her public services—in manuals, for instance, of private devotion, with which they supplement these for their own use or that of others, in their books of direction for the spiritual life, in the practices which they recommend or encourage amongst their followers, in the religious phraseology which they adopt—a tone which is not hers, but which is deeply saturated with the thought and feeling of another and a foreign communion. And yet in all this they may be able to say with perfect truth, We have broken no rubric or canon of the Church, we have formally contradicted no one of her Articles; we have only used as we thought fit our liberty as English Churchmen; why should anyone object to or seek to restrain us in this? And certainly if the clergy of

the Church of England owed her nothing but a hard and literal obedience to the exact letter of her laws, this would be a very sufficient answer. It is quite true that for these things no clergyman in the Church of England can be prosecuted and punished.

2.—*Pleas for disloyal acts and expressions.*

But is this all we owe to our spiritual mother? Are we morally free as her sons to say and do everything which she has not expressly and formally forbidden us to do? If she has left us free, is there nothing in her position, in her history, in the whole tone of her teaching and worship, that may show us how far we should restrain ourselves, if we would be truly loyal to her? What would be said of this plea of mere legality if it were urged in like case in civil life? What would be thought or said, for instance, of those English citizens who, while England was engaged in a war with some foreign State, were to form themselves into clubs and associations, the members of which should studiously and ostentatiously affect the dress, the manners, the phrases of the people with whom she was at war, and who, when they were reproached for this, were to say, We are free Englishmen, we have broken no law in all that we have done, why should you interfere with or seek to restrain us? Would not the answer be, You may be, as you say, free Englishmen, but you are not acting like loyal Englishmen; you are not breaking the law, but you are doing something worse; you are showing your disaffection to the country under the shelter of whose laws you enjoy the liberty you are abusing, and your sympathy with the enemies against whom she is contending. And if while our Church is contending, as she is bound, if true to her own history and her place in Christendom, to contend and to protest against the usurpations and the errors of Rome, certain of her clergy ostentatiously affect as far as they can all that is most foreign in Romanism as distinguished from Anglicanism; if they persistently show themselves Romanists when they may, and Anglicans only when they must, what are we to think of their plea, "We are within the letter of the law; prosecute us if you like, punish us if you can, meanwhile we will do as we please?" Can such men be surprised if they are told in reply, you are

* A portion of his Charge to the Diocese when Bishop of Peterborough.

legally free to do as you are doing, and for that very reason what you are doing shows all the more clearly what your real inclinations and sympathies are? What a man does under official and legal compulsion shows us nothing of his real disposition; that breaks out only where he is free to follow it. "No man," it has truly been said, "is a hypocrite in his pleasures," and if it be your pleasure to go in the direction of Rome whenever you are at liberty to do so, are we uncharitable if we infer that you would do so, if you could, in those other respects in which you are not free? And what is the danger to which the Church is exposed by such action on the part of some of her clergy? It is something, as it seems to me, more to be dreaded than either disestablishment or disendowment; it is the narrowing of her comprehensiveness, it is the loss of that large liberty and independence which her clergy are now entrusted with; or else a violent disruption which would break her into separate fragments, each glowing with the sectarian heat of their separation; no one of them capable in its narrowness and bitterness of discharging for the whole nation that great function of teacher of a national faith which she is fitted to discharge, because within her pale there is room for larger freedom of thought, and more varied expression of devotion, than is to be found in any other Church in the world.

3.—*Instances in illustration.*

And now, that I may not be charged with merely dealing in general accusations when urging upon the clergy the duty of loyalty as distinguished from mere legality in their obedience to their own Church, I proceed to illustrate and justify what I have been saying by instances in which it seems to me this distinction has been forgotten. And in doing so I pass by those cases, unhappily too many, which however much to my point, have been described as only isolated and individual eccentricities, mere "fungous excrescences" such as attach themselves to every great religious movement, and which are sure to die and drop off if we leave them alone. I select three forms of speech which seem to be coming into very general use amongst those who would describe themselves as the most advanced of the "Catholic party." And I select these instead of any particular ritual observances, however extravagant or apparently illegal, because I wish to raise no question on this point of legality.

I admit at once, and it is part of my argument, that there is nothing illegal in any one of the expressions I am about to cite. They are "the Mass," "the Sacrament of Penance," and "Sacramental Confession." I do those I speak of no injustice, I think, when I say that these terms are specially affected by them just now, and appear in their speech and writings with a significant prominence.

(1) "*The Mass.*"

Now as regards the first of these: Why, let me ask, should clergymen of our Church substitute for the terms used by her to describe the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, this one of "the Mass," which she has discarded? It is of all the eucharistic appellations known to the Church the least primitive, the least catholic, and the least significant. It is not found in Scripture nor in the Church of the first three centuries; its true meaning is matter of debate, and is at best a trivial and accidental one. The Greek Church has it not; our own Church deliberately rejected it from her formularies at a time when it was in general use amongst the people, and when its retention would so obviously have helped that quiet transition from old forms to new, which it was both her duty and her policy to effect.¹ It has, on the other hand, become, in its later history in this country, whatever it might have been in its first beginnings, a Roman phrase, and associated in all men's minds with the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, which our Church has formally condemned.

Now it might surely have been expected from a loyal minister of our Church, that he would have eschewed as carefully as she has done the use of a term which she evidently regards as one of those things "the abuse of which could not be taken away, the thing itself remaining." Why then is it revived? Why out of all the rich variety of expressions which are scriptural, catholic, and truly primitive, does any clergyman go out of his way to adopt this one, which is none of these, and which he is not free to use when he speaks the language of his own Church? Because, we are told, he is helping to bring about the unity of Christendom by adopting

¹ The history of the change in the language of our Church in this respect is instructive. In the order of Communion, set forth in the year 1548, the rubric forbids the priest to say "any other rite or ceremony in the Mass," &c. In the First Prayer Book of Ed. VI., published in 1549, the Church no longer uses this term as her own; she entitles her eucharistic service as "The Supper of our Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." In the Second Book of Edward, published three years later, the word disappears altogether.

a term which is used by the whole Latin Church. But might not loyalty have suggested that it is quite as reasonable that Rome should for this purpose adopt our phraseology as that we should adopt hers? And might not Catholic principles have suggested that the union of Christendom would best be obtained, not by one Church adopting with slavish deference the defective terminology of another, but by all Churches reverting to the most catholic and most scriptural expressions, in which case the term adopted to describe the Lord's Supper would certainly not be that of "the Mass"? What then, I ask, has this term to recommend it to our use instead of those preferred by our own Church? And what are we to think of their loyalty to her, who delight in adopting it?

(2) "*Sacrament of Penance.*"

Again, let us take the phrase "Sacrament of Penance." What is its theological history? It is this: that the Church of Rome in the council of Florence, and finally in that of Trent, thought fit to define the number of the sacraments as being exactly seven, neither more nor less. And all of these she declares to be equally true and proper sacraments in all the essentials of a sacrament. Her reasons for adopting this enumeration are certainly not convincing; as, for instance, that it corresponds to the seven planets, or to the seven spiritual diseases of man, or to the seven cardinal virtues, or to the seven kinds of animal sacrifices in the Old Testament. If we adopt it, we do so, therefore, it may be presumed, on her authority alone. Now how has our Church dealt with this question of the number of the sacraments? In the first place she has given in her catechism a definition of a sacrament which expressly excludes those other five commonly called sacraments. In the next place she denies that these are to be "counted as sacraments of the gospel," describing them as being "partly states of life and partly having grown of the corrupt following of the Apostles;" and lastly, she never formally gives to any one of them the name of a sacrament.¹ It is true that in her twenty-fifth article she does not absolutely deny to these five the name of sacraments in a certain

lower and improper sense, because she was aware that in that lower sense the word sacrament was most laxly used in the early Church as applying to anything which could be a *signum rei sacræ*, a sense in which such things as the sign of the cross, exorcism, the polygamy of the Patriarchs, the washing of the disciples' feet by our Lord, and even the divisions of His genealogy, have been called sacraments. In this sense, in which of course there are not seven but seventy, or seven hundred sacraments, these may be allowed to be sacraments, but in no other.

Now, this being so, what should we expect of a loyal minister of our Church as regards the use of this term "Sacrament of Penance"? Would it not be that he should avoid it as carefully as our Church has done, lest by the use of it he should mislead people into adopting the Roman numeration of the sacraments, and with that the Roman errors respecting these other five, and especially respecting this particular one? . . . What, then, are we to think of those who go out of their way to revive this term, and who use it not only without such safeguards and explanations as might prevent its being mistaken and abused, but in such a way as would certainly seem to imply that they had adopted not only the Roman enumeration of the sacraments, but the Roman doctrine respecting these in addition? Is this loyalty to the Church of England, or is it a disloyal banking after the phraseology and the doctrine of the Church of Rome?

(3) "*Sacramental Confession.*"

Lastly, let us consider the use of the term—more prevalent even than the other two—"Sacramental Confession." If by this be meant, as some do mean by it, only that perfectly voluntary confession in order to the coming to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with a quiet mind, which our Church allows, and in certain cases recommends, to those whose consciences are burdened with any special grief, there can be no objection to the use of it, save that it is ambiguous and may be misleading. But if there be meant by it, as undoubtedly there very often is meant by those who use it, confession as one of the four parts of the aforesaid Sacrament of Penance as defined by the Church of Rome, namely, contrition, confession, absolution and satisfaction, then the phrase is distinctly Roman and distinctly alien to the teaching of the Church of England, which has never recognized any such sacrament,

¹ I have said "formally," because in one of the Homilies the term "Sacrament" is applied to marriage; but this is evidently a trace of the old translation of St. Paul's description of it as a great "mystery," and cannot, occurring as it does in a discourse *ad populum*, be taken as the formal expression of the mind of the Church in defining doctrine.

nor given to the confession she allows any such sacramental meaning and efficacy.

And if to this use of Roman language on this subject of confession be added distinctly Roman teaching;—if instead of requiring, as our Church does, that the penitent shall first confess his sin to God, and then, if need be, to his neighbour, making restitution to him where he hath offended, and only in the case where such confession has failed to bring peace to the conscience, allowing of confession to the priest, save in the case of the dying,—men are taught that the safer way, at any rate, if not the only way, to obtain forgiveness is to bring their sins in the first place to the priest, for that he who confesses only to God may be forgiven, but he who confesses to the priest *must* be forgiven; if—the penitent being free to limit his confession to the priest to those sins or that sin only with which his conscience is especially burdened, and not being therefore “tied to the numbering of all his sins,”—he is told that he must remember and confess every sin he has committed or go away unforgiven—nay, that the keeping back of any sin from the priest in confession is itself a sin needing confession and absolution; if the priest, therefore, claim the right to examine the whole life and innermost thoughts of the penitent before he consent to give him that which the Church has bidden him to give without any such conditions, namely, the benefit of absolution by the ministry of God’s holy word; if manuals which distinctly teach the whole Roman doctrine of confession in its extremest form are used in private or circulated amongst the young and the inexperienced;—how, I ask, are we to reconcile such teaching and such practice with loyalty to the Church of England? And is it any answer to the accusation of disloyalty in these respects to say, ‘We have after all broken no law of the Church, we are free to use the words, “Mass,” and “Sacrament of Penance,” and “Sacramental Confession,” and even to use or to circulate what teachings on confession we please, so long as we keep within the letter of the law. What is it to you if we choose, for instance, to meet together to “say masses for the departed,” or bind ourselves to “labour in bringing young and old to value duly the Sacrament of Penance?” Can you prevent us in any way from doing this, and if not, had you not better let us alone?’

Again I ask, Is it really true that clergymen of the Church of England hold themselves free to do, as her ministers, whatever they cannot be punished by her for doing, and that this was all the obligation which they incurred when they took her vows upon them, and gave themselves to her service and ministry?

4.—*Self-deception.*

But there may be an unconscious as well as a conscious disloyalty—an estrangement from the spirit and teaching of our Church, of which men are not themselves aware. And this I believe to be the case with many of this school, and especially with many of its younger members who have never carefully studied, if they have ever studied at all, the position of the Church of England in her great controversy with Rome, as set forth by her greatest divines. They have persuaded themselves, or have been taught, that our difference with Rome is only a question “of details,” and not of “principles,” a matter of words and phrases which admit of explanation and reconciliation; and that as Rome has unfortunately made it impossible for herself to alter her language in the least degree, we must make all the advances to reunion, by altering ours and adopting hers. Their minds are so filled with this vision of a great reunited Catholic Church, that they forget that it is only through their own mother, the Church of England, that they were born into the Church Catholic; that it is at her hands they have received their Catholic heritage; that her Prayer-Book and her formularies are for them her expression of Catholic truth and Catholic worship, as she believes that she has derived these, through the primitive church, from Christ and His apostles; and that if these are not what she claims for them, if she have lost for us any essential portion of that heritage or mutilated the doctrine of Christ, if wherever she differs from Rome she is less catholic, less primitive, less pure than Rome—nay, that if she have quarrelled with Rome only on points of “detail” and matters of phraseology, and not on questions of deep and vital “principle,” her position is utterly untenable, her claims to our allegiance gone, and that she and we are simply in a state of wanton and unjustifiable schism.

5.—*A false ideal Church.*

They are loyal to a Church of England, but it is to a Church of their own imagining; a Church which has never yet existed in

this country ; a Church which is not Roman, for it rejects the Roman obedience, nor Anglican, for it accepts nearly all Roman doctrine, nor yet Catholic and Primitive, for its worship and teaching are mainly Mediæval ; a Church which dislikes its own history, despises its own ritual, and doubts its own orders ; a Church which Rome repudiates, and which England knows not ; a Church which assuredly is not the Church of England as she appears in English history, or as she has defined herself in her own formularies. And yet they have come to believe that this, their Utopia, is the very Church of England of which they are now ministers, and to which they have promised obedience. Now strange and all but inconceivable as such a position seems to me ; utterly irreconcilable as I believe it to be with true loyalty to the reformed Church of England, I am willing to believe that to others it does not seem so ; not the less, however, do I believe it to be perilous for themselves and for the Church ; perilous to themselves, as it forces now one and now another of them, in obedience to its real logical necessities, to leave us for Rome ; perilous to the Church, as all teaching and practice that is really foreign to her doctrine and discipline must be.

6.—*Earnest Remonstrance and Warning.*

So regarding it, I have spoken words of warning and remonstrance, which will, doubtless, be little heeded by those they most concern ; but which may have, I trust, some weight with those who have not yet committed themselves to teaching or to practices such as those I have been describing,—to the great body, may I not say to every one of the clergy of this diocese—I venture to repeat that word of counsel and exhortation which I have endeavoured to make the keynote of all I have been saying in this Charge. Be loyal—thoroughly loyal to the Church in which it has pleased God to appoint your lot in His ministry. Weigh carefully, scrupulously even, her claims to your allegiance. Consider well, reconsider if you will, her position as opposed to all Papal and Puritan innovation on the one hand or the other ; see if her *via media* really be the way of safety and of truth for us ; judge with keenest scrutiny, too, if her relations to the State be lawful, and further, if they be really at this moment for the spiritual good both of the Church and of the people of England. And if, when you have done this, you can

honestly say, as before God, we believe that the Church, whose ministers we are, Established, Reformed, Primitive, Scriptural, as we see her to be, is that Church to which we can, with a good conscience, give ourselves as her servants, then be content not only to abide in her service, but to do her work in her way in all hearty and faithful loyalty. She may not be all that even her most faithful sons may desire for her ; but she is and ought to be for us, so long as we remain within her pale, the best and purest Church we know of ; and we should be very jealous how we allow scruples as to her full right to all our obedience, or longings after doctrines she does not teach, or practices she does not enjoin, to make us discontented and half-hearted in her service. She needs at this moment the loyal and loving help of all her sons, but chiefly and especially of us of the clergy. I have said, and I believe it, that her future under God depends far more upon what her clergy are and do in this very generation in which we are living than upon anything else. No power or influence from without can do her one tithe of the harm that we can do her, or give her one tithe of the help that we can give her, from within. It is then a grave and a solemn responsibility, brethren, which thus rests upon each one of us. We may, if we choose, and that only too easily and too fatally, hurt the Church by our disloyalty, by our strife and party spirit, or by our sloth and carelessness ; in that case we shall have to answer for having destroyed a power for good in this our country and in the world, which, once lost, no human wisdom or effort could ever restore. Or we may, not indeed as easily, not without painful toil and self-denial, not without patience and courage and faithful perseverance in well-doing, not without large sacrifice of personal preference and self-will, but yet completely and successfully, preserve and hand on to those who are to come after us the great trust which has come down to us of the pure faith of the gospel of Christ as it is enshrined in the doctrine and the ritual, and brought within the reach of the people of this country by the organization of the Church of England. May God give us grace, my brethren, to lay to heart these our great responsibilities, and wisdom and courage faithfully to discharge them for His sake and in His sight.

THE CONSPIRACY TO ROMANIZE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,— EXPOSED AND DENOUNCED.

BY THE LATE RT. REV. ARTHUR CHARLES, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.*

It is a fundamental principle of Christianity itself, and is distinctly laid down in the Articles of Religion, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation" (Art. vi.). The audacious attempt to set up as articles of faith things not read in Holy Scripture, nor to be proved thereby, is anti-Christian and impious. In the interpretation, however, of Holy Scripture, the ministry and witness of the Church is invaluable. When we have distinct evidence of universal consent in the Churches, say of the three first centuries, as to the doctrine of Holy Scripture on any point, it forms a weight of argument as to what the true meaning of Holy Scripture is, which none but the most presumptuous and arrogant will despise. *Ecclesia docet, Scriptura probat.*

There are in the nature of things a number of rules, practices, ordinances, ceremonies, formularies, which are not contained in Holy Scripture, and which vary, and ought to vary, and must vary, in different ages, and in different countries. By whom, and on what authority, are such changes in ritual, in dress, in ceremonies, in prayers, in rules and regulations, to be made? Surely it is self-evident that, as the thirty-fourth article says, "every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying;" but that "whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church . . . which be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly." The Church of England, when she cast off the usurped authority of the Pope of Rome, and with it the corruptions and errors of more than a thousand years, and resumed her inherent right, as a Church, to regulate her own affairs, did deliberately, and painfully, and circumspectly, determine and decree what ceremonies, rites, traditions, and customs she would retain, and what it was for the edification of the Church that she should reject. And the result of her collective wisdom, ratified by lawful authority in Church and State, we have in her Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the

Sacraments. That Book, with the Thirty-nine Articles, is the voice of the English Church. To it every Priest and Deacon is bound, by the most solemn declarations and promises, to yield a hearty obedience. Not his own private opinion, but the voice of the Prayer-Book, is in all such things his rule and guide. Not the practice of the Western Church, *i.e.*, the Church of Rome, not the canons and rules of churches in Asia, or Gaul, or Africa a thousand years ago, but the Canons and Rules and Rubrics of the Church of England, actually in force, are the authority which he is bound to obey. For an English Churchman to disobey his Prayer-Book, on the plea of a so-called Catholic usage which his Church has rejected, and to endeavour, by sheer obstinacy, to overrule the provisions which he has sworn to obey, and to substitute others for them, is to my apprehension a plain act of immorality, and contrary to all principles of true churchmanship.

I have thought it right to speak thus plainly, because it is notorious that there are those in the Church at the present day who have deliberately and avowedly undertaken the task of revolutionizing the Church of England as to her doctrine and her ritual, and of effecting her reunion with the Church of Rome. There is scarcely a single doctrine of that corrupt communion which it has not been attempted of late to bring back among us. The depreciation of the Bible as the rule of faith, and the exaltation of the Church as a fountain of revelation; the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and dead; solitary masses as sacrifices by which non-communicants are benefited; such a local presence of the Lord Jesus in the consecrated elements as to be a proper object of worship, a worship directed to the elements as containing Him; the invocation and worship of the Virgin Mary, and prayers for her intercession; auricular confession and priestly absolution; penance; purgatory, and so on, not one of which was taught or practised in the Anti-Nicene Church. And, together with these, have been introduced a whole host of practices of a minor kind, all savouring of Romanism, and intended to familiarize the Anglican worshipper with Roman ways. The English priests and

* From his Charge to the Clergy, 1873.

deacons are to be dressed as like as possible to Romish priests and deacons; the church choristers are to be as like as possible to the acolytes and choristers in a Romish Church; the Lord's table is to be made and dressed as like as possible to the altar of a Romish church; the chants and music are to be as like as possible to those in the Church of Rome; the processions, banners, crosses, and crucifixes, of Romish ceremonials, are to be exactly imitated; the Roman use of incense and wafer bread is to be adopted; in short, in everything Anglican worship is to be assimilated as closely as possible to the worship in Belgian, Italian, and other Romish churches. Then, again, we are introduced to a variety of supplements to the Prayer-Book. Offices are provided for the consecration of portable altars, for the benediction of church bells, for the consecration of chrism and holy oil with which to anoint the sick, for the blessing of altar-cloths, corporals, patens, pyxes, albs, chasubles, &c. We have offices, too, for the admission of novices, male and female; for the profession of brothers and sisters; for the installation of superiors of brotherhoods, and mother superiors of sisterhoods; and we have a great variety of litanies, for the dead as well as for the living, all as unlike the litany of the Church as it is possible to conceive. There are offices, too, for the blessing of salt and water. And the priest (*i.e.*, the English clergyman) is to throw the salt into the water in the form of a cross, saying, "Let this mixture be made in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And there are offices for blessing candles for Candlemas day, and for blessing ashes for Ash Wednesday, and for blessing palms and flowers for Palm Sunday; and there are benedictions of service books, of thuribles, of incense, of tapers, of crucifixes, of medals, of church banners, &c. We are also favoured with works which pass through two or more editions, in which, among other things, the clergy are instructed as to what is necessary to a devout celebration and communion. Among them I find that he ought not to wash his teeth in the morning before he communicates, for fear of drinking a drop of water, and so breaking his fast, nor to cough afterwards; and that it is the celebrant's duty to rinse out the chalice after celebration, and to pour water over his fingers into the chalice, and then to drink the water, with much more of the same kind,

which it is sickening to mention! Another method largely used for familiarizing the English churchman's mind with Roman Catholic doctrine, is the introduction and recommendation on a large scale of Roman Catholic books of devotion, and especially books connected with confession, and with the (so-called) sacrifice of the altar. The mind is thus familiarized with the teaching of Liguori, and Ignatius Loyola, and with breviaries and missals, and alienated from the language of the Anglican Prayer-Book and the doctrines of the Anglican Church.*

All this, together with the tone used by certain writers, and the endeavour to hoot down those who resist the attempt to Romanize the Church of England, as if they were not true churchmen, but ignorant, uncatholic dissenters, convinces me that there is a deliberate conspiracy on foot somewhere to bring back the Church of England to communion with, and obedience to, the Pope of Rome. Indeed, if all these doctrines and practices which I have detailed are and ought to be the practices and doctrines of the English Church, I am at a loss to know on what grounds our separation from Rome can be justified. The question of the precise degree of authority to be exercised by the Bishop of Rome over the Western Churches is hardly one of sufficient importance to create a great schism; the difference between the doctrine of transubstantiation and that taught by the new school is absolutely insignificant in the region of religion: and there is no other important question at issue, that I am aware of, between Rome and England. So that we are brought face to face with the question, Shall the Church of England return to her allegiance to the Church of Rome?

Shall the mighty Revolution of the 16th century be undone, and shall we have a Restoration? a restoration of the Popedom on British soil? a restoration of all those corruptions, those follies, those idolatries, those perversions of the truth, those wretched debasing superstitions, and that priestly tyranny, which for so many centuries almost quenched the light of Christianity, and annihilated the liberties of the laity? Shall we exchange our Prayer-Books for breviaries and missals; close our Bibles and take up with the lives of saints, or the "Garden of the Soul;" in a word, submit to the decrees

* We may well exclaim—with feelings of righteous indignation—in the emphatic words of the late Canon Jelf,—
"Quosque—How far! How long!"—Ed.]

of the Council of Trent, and the last Œcumenical Council of Rome?

If we are not prepared to do this, if we are determined, by God's grace, to stand to the Reformation, and if we are satisfied that such teaching as that of which I have given specimens is NOT in harmony with the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with the doctrine which the Apostles, illuminated by the Holy Ghost, delivered to the churches all over the world, nor with the doctrine for which the fathers of the English Reformation laid down their lives, and which they have handed down to us, then it is time for us to make a stand against the attempt to reimpose Popery upon the English Church. We must not allow ourselves to drift gradually and unconsciously into the communion of Rome. We must not be like the silly daughters of Pelias, and allow our Church to be dismembered, limb by limb, in the vain hope that in the hands of our modern Medeas she will come forth in renewed youth and beauty. And I appeal to you, my brethren of the clergy, and to you, my brethren of the laity, to help in withstanding the astounding growth of that spirit which gives birth to the kind of religion which I have described.

I believe that the most efficient barrier that can be raised against Popery is the doctrine, rightly understood, and the system fully carried out, of the English Church. Popery is a very compact and vigorous system, administered with great ability, having the prestige of vast power and dignity, and of a mighty and long-sustained empire; having on its side the authority of many illustrious names, aye and the adhesion of many very holy men and women; having a long pedigree and the weight of antiquity, and a large mixture of truth with its deadly errors, and the support of much theological learning, and of much devotion and piety on its behalf. No random religion, stones without mortar, separate doctrines loosely piled together, will ever be able to stand against it. It is not the individual piety that may be found amongst our dissenters, nor the ill-regulated fanaticism of our Plymouth Brethren, nor the rationalistic views of those among us who *Germanize*, that can oppose an effectual barrier to its progress. The Church of England, with her apostolic ministry, her succession both of orders and sacraments, her firm hold of scriptural doctrine, her consent with primitive tradition and practice,

her sober, sound, evangelical formularies cast in the very mould of primitive antiquity, her determined rejection of the superstitious inventions of men, with the steady support and maintenance given her by the power of the Crown and the law of the land, has hitherto opposed an effectual barrier to the usurpations and encroachments of Rome in this country. If she is materially altered in any one of these respects, I greatly doubt her power to maintain such barrier. Her force of cohesion being destroyed, and her balance of doctrinal power being weakened, *she would herself split up*. A portion of her members would at once fall into Rome by inevitable gravitation; a portion would join the different sects; a portion would fall away into Socinianism and various grades of infidelity; and the faithful remnant would be too feeble to make head against the swelling tide of Romanism.

It is, therefore, of the utmost moment to the cause of the true Christian faith, I mean to its maintenance in England, that we should all, clergy and laity, stand by the Church of England, and maintain the principles on which she is founded. To suppose that you can introduce into her the several doctrines, the practices, the dress, the ornaments, the ceremonies, the whole spirit of Rome, and yet maintain her separate from Rome, is a fond and silly dream. Unprotestantize the Church of England, and saturate her with what men are pleased to call (though most falsely) Catholic ritual and Catholic (as opposed to scriptural) doctrine, and to a certainty she will coalesce with Rome. I ask you all, therefore, *to stand by the Church of England*. Hold fast the two principles which I have enunciated as held by her. (1) That what is necessary to salvation, and unchangeable in her doctrine and ritual, rests upon HOLY SCRIPTURE, and can neither be added to, nor diminished. (2) That rites and ceremonies and formularies may be decreed or changed by the authority of each particular or national Church, and by none other. Hold fast these two principles and act upon them. You will then look to Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the Church, for all vital and saving doctrine; and you will dutifully obey the laws and rubrics of that branch of the Church of which you are members, instead of presuming to substitute for them the ceremonies or formularies of other Churches.

A WARNING TO THE LAITY AGAINST THE CONSPIRACY TO SUBVERT THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. J. W. BURGON, DEAN OF CHICHESTER.*

I proceed to set before you the growing dissatisfaction of the faithful Laity at the Romanizing movement within the Church of England, which is even now making its way in many quarters unrestrained, and even unrebuked.

The more thoughtful, and earnest, and faithful among the Laity of the Church of England are growing impatient of the continual acts of aggression which they are constrained to witness, without having the slightest power to resist or check their progress, or to escape from the calamitous consequences which they inevitably and immediately entail on themselves and their families. It is easy to say,—“If any are aggrieved, let them go to some other Church. They are quite at liberty to do so.” But then, an Englishman is apt to say,—“But pray *why* am I and my family to be driven away from our parish Church, because a young man, remarkably ill-furnished with Divinity, or Learning, or Experience, or good sense, takes it into his head that he will imitate the dress and adopt the method of the Romish Communion, which I hate as cordially as did my Fathers at the time of the Reformation; and insists on introducing practices which have never been heard of within the Church of England during upwards of 300 years?”

For to *whom* after all do our parish Churches *belong*? Not certainly to the Clergy,—except in the way of solemn trust. You may be sure I am not the man to underrate my office, or to disparage the privileges of my order. But it has never yet been held to be part of the priestly office to revolutionize the furniture of the Church or the “ornaments” of those who minister within it. No permission has been accorded to our parochial clergy to introduce at will innovations into the method of conducting the public Service: neither have they any right whatever to make their parish Church the arena for the ventilation of their own private caprices in matters of ritual,—still less of doctrine. They mistake their function altogether when they claim a right to do anything of the kind. They have a commission given them faithfully

to carry out an established rule of public Service,—not to invent a new one. I hesitate not, therefore, to say that this which I have been describing is a real grievance, and one which may reasonably exasperate the faithful Laity,—as I perceive it does exasperate them,—to an extraordinary degree.

Let us trust one another as much and as long as we possibly can: with generous forbearance, let us make all the allowance we can for our clergy,—especially for the young and inexperienced among them,—so that there be but earnestness and zeal. But then, indulgence and forbearance must stop somewhere. There is a limit to the amount of licence which is tolerable even in a parish Church,—where it is natural that men should feel even particularly sensitive of innovation and disinclined to change.

The faithful laity of whom I speak are devoted Churchmen to the backbone: true and earnest men,—loyal and large-hearted sons of the Church of England,—who have endured till they can endure no longer; and who deem what is just now going on in this Church of ours, (as I myself deem it), an intolerable grievance which must by all means be resisted. It becomes simply unbearable: a thing which absolutely may not, cannot be endured. I speak of the studious assimilation of our practices,—our vestments,—our terminology,—our very ritual, to the practices, vestments, terminology, ritual of Rome. Even this is not all. Encouraged by their successes,—emboldened by the forbearance of the lay-people, and by the lamentable absence of anything like discipline within the Church,—yes, and above all, carried forward by the very necessity of their position, (for the logical development of a principle is of the nature of a necessity,—be it true or be it false;—) this little handful of disloyal men are already teaching Romish Doctrine and inculcating Romish principles by every means in their power. How much further is this to be allowed to proceed? How much longer is this unfaithfulness to go on unrestrained?

A burning desire is very largely felt,—an inflexible determination is already manifesting itself in many quarters,—at all hazards, to stem the Romanizing movement by constitutional means *now*. For my own

* From a Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, 1873

part, I must be allowed freely to declare that I see no legitimate *locus standi* for the leaders of this mediæval school of thought and practice within the Church of England: and that I can discover no legitimate course for such of them as really hold that Doctrine concerning the Holy Eucharist to which their practices unmistakeably point, but that they should, as honest men, go out from among us,—go over to our open and avowed enemy, at once.

To call to mind all the instances of unfaithfulness which have transpired within the last few years, would clearly be an endless proceeding. Invidious or unfair, it could not at least be called; for certainly, to put their doings ostentatiously forward,—offensively, and as if in defiance, to thrust them on public notice,—is the rule with these persons. An elaborate report of their proceedings always appears in the public prints. No one is suffered to remain long uninformed of the outlandish ceremonial,—the unauthorized costume,—the strange ornaments, which have been exhibited; the extent to which irregularity and mediævalism have ventured to go, unrepressed and unrebuked.

Their method is found to be above all things to introduce the nomenclature and phraseology of Rome; whereby Englishmen's ears become gradually familiarized to a vocabulary which represents tenets which their Church entirely disallows.—Next, these men assimilate the furniture of GOD'S House, and especially of the LORD'S Table,—as far as they possibly can, to the Romish type: so that you might sometimes suppose that you must surely be in a Church belonging to members of the Romish Communion.—Then further, they openly adopt minor practices of the same religious body which it were perhaps unreasonable to do more than censure as indiscreet, and disallow as mischievous: but which unquestionably by degrees familiarize the mind to a style of teaching which as yet is happily all but unknown among us, and pave the way for the introduction of yet graver irregularities. What is more serious,—by adopting Vestments, and Ornaments of the person generally, unauthorized for the use of our parochial clergy, but worn by the clergy of the Romish Church, these men display their secret sympathy with the teaching which those vestments symbolize, or with which at least they have been hitherto exclusively associated; and thus, by a side-wind, doc-

trines are recommended which it would be found impracticable to advocate openly.

When "High Mass" and "Low Mass" are familiarly spoken of; and a congregation is openly invited "to pray for the soul" of such an one, recently departed;—when wafers are given instead of bread; and the cup is no longer "delivered into the hands" of the communicant; and the latter part of the prescribed formula at communicating is industriously omitted;—when Confessional-Boxes are thrust into our Churches;—when Extreme Unction is deliberately administered to the dying; and "Mass" for the soul is said in the chamber where the man is lying dead;—when the recitation of the *Magnificat* is made the special occasion for clouds of incense; and it is becoming plain that "Vespers" are to be made a "function" in the Blessed Virgin's honour;—when a second and even a third "altar" is set up in a Church,—one of them, you may be sure, in honour of "Mary," (which is surely against the law of the Church and of the land:)—lastly,—(for I gladly close this sickening enumeration of acts of unfaithfulness unexampled in our Church, happily, since those excellently learned and truly holy men—whom just now it is the fashion in some quarters to revile—delivered it from the bondage and the corruptions of Rome:)—lastly, I say, when we encounter tokens of an unfaithful yearning towards Romish tenets, Romish practices, Romish institutions,—so that to conform our Services, our usages, our Ritual, as far as practicable to the Romish type, is evidently the grand object of the restless and unscrupulous party I speak of*: the result of which is that we cannot always recognize our own clergy when we see them—and (when the "*Stations of the Cross*" or the new "*Litanies*" are being recited,) may be excused if we fail to recognize our Prayer-Book Services either:—then, silence becomes no longer possible. It is to connive at the scandal, to witness it without remonstrance. A snare is being laid for the young and unwary against which they must by all means be set on their guard. A dishonour is being done to our Church, and by her own Ministers too, which is not to be endured. . . .

It is, believe me, because I see plainly

* The right to erect a "*Baldacchino*, for the purpose of giving greater dignity (?) to the Sacrament," is the latest claim set up by this new sect.

that the only logical result of such principles and such practices within the Church of England will be to betray many unstable souls into the hands of the Church of Rome: to sow the seeds of division and dissension among our own people: to destroy the peace of families: to violate the sanctity of households: to culminate in one more portentous Sect: and not least of all, I am persuaded that this proposed substitute for the Religion of our Fathers is a sorry, an unreal, an unspiritual kind of thing:—these, *these* are the reasons why I have spoken from the pulpit, out of a full heart, so plainly on the subject. .

I know very well that it is urged on behalf of the Clergy of this ultramontane school, that they are “so zealous, so painstaking; do so much good; get hold of the humblest class of all; attract the very highest.” God forbid, friends and brethren, that I should ignore self-denial, self-devotion, works of love, wherever found; or seem to deny the workings of God’s powerful Spirit in any quarter. But will you pretend that there is *any* necessary, or even natural connection, between the practices we all deplore, the tenets we all condemn,—and *that* earnestness in GOD’S service, that zeal for GOD’S glory, which we all agree to reverence and admire? Surely also I am not going to be told that these men enjoy a monopoly of the pastoral graces? Disabuse your minds of foolish and unreasonable prejudices on this subject. . . .

There is no telling how fatal is this retrograde movement to the progress of real Churchmanship throughout the length and breadth of the land. “Ritualism,” (for so *disloyalty to the Church* is absurdly called,) is the great difficulty with a surprising number of the Clergy in our large towns,—especially in the Northern Dioceses. The working people simply *hate* it. They will not listen to “Church-Defence” while this ugly phantom looms before them.

Thus the cause of Christianity itself is suffering by the extravagancies of a little handful of misguided men. They assume that their outlandish ways are “Catholic;” whereas they are schismatical entirely,—the outcome of a lawless spirit, a morbid appetite, an undisciplined will. Indecent self assertion and undutiful disregard for lawful Authority are even conspicuous notes of this new sect. It is enough that one of these “Catholic-minded” gentlemen should be rebuked by “his Ordinary,”—(whom, at the most solemn

moment of his life, he promised that he would “*reverently obey*,”)—for him to go off into yet more reprehensible excesses. Meanwhile, the organs of his Party denounce the proposed interference in the most unmeasured language; and the vocabulary of defiance, contumely, invective is exhausted on as many as avow themselves on the side of Authority and Order. I will add,—(for the picture would be incomplete without it,) that indications are not wanting that this new Religion fails to promote honesty, sincerity, candour, truthfulness of character. I am understating the matter. It would be terrible to draw out in detail the effect which these novel tenets and novel practices seem to have on the heart and on the life. The sacredness of a pledge solemnly given, seems to be no longer fully realized. Equivocation of the most pitiful description is openly resorted to. Things have come to a grave pass indeed with any religious body, when evidence is afforded of their general disregard for Truth.

Beware, friends and brethren, I warn and beseech you, every one—from the greatest and eldest down to the youngest and very least,—Beware of promoting strife and division in the Church by adopting the tenets, the practices, of the men against whom I have been putting you on your guard. “Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.” Yes, rest and peace; peace in life, and (what is better) peace in death. These histrionic extravagancies may appeal successfully to the young and impulsive,—may for awhile gratify the taste and captivate the imagination; but they will be found sorry things to fall back upon in times of extremity, and amid the decays of age; in the hour of fainting nature and on the bed of death. There is wondrous little of the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST in this miserable resuscitation of effete Mediævalism. It is of the earth,—earthly: an unspiritual, a wholly un-English thing. Be ye loyal,—be ye faithful,—be ye true-hearted! Be content “to dwell among your own people.” Cleave to the religion of your Fathers! Be faithful to the Church of your Baptism, and to the teaching of that Church! “GOD” (be well assured!)—“GOD is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed. GOD SHALL HELP HER, AND THAT RIGHT EARLY.”

"THE CHURCH AND LAW."

FROM A LETTER OF THE MOST REV. THE LATE A. C., ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
IN ANSWER TO THE REV. CANON CARTER, OF CLEWER, MARCH, 1877.

I cannot but feel much for the "sore distress" which you state has been caused to yourself and others by events which have lately occurred in our Church. You will not doubt that, differing from you in many most important points, I have full sympathy for all those who, like yourself, are endeavouring with much self-denial to do God's work in the way which best approves itself to their consciences. . . . In reference to that part of your letter which treats of ritual, I ought to say that, citing the authoritative declarations, explaining the principles on which our formularies were originally constructed, or from time to time amended, by reference to Catholic antiquity, you seem to me unwarrantably to have deduced from these declarations the dangerous principle that private individuals are entitled to add to the prescribed ceremonial of our Church any ceremonies which they themselves, or the circle of Divines among whom they move, believe to be consonant with Catholic usage. In condemning, for example, the dictum of the judges that by "necessary implication a rubric must be construed as abolishing what it does not retain," you seem to me to lose sight of the very object of rubrics, constructed with the view of securing a becoming amount of uniformity. Because it is granted that the general laws of the country are not to be held as forbidding practices of which they make no mention, you hurry to the conclusion that rubrics also may be interpreted in the same manner. . . .

You cannot, I think, gravely doubt that rubrical directions are in the main intended to prescribe a uniform system, and to exclude, as a general rule, ceremonies which they do not sanction. What would soon become the condition of our churches if some such general rule of uniformity were not acted on? You cannot, I think, be aware of the distress which has been caused to many pious souls, by the unauthorized introduction in parish churches of unusual practices, not sanctioned by the Prayer-Book, in the holiest rite of Christian worship. You cannot mean to contend that every clergyman, or knot of clergymen, is entitled to alter the prescribed form of administering the Holy Communion by adding whatever gestures, postures, dresses, or other ceremonial may be believed to be consonant with the usages of

Catholic antiquity. To allow this would be fatal to the peace of the Church of England, and alienate thousands upon thousands of its most attached members. No one in authority wishes to impose upon all clergymen and all parishes a rigidly prescribed ceremonial unvarying in every particular. Our rubrics are constructed with such wise elasticity that room may be found within their limits for the gorgeous worship of the cathedral and the simplicity of the most unadorned homely parish church. . . .

You might naturally be alarmed, if you believed that there was a danger of your being all "forced into a line of ritual use" which harmonized according to your expression "only with the ultra-Protestant communities, as opposed to that of all other portions of the Catholic Church." That wise conformity with the rubrics of the Church of England which forbids us to add to them on private authority ceremonials unknown to England, since the Reformation, is what the dictum, to which you so strongly object, enjoins. There is nothing in recent legislation which can, by possibility, press heavily on loyal members of the Church of England, who are contented to tread in matters of ritual and doctrine in the steps of what is called the Catholic School of our Divines, holding at once faithfully to primitive antiquity and to the principles of the Reformation.

It gives me pleasure to find that, as I understand the letter you have sent to me, you hold out no encouragement to those who would seek to establish their views of Church order and ritual by a violent resistance to the existing authorities of the Church. It would have been strange if you had sanctioned the intemperate and foolish proposal to obey no court or authority in the Church or realm, so long as such courts and other authorities are bound to conform to the interpretations of law given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. . . .

I turn to that part of your letter, where you state that you will proceed from ritual "to the more critical question of jurisdiction." I understand you to seek, by legitimate means, to effect certain constitutional changes in the present condition of our Church, first, as to its legislative, and secondly, as to its judicial arrangements; and I understand you to hold that the changes which you contemplate will be but a return to

what you believe, erroneously or otherwise, to have been the constitutional order when the Church of England freed itself from Papal corruptions at the Reformation. . . .

I suspect, however, that in advocating these opinions you will find yourself in a small minority amongst attached members of the Church of England. It will probably be contended by many that the regulation of minor matters must be left to be dealt with either by Acts of Parliament, or by Canons, as the nature of the case requires, while only very great constitutional changes, involving an alteration of the original compact between Church and State, will require to be referred to the deliberate discussion of all parties in the compact.

I would urge further, in reference to this matter, that it will be necessary before you can obtain the approval of Churchmen and of the nation generally, that you should have very clearly settled with yourself what the exact changes are which you desire in the existing legislative constitution of the National Church. Please to remember also, that the persons whom you have to persuade are a very large body indeed, not merely the comparatively few who will accept your views as to the complete independence of the ecclesiastical power from lay control; but that overwhelming Protestant majority which constitutes the very backbone of the English Church, and loves it for the very reason that it has ever made a successful protest against those ultra-sacerdotal views which prevailed in England before the Reformation.

The present dissatisfaction and difference of opinion which has come prominently before the public, has reference directly to matters of ritual, which only secondarily involve questions of doctrine. No doubt it is for the doctrines which the condemned ritual is supposed to typify that so much feeling has been elicited on both sides in recent controversies. I should deprecate as strongly as yourself any attempt to narrow the limits of allowable doctrine within the Church of England, so as to exclude any form of opinion which has been sanctioned in our Church from the Reformation downwards. The Church of England, like the people of England, will never return to the errors of Rome. While it protests solemnly against such unbelieving expositions of the Christian faith as would reduce the religion of Christ to the rank of a mere human philosophy, it will never from fear of infidelity ally itself with an exploded superstition. It seems, *e.g.*, absolutely certain

that the Church of England will not tolerate within its pale doctrines which base themselves on the Romish theory of transubstantiation, or on such an exaggeration of the powers of the priestly office as would introduce habitual auricular confession amongst our people. . . .

There is a point beyond which it is dangerous to allow liberty of opinion on one side or the other, lest liberty degenerate into license: but between the two dangerous extremes which the Church condemns, there is, and always has been, an ample field for that truly Catholic variety of sentiment which has been found in every intelligent and widely extended Church of Christ, from the days of the Apostles downwards. May I urge upon you in the interests of Catholic liberty itself how important it is, at the present time, that all whom you can influence should have their attention directed to the danger they run of having their liberty curtailed if they take any rash steps. Many of them desire doubtless to indoctrinate, if not to identify, the whole Church of England with their own peculiar views. Our Church is on its guard against such an attempt, but still is very tolerant of individual eccentricities of opinion, doubtless in the charitable hope that with good and earnest men things will right themselves at last.

It is a matter for grave and very serious consideration how far any great change in the present constitution, likely to be sanctioned by the majority of Churchmen and the nation, would not press very heavily on extreme High Churchmen. The Church of England as at present constituted wishes to treat them with all fairness, but would not endure their assuming a supremacy.

I would urge them to take this opportunity of carefully reconsidering their present position, and of judging themselves, lest in any respect they have been misled by the clamours of an unreflecting enthusiasm, and are contending for matters which have no warrant in the Word of God or the decisions of the Apostolic Church Catholic. There is at present much cause to fear injury to themselves, as well as disunion and confusion in the Church of which they are members, if they come to be regarded by the overwhelming majority of Churchmen as persons, who, holding opinions dangerous to their own souls, are bent on propagating them both within and beyond the limits of the law, in a Church which loves the Reformation and steadily adheres to its tenets.

For myself, I would gladly secure for them all fair liberty within the Church. I desire that we should retain the services of their earnestness and self-devotion, and bring them back to the simplicity of the Faith. But, as I have said, there must be a limit to the Church's forbearance, and I confess to much fear lest the intemperate and lawless acts and words of earnest men may do both them and us and the cause of Christianity irreparable mischief.

Your's faithfully, A. C. CANTUAR.

ON "THE COUNTER-REFORMATION MOVEMENT," BY THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

"Ritualism—I use the word for convenience—was probably at first only sensational and æsthetic. It arose apparently from more than one imperfectly defined source, but perhaps mainly from a desire to do outward honour and reverence to Almighty God in our services, and to raise public prayer and praise into worship and devotion. At first it met with but little direct sympathy. The elder and leading members of the High Church party not only gave it no encouragement, but even to some extent discountenanced it. Definite doctrine, however, in reference to the Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist, was soon associated with the outward and æsthetic; and then, gradually, many respected names in the Church connected with the Oxford School, directly or by sympathies, either joined the movement or gave it their tacit support. Combined with this influence, arising from Eucharistic teaching, there was and had silently existed for some little time in the Church a deep desire for union, as far as possible, with the sundered Churches of the East and the West, and with it a natural readiness to conform more and more with usages which were common to these Churches, and to exhibit the inward desire by outward manifestation. In a sermon preached by me at Bristol seven years ago, I stated my persuasion that there was then developing 'a clear desire to supplement the Prayer-Book, to rehabilitate the principles of the Reformation, and to modify to some extent that ever recurrent reference to the personal and subjective faith of the individual Christian, which was the principle that our forefathers in Christ most solemnly vindicated for us, which they illustrated by their lives and their teaching, and which they sealed with their blood.' Such was what then seemed to be the future of Ritualism—a future which the recent petition to Convocation in favour of strange supplements to the Prayer-Book, and of licensed Confessors, shows to have already come—and to be fast passing into still more serious developments.

"The present, indeed, involves more than the desire merely to rehabilitate the principles of the Reformation. The desire now is plainly to reverse them. Associations have been silently formed, and combinations fostered, and 'what is, or rather has been called, the Ritualistic

movement, has now passed into a distinctly counter-Reformation movement, and will whenever sufficiently sustained by numbers, and perfected in organization, reveal its ultimate aims with clearness and decision.' These may be thought grave words, but I am convinced if any candid Churchman will only read some of the publications which confessedly represent the views and principles of this party—if anyone will examine their catechetical books for the young, and will consider the recent unqualified advocacy of the practical necessity of Confession, he will only be able to come to one conclusion, viz., that just as our leaders of free thought are returning back upon old forms of scepticism and error, so the party we are now considering are deliberately returning to practices, usages and doctrines which were swept away by the English Reformation. In some points it would seem as if that concealment and suppression of real sentiment which has so often been characterized as one of the worst moral features of the system we protested against and rejected were stealing back again among us

"If this be the state of parties now in the Church, if there is really a small but confessedly very active party who are labouring for a return to pre-Reformation principles, and who are sustained in their efforts by the feeling that thus they are furthering a holy cause, the re-union of the sundered, and who believe that this is their duty and their mission—if this is so, what, it may be asked, will be the future of the movement? For what must we prepare ourselves? What are those issues to which such antagonisms, as are now developing among us, must certainly lead? I fear there can be now really only one answer,—the gradual absorption of all that are in heart and spirit opposed to the Reformation in some community that disowns that movement. . . . So far as we can now see there would seem to be the two issues. If, on the one hand, the counter-Reformation party succeed in obtaining a recognized position in the National Church, disestablishment will promptly follow; and then *novæ tabulæ*, and a complete change of scene. If, on the other hand, they continue to be regarded as alien to the Church of the Reformation, then a gradual disintegration of the party will be the most likely result." . . . *From his Charge to the Diocese. Oct., 1873.*

PRESENT DANGERS OF THE CHURCH.

The dangers that now menace the Established National Church are especially grave. They may be all summed up in those three forms of evil which I have already specified, and with which we have unhappily now become all too familiar—lawlessness, caballing and the spirit of party, and that undue exaltation of an office and its privileges which is commonly known by the name of sacerdotalism. With each one of these forms of danger we have been brought

frequently in contact during the last ten years. Much has been said on these subjects; many a warning has been given; many an indication of the train of evils that always accompany these three dangerous principles has often been specified. Still, they are prevailing with us, and—what is of especial moment—under present forms and developments that seem to give us additional causes for anxiety. These forms and developments, these new aspects of old dangers, it may be useful for us to subject to a very care-

ful consideration, as there would really seem to be some good cause for thinking that they are now assuming very dangerous aspects, and that verily the last state may be now becoming even worse than the first.

I. With lawlessness we have long been familiar. For fully half a generation almost every essay on the state of the Church, every Address like the present, every graver document that has in any degree represented the general voice of the clergy and laity of this Church and nation has called attention to the increasing tendency of individuals, in the matter of rites and ceremonies, to become a law to themselves, and to adopt, on their own responsibility, whatever they might themselves judge to be primitive and catholic. With all this we have become painfully familiar; but it is only of late that this lawlessness has raised itself into a sort of principle, and claimed for itself a legitimacy of development. Of all the unhappy novelities of our own strange days this is the last and most startling.

Lawlessness and disobedience have at length assumed the worst possible form, and are justifying their own existence by arguments which are simply incompatible with the first principles of good faith and integrity.

II. But if this be the first of the three dangers, no one can say that the second of those I enumerated is less serious and menacing. Caballing and party spirit are now threatening the very existence of the Church of England, and must ere long call down upon us some heavy and chastening judgments. It is quite idle and superficial to attempt to get rid of this subject by laying the blame equally on two party societies, and by prescribing that these two societies should do what they certainly will not do—break up and disband themselves. In the first place, the circumstances of the two societies are very different. The Church Association, it must in simple fairness be said, was called into existence by the excesses and extravagances of ritual which had been encouraged by an earlier society, not, I believe, originally constituted for such an object, but unhappily soon committed to it. If we would be equitable in our judgments, the blame must be laid on the highly provocative and antagonist action on the part of the older society which led to the formation of the powerful organisation with which it is now held in check and confronted. It may be doubted whether the term “persecution,” which is unsparingly applied to all proceedings against extreme ritual, is fairly applicable. The persecution is really often quite on the other side. The sober and religious persons of a congregation are frequently harassed and really persecuted by the changes and innovations in ritual which are often persistently introduced in spite of all remonstrances. To fall back upon the law in such cases, or to appeal to the aid of a society that is interested in maintaining the law, is simply self-defence, and is very far removed

from persecution. The true persecutors, as was wisely said by one of our prelates in a letter published early in the present year, are those who resist spiritual and temporal authority, and by their innovations spread confusion and anarchy.

No, my dear friends, it is not these two societies that make up our present danger, but the appalling party spirit which has called them into existence, and is now making men doubt whether they can possibly have a common Saviour. No wonder that infidelity exists amongst us, and that disbelief in everything is becoming day by day more common, when the Holy Ghost is sinned against, as He now is sinned against, by the utterances on either side, sometimes even from the very pulpit, during the unholy antagonisms of the present time. My very blood runs cold sometimes as I read the denunciations that are forced on one's notice by each hapless creature who thinks it his duty to dip his pen in bitterness, and send its hateful tracings in some leaflet, or pamphlet, or newspaper-letter, which never ought to have seen the light.

If I ever tremble for the future of the Church of England, it is when these hateful instances of party spirit come before my thoughts, and when I remember that, week after week, party newspapers—religious newspapers as they are called—open their columns to this demoralizing invective, and give publicity to that which is not only seriously endangering the peace of the whole Church, but is shaking all faith in religion itself.

And this, alas! is not the only form in which party spirit is now showing itself.

The worst manifestation that party spirit can assume, whether in a nation or a community, is certainly now beginning to be recognized among us—that manifestation which, if repulsive and dangerous in a body politic, as all experience has bitterly proved it to be, in a Church is abhorrent to the very idea of a Church, and is of the most sinister and menacing augury. I allude to secret or partially secret societies—societies formed for a definite purpose which cannot be safely avowed, and organized with the view of more energetically, because more unitedly, propagating their principles and practice. One of these societies has, fortunately for the Church of England, been brought distinctly into the light of common day.¹ It has been said, I know—and I grieve to think that such words could have been uttered by one so respected as the honoured presbyter from whom they came—that the recent exposures which have tended to bring one of these societies into notice are due to the instigations of the powers of evil.² I know it, and I see in such words only another exemplification of the spirit of party and its power even over noble and holy

¹ The Society “of the Holy Cross.”—[Ed.]

² Dr. Pusey, in his preface to *Gaume's Manual of Confessors*, reprinted in the *Guardian* for August 1, 1877.

minds—but I cannot thus estimate the mercy of God that has enabled us, ere it be too late, to realize the fact that societies, definitely organized and with carefully graduated rules of life, are now existing in the Church of England, and are silently aggregating the young and the enthusiastic, the hopeful and the aspiring, into their attractive, but really morally dangerous confraternities. . . .

And this, remember, is very far from being a solitary instance. If this society was especially designed to propagate, sustain, and encourage the practice of Auricular Confession,—the doctrine of a Real Presence, not substantially different from that set forth by the Church of Rome, is also not without the support of a society which is now widely extending itself among our younger and more energetic clergy.¹ I will say no more. I wish to use no unkind or hard expressions which could wound the feelings of any one who may hear or hereafter read these words; the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, and peace, and I desire not to say anything that could hurt that love or mar that peace; but it is still my duty to point out this really grievous and menacing danger arising from party spirit at last becoming crystallized in party societies and organizations. The evil is increasing, sensibly increasing; and it is an evil which, if left unchecked, will drive peace from our borders, and terminate the existence of the Established Church.

III. A few closing words may be said on the third and allied danger of sacerdotalism. Sacerdotalism is but party spirit in another and more strictly professional form. And just as party spirit is increasing, so is sacerdotalism. It has recently displayed itself in its most repulsive form in the effort to promote and encourage confession. Now here again I will not permit myself to use any of the harsh and cruel expressions which have been used against earnest and religious, but most utterly mistaken, men. I will not needlessly swell the strong cry of indignant reprobation that has arisen from every part of this Protestant kingdom; but it is my duty to say it—aye here in this venerable House of God—First, that the evil of man, practically assuming the prerogative which belongs only to God, and of claiming to have strictly supernatural powers denied even in kind or degree to his fellow-men, is widely spreading; and, secondly, that the system which has ever been found to be in closest union with these claims and assumptions, is consequently spreading and becoming propagated. The evil, and the only too well-known historical manifestation of it, are now present and operative in the Church of England. Nay, more, there are conditions favourable for its development. There is a silent and most unwelcome decline of learning, and especially of general culture, in the rank and file of the younger clergy. There is also, as many of us must have noticed with some anxiety,

a tendency to decline in the social standard. . . . Personal vanity, too, is a factor which is now playing a far more important part in the present dangers of the Church than has been at all sufficiently estimated. It is often, especially when combined with obstinacy, the chief moving force in the lawlessness around us. It is the principal constituent in party spirit; and the share it has in fostering and fomenting sacerdotalism, as all experience reminds us, is simply incalculable. And this personal vanity, to speak from merely human estimates, always increases in intensity as courtesy and culture decline. . . .

This tendency [to Sacerdotalism] has of late shown itself in the attempt to re-introduce what is by some boldly spoken of as that which our 25th Article repudiates—the Sacrament of Penance, and by others, more ambiguously and evasively, as Sacramental Confession. This alien practice, it is now perfectly plain, is being steadily and I fear I must add stealthily re-introduced, or as some would prefer to say, revived, in the Church of England. . . .

We therefore find ourselves confronted with a system which we are plainly told shall be, if possible, re-introduced into our Church,—a system which, independent of all other considerations, is calculated to enhance and consolidate the power of the priesthood, and by consequence, dangerously to alienate the whole body of the laity of the Church; and, in the sequel, to precipitate that separation of the Church and the State, which will inevitably and inexorably follow any general development of priestly assumptions on the part of the clergy of the Reformed Church of England. On this subject no reader of history, no quiet observer of the deeper feelings and almost instincts of the people of this country can feel any doubt whatever. Friends are looking forward with anxiety; foes with increasing satisfaction; as both well know that when confession becomes generally advocated and pressed forward, and with it the sacerdotalism of which it is the outward manifestation, then the last sands of the Established Church will be running, and the end very near at hand. . . .

As I shall answer to God for these words, I do solemnly declare my conviction, that there neither is nor can be, consistently with the known laws of poor fallen human nature, any ultimate line of demarcation between the system of Confession that is now being adopted in the Church of England, and that carefully-adjusted and shrewdly-regulated system which is maintained by the Church of Rome. To make the *differentia* between the two systems the principle of non-compulsion is worse than illusory. . . .

Let us, in God's name, bear to see things as they are. I know, nay I can even hear, with at least toleration, all that has of late been passionately urged by those who have had considerable home-missionary experience, in favour of an extension of the system of habitual and so-called Sacramental Confession. . . . I do

¹ "The Confraternity of the blessed Sacrament."—[Ed.]

not forget that it is said that there is nothing like the shame and sorrow of Confession to bring about a real conviction of sin, and to diminish the likelihood of its recurrence. . . . All this I know ; but I also know, independently of all that I have already urged, that on the bare merits of the question, and apart from all ecclesiastical considerations, the arguments on the other side are utterly overwhelming. Let all be said that can be said, and this terrible spiritual fact remains—that the danger of the confessor taking the place of Christ is found to be in practice irremovable. The evidence that can be collected on this subject is simply irresistible. Poor human love of power and poor human trusting in something other than Christ, both terribly co-operating, bear their daily witness to this appalling form of spiritual peril. There are a hundred other dangers—but all, really great as they are, sink into utter nothingness compared with this. Who would dare to incur such a danger when the practice of his own Church, and the counsels of the purest spirits that have lived and died in its communion have earnestly pressed home their ever-repeated warnings ? Are we to build up again the things we destroyed ? Are we to return to bondage from which the Holy Ghost has set us free ? Are we to run the dreadful risk of making Christ of none effect by a worse than Galatian error ? No, it cannot be ; it will not be. Sacramental Confession neither is nor ever will be the doctrine of our Apostolic and Reformed Church.

Two dangerously corruptive influences there are at the present time, both of which, in different ways, in opposite directions, are tending to mar the purity and truth of the doctrine of our mother Church. On the one hand there is the distinct tendency to minimize and attenuate the heritage of dogmatic truth which the Church of England has received and maintained through all changes down to this day. On the other hand, there is the equally patent tendency to stretch our distinctive Church principles until they may be made to include all that was expressly disavowed or tacitly set aside by the fathers of the English Reformation.

These are the two influences that are now introducing corruptness into doctrine, and are causing that deep anxiety as to the future which is felt more and more by every earnest and far-seeing Churchman. Both these influences have their origin in feelings and principles which we cannot unreservedly condemn—nay, which to some extent we may sympathise with and approve ; but both are still just those plausible deprivations of what is good and true which constitute to many minds the worst and most seductive temptations. The influence that tends to minimize and attenuate doctrine is often allied with much that is attractive and philanthropic. It is essentially humanitarian. It breathes human sympathy ; it believes in human progress ; it stimulates human effort. It cannot understand how man can fail to work

out for himself, if refreshed by noble encouragements and stimulated by chivalrous examples—those measures of commencing perfectness which time and progress will bring to full growth and maturation. It discourages, nay it often disavows, as immoral, that trust in the atoning blood of Christ which is the key-stone of all Christian doctrine.

But this corrupting influence, as I have already said, is not the only one that is now at work in the Church of England. Another, and to some extent opposed, influence there is, which is now seeking to persuade us to build again that which we have destroyed, and to go backward into the twilight of those dim days when the blessed radiance of early and apostolic truth could no longer struggle through the thickly gathered clouds of accumulated error and corruption. Yet this influence has also an origin better than its present development. As the love of man and the idea of humanity formed the nobler germinal principle, the *semincia recti*, of the first influence to which I have just alluded, so in this other influence which would lead us all back again to days for ever gone by, and would undo the mighty and providential work of the earlier years of the sixteenth century, is there a silent moving principle, which, in its truest aspects, must command the love of every truly Christian heart. That principle undoubtedly is that all may be one in Christ—one in common worship and adoration as well as in soul and in spirit,—that there may be one flock and one Shepherd, even here and even now—now, before the Church militant shall have become the Church triumphant, and the blessed nearer presence of Christ in His millennial reign shall have drawn all that love Him unto Himself. This desire for an earthly unity among Christians is undoubtedly the nobler side of that innovating movement in the Church of England of which now we are seeing so many and calamitous manifestations. There is this better side ; but the equitable recognition of it must not lead us the less to mark its steadily corruptive tendencies, or to hesitate to take our stand against that wilful and reckless effort to undo all the work of the Reformation, and to bring into our doctrine a corruptness which, under the light that God has vouchsafed to give us, we may now clearly see to be alienative from Christ to an extent that was never realized in the times when Roman Catholicism was the [chief] religion of the Christian world.

Oh, my dear friends, union, union in faith, union in worship, union in creed, is very blessed ; to strive for this union is noble, to hope and to pray for it is the duty of every one of us who loves Christ crucified ; but this blessed union can never and will never be secured by treading those backward paths along which many are striving to lead us. Everywhere the poor human being is consciously or unconsciously tending to take a mediatorial place between man and his God, such as the purest ages of the Church never knew, and, if

they had known, would have recoiled from with horror.

We are told that we may rightly ask of God that He would move His saints to pray for us; we are told that we do well and that it ministers to a higher life to specify all our sins regularly to some poor erring fellow-man, and we are told that we may do so without fear, because in all confessions avowal of sin is made to God as well as to the Priest. In a word, *this* blessed principle, the principle on which forgiveness, acceptance, salvation, everything, eternally depend, is just enough conserved to warrant the assumption of what all experience has shown to be of the utmost peril if brought into the regular usage of the English Church.

When we hear such things, when we realize how far from the uncorruptness in doctrine [of which St. Paul speaks] all such teaching and reasoning must be pronounced to be by every candid mind; when we see the old lines of demarcation which our forefathers traced with their blood attempted to be effaced by usages and practices which, however ancient, are now really distinctive of another and an alien Church; when we are conscious that the words of our formularies are twisted into a toleration of that which they were framed to repudiate; when we feel everything that is really characteristic of the simple, elevated, and reverential worship of the Church of England is transmuted into a sensuous ritualism—old landmarks all lost, old and real distinctions all obliterated—how we seem to crave for some clear and loyal voice that would again remind us what our doctrines really are, what the sharp, bold lines of doctrinal antithesis which separate the pure and Apostolic Church of England from the daring innovations of the Church of Rome, or the real, though as yet hardly realized, corruptions of the once noble Churches of the still changeless East! Oh, for a voice like that of Jewell, that would tell us, even if it were again in the words of challenge, what the faith of an English Churchman really is, what those great doctrinal principles, which, resting on the Holy Scriptures, any and every fair reasoner that will agree to appeal to the same Scriptures may be fearlessly challenged to controvert or equitably to deny!

"If any learned men of our adversaries," said the brave preacher—for these words were spoken at St. Paul's Cross—"or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or general council, or holy Scripture, or any one example in the primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, during the first 600 years, that there was then communion ministered to the people in one kind"—(is such a practice now never adopted in anyone of our religious houses?), "or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament"—(is such teaching wholly new to us now?), "or that the

priest did then hold the sacrament over his head"—(has such a usage never formed a charge in our Courts?), "or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour"—(are very similar sights never seen in any of the churches of this land?), "or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself"—(is such a usage utterly and absolutely unknown?), "or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it"—(have we never heard of the elements being spoken of as "the veils of bread and wine?"),—"the conclusion," said Jewell, "is, that I shall then be content to yield and to subscribe."

My dear brethren, how such brave and loyal words seem to come home to us! How sadly and how sharply they contrast with much of the faltering and sinuous teaching of our own times! That was indeed "showing in doctrine uncorruptness." This was the voice of one of those true and fearless sons of the Reformation, who were not ashamed of the doctrines of their mother Church. Would to God that there was a little more of this faithful speaking in our own days! Whether it be, on the one hand, against a teaching that seeks to remove from the Gospel all that is really definite and distinctive, or against attempts, on the other hand, to lead us back to the twilight of old and castaway corruptions; whether against compromise or reaction, half-belief or superstition, may God vouchsafe to us all a little more of that spirit that ever seeks to speak the truth in love, and is never, never ashamed of the Gospel of Jesus Christ! . . .

God grant to us, then, in these anxious days, abiding love for the truth of God's Holy Word, and for that sound and truthful teaching which has ever been the unchanging characteristic of our Reformed and Apostolic Church. So long as we cleave to that truth, so long will it be well with us; but if ever the temptations of these strange times lead away our recognized teachers, either into Rationalism on this side, or pseudo Catholicism on the other, then verily the end will have come to the National Church!

A delay being required in the further issue of the 2nd edition after a first portion had been published, in order to make some corrections, the Editor takes advantage of the opportunity to extend this "addition to the Preface," so as to include short extracts from other recent Episcopal Charges, all strongly condemnatory of the teaching and unauthorized practices of the Romanizing party in our Church. It is especially gratifying to the Editor to be thus enabled also to include a portion of the Report of the present Lambeth Conference, and so to crown his work with the unanimous testimony to the truth of those Principles which he has humbly endeavoured to maintain and vindicate, from the one hundred Bishops assembled under the presidency of the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, representing the various Branches of the Anglo-Catholic Church extending to all parts of the world. —2nd Edn. 14 July, 1878.

“THE CHURCH AND STATE.” BY THE RT. REV. DR. ELLICOTT, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.*

The Church of England, owing to its antiquity, and its varied and eventful history, is in very complex relations with the State, some of which, if regarded in the abstract, and considered apart from their practical workings, may be deemed to be inconsistent with that theoretical freedom which many may not hesitate to claim for a local branch of the universal Church of Christ. If it had that freedom, however, it would certainly cease to continue the National Church. . . .

The astounding delusion of those who can bring themselves to suppose that this nation will bend itself again to any priestly domination, or, like the Galatian Church, will show an inclination to return to a former yoke of bondage, is one of the many instances supplied by our own times that men, really otherwise reasonable and intelligent, can be brought by party spirit or sacerdotal appetences to believe that which every page of the history of their country protests against and denies. Whatever may be our private longings or our ecclesiastical idealisms, this much is certain—that the existence of the Church of England as a National Church is involved in the maintenance of the Royal Supremacy. . . .

Our bane is the persistent inculcation of extreme opinions in regard of the relation of the Church to the State by men of high character, and the complete suppression of any hint of what must inevitably follow if those opinions obtain any prevalence in the Church. The greater part of the disquietude, assumption, and self-will that are now disclosing themselves on every side may fairly be referred to writers of this school. Young men utterly ignorant of history are stimulated into the belief that we are languishing in a state of cruel bondage to the State ; that the iron of tyranny, on the part of the Parliament or the Government of the country, is entering into our soul ; and that all who doubt or deny the truth of such a state of things are either unconscious or wilful Erastians.

This foolish and dangerous mode of writing cannot be too strongly denounced. These un-historical dreams of what some of these writers designate as “constitutional liberty,” but which really means and implies disestablishment, cannot be too promptly dissipated. The language, too, that they frequently allow themselves to use

cannot be too severely censured. And this language, be it observed, is not merely found in the castaway letters that figure in the columns of party newspapers, or in the childishly passionate language that is heard on ritualistic platforms, but is unfortunately often found on pages that have otherwise much to commend them, and are often marked by vigour and ability. . . .

It is perfectly true that there are many anomalies in the present relations of the Church and the State, many things that may involve theoretical difficulties, some things even—such, for example, as the power of refusing to allow the Convocations to meet—which, if put in force, might gravely interfere with the well-being of the Church of this land ; but if so, what is the course of loyalty, prudence, and charity ? To exaggerate and to intensify, or to adjust and to minimise ? The real and practical truth is, that, in the working of the complex machine, these difficulties widely disappear ; some friction may exist, but it is capable of being reduced nearly to a minimum. The observance of a very few conciliatory principles,—the equitable recognition, on the part of the State, of those rights which essentially belong to a Christian Church, and, conversely, the recognition on the part of the Church of that prerogative which, as our Article truly and wisely says, has “always been given to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself,”—this, together with a little charity and a little Christian common-sense, may yet save us from those disastrous issues to which self-will and priestly assumption are now rapidly hurrying us. There is yet time ; there is just an opportunity left for a calm consideration of a few broad principles of inter-action between the Church and the State, and a few adjustments of our present complicated relations. This time and opportunity there is ; but it is a time and opportunity which may very soon pass away, and if it does pass away—this may be pronounced as inexorably certain—it will never more return. The machinery is very complex. A little oil now, and the working may continue for a time, extending far, far into the future ; a little more friction and the already impeded action will stop, and then the only course that will be adopted will be not readjustment but reconstruction, and all things that reconstruction may involve !

* FROM CHARGES TO THE CLERGY OF THE UNITED DIOCESES OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL, 1873 AND 1877.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,—DR. WILLIAM HOWLEY,—“DISLOYAL CLERGY.”

“All changes in the performance of Divine Service affecting the doctrine of the Church by alteration, addition, or omission, I regard with unqualified disapprobation. The danger to the Church would be great, if clergymen, not having respect either to episcopal authority, or established usage, should interpret the rubric for themselves, should introduce, or curtail ceremonies at pleasure, or make Divine Service the means of expressing their own party views.”

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER ON THE LATE DESERTION TO ROME OF FIVE BRIGHTON CLERGYMEN, AND OTHERS.

“He regretted to say that the diocese had been alarmed and disgusted by the desertion of clergy, and not of clergy only, to the ranks of their old and bitter enemy. The distress and the grief at such unfaithfulness had bowed down many hearts, and none more so than his own. From one Church alone* five clergymen had lately passed over to the ranks of Rome, but not before they had to the utmost of their power leavened all they could influence with Romish doctrine. Craft and subtlety and secrecy were the characteristics of the Roman propaganda, and in these instances they had been unsparingly employed. They asked with fear who would be the next to forsake their communion? Where was this treachery to stop? Let it be well observed that excessive and illegal ritual, with corresponding teaching, had not only failed to keep these members in the fold of the Church of England, but, it must be feared, had rather prepared them to forsake it. The way Romewards had been smoothed for them, and thus they had glided easily, almost unconsciously, into the gulf that now had closed upon them. Whatever might have been the case in former years, converts, whether lay or clerical, were chiefly drawn from Ritualistic churches. These facts ought to open the eyes of all not to encourage or accustom their people to a form of service which the ignorant could hardly distinguish from that of Rome; or to use manuals, hymns, and devotional books in which Romish doctrine was scarcely veiled. Let them not revive ceremonials which our Church for good reasons had rejected, and which for three centuries and more she had not known. No wonder there was mistrust and suspicion abroad, for was there not cause? And yet he thought the feeling more widely spread than the real state of the case justified. Ritualistic congregations, even in places the most infected, were comparatively few. Like all minorities, they were zealous, active, and self-sacrificing. Far be it from him to judge them or question their sincerity. They had their attached followers, and they displayed much self-devotion and much earnestness. But certainly, at present, their opinions would fail to influence largely the mind of England, which had never forgotten, and never would forget, the black days of the Marian persecutions, least of all in that diocese. The fires of Lewes were yet unextinguished in our memory.”—*From the published report of the Bishop of Chichester's Charge just delivered to his Diocese.*

CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE REPORT OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE, UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED, July, 1878.

“The fact that a solemn protest is raised in so many Churches and Christian communities throughout the world against the usurpations of the See of Rome, and against the novel doctrines promulgated by its authority, is a subject for thankfulness to Almighty

God. All sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against these errors, and labouring, it may be, under special difficulties from the assaults of unbelief as well as from the pretensions of Rome.

“We acknowledge but one Mediator between God and men—the Man Christ Jesus, who is over all God blessed for ever. We reject, as contrary to the Scriptures and to Catholic truth, any doctrine which would set up other mediators in His place, or which would take away from the Divine Majesty the fulness of the Godhead which dwelleth in Him, and which gave an infinite value to the spotless Sacrifice which He offered, once for all, on the cross for the sins of the whole world.

“It is, therefore, our duty to warn the faithful that the act done by the Bishop of Rome in the Vatican Council in the year 1870, whereby he asserted a supremacy over all men in matters both of faith and morals, on the ground of an assumed infallibility, was an invasion of the attributes of the Lord Jesus Christ.

“The principles on which the Church of England has reformed itself are well known. We proclaim the sufficiency and supremacy of the Holy Scriptures as the ultimate rule of faith, and commend to our people the diligent study of the same. We confess our faith in the words of the ancient Catholic creeds. We retain the apostolic order of bishops, priests, and deacons. We assert the just liberties of particular or national Churches. We provide our people in their own tongue with a Book of Common Prayer and offices for the administration of the sacraments, in accordance with the best and most ancient types of Christian faith and worship. These documents are before the world, and can be known and read of all men. We gladly welcome every effort for reform, on the model of the primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity; we deprecate needless divisions; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help, and such privileges as may be acceptable to them, and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles, as enunciated in our formularies.

“Considering the unhappy disputes on questions of ritual, whereby divers congregations in the Church of England and elsewhere have been seriously disquieted, your Committee desire to affirm the principle that no alteration from long accustomed ritual should be made contrary to the admonition of the Bishop of the diocese.

“Further, having in view certain novel practices and teachings on the subject of Confession, your Committee desire to affirm that in the matter of Confession the Churches of the Anglican Communion hold fast those principles which are set forth in the Holy Scriptures, which were professed by the Primitive Church, and which were re-affirmed at the English Reformation; and it is their deliberate opinion that no minister of the Church is authorized to require from those who may resort to him to open their grief, a particular or detailed enumeration of all their sins; or to require private confession previous to receiving the Holy Communion; or to enjoin or even encourage the practice of habitual confession to a priest; or to teach that such practice of habitual confession, or the being subject to what has been termed the direction of a priest, is a condition of attaining to the highest spiritual life. At the same time your Committee are not to be understood as desiring to limit in any way the provision made in the Book of Common Prayer for the relief of troubled consciences.”

* “St. Bartholomews,”

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PART IV.—(*First Division.*)

THE DOCTRINE OF THE “REAL PRESENCE” IN THE HOLY COMMUNION VINDICATED FROM ROMeward PERVERSIONS OF TRUTH.

We offer, Lord, th' appointed sign,
The strength'ning Bread, the gladd'ning Wine,
To God and men thus showing forth
The Sacrifice of endless worth!

We join Thy Priest in solemn prayer,
That we, these Gifts who duly share,
May all partake of Heavenly Food,
The Saviour's Flesh, the Saviour's Blood.

The Bread he breaks and pours the Wine
In memory of Thy Love Divine;—
Pierced were Thy Hands and Feet,—Thy Head
Torn with the thorns, Thy Blood thus shed!

Thou art the Victim, Thou the Priest!—
Thus on the Sacrifice we feast;
Thou art the Paschal Lamb, and we
Feed thankfully by faith on Thee!

Thee, Tree of Life we thus confess;
Thee, Manna in the Wilderness;
Thee, Living Water from the Rock,
To strengthen and refresh the flock.

And as the Angel mark'd each door
Sprinkled with Blood, and pass'd it o'er,
May we, Blood-sprinkled and prepar'd,
Thus in the day of wrath be spared!

By the Right Rev. W. J. TROWER, D.D., late Bishop of Gibraltar.

SECT. 1.—THE COMMEMORATIVE SACRIFICE, AND THE
REAL SPIRITUAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST'S BODY AND
BLOOD TO THE FAITHFUL COMMUNICANT IN THE
SACRAMENT.

*A portion of his last Charge, prepared by the late
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, and Published by
his Son after his death.**

THE bitterness of the controversy which has now unhappily existed for several years in connexion with the Rubric respecting the ornaments of the Church and the Ministers thereof, is very deeply to be deplored, and cannot fail to be a subject of great anxiety to those who desire to maintain due order and discipline in our Church. There is no doubt that its correct interpretation involves the consideration of several most intricate questions; and the simple fact that lawyers of the highest eminence have given conflicting opinions on the subject, indicates difficulties of no ordinary character. But the greater the difficulty to persons of acknowledged intellectual power and great professional skill, the greater is the marvel that individual Clergy-

men should have taken upon themselves to cut the knot, and, acting upon their own private opinion, should, in the presence of these facts, have undertaken, with an unwise precipitation, and without taking counsel with those set over them in the Lord, to affirm the legality of the disputed ornaments.

There is an amount of moral and circumstantial evidence against them, which they would have done well to ponder. In the first place, there is the invariable usage of our Church for three centuries, during which 700 of her Bishops have without exception acquiesced in an interpretation of the Rubric adverse to their views, and sanctioned the use by the Parochial Clergy of the surplice and hood alone at all times of their ministrations. And not only is there this acquiescence, but (which is of still greater weight in the scale) the contemporaneous interpretation of the legislators themselves is directly adverse to these innovations. . . .

It is obvious that if any order or discipline is to be maintained in our Church, it will be impossible to allow each single Clergyman to change the customs and Ritual according to his

* Our best acknowledgments are due to Henry Longley, Esq., for his ready compliance with our request, to be permitted to republish this Charge.—ED.

own private opinion, and to set himself up as judge of what is lawful and what is not. Anarchy will necessarily be the fruit of such a system. The Preface to our Prayer Book suggests a way in which the evils resulting from the exercise of this self-will may be obviated, in the well-known passage which says, "For the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the parties that so doubt or diversely take anything, shall always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this Book." . . .

It is a matter of great thankfulness to me, that as far as I am aware, or have been able to ascertain from inquiry, there is not a single Clergyman in my Diocese who adopted either the vestments or incense. If the proportion of those in each Diocese who have really any Romanizing tendencies were accurately ascertained, I am persuaded that their numbers would be found comparatively very small. They are a noisy, but not a very numerous section of our Church; and by their forwardness in giving publicity to their views, they leave an erroneous impression that they are a more important body than they really are.

On the whole, then, I am compelled to confess that the conduct of those who have so rashly adopted the use of the vestments savours very little of Christian modesty or Christian moderation; and were the consequences of their conduct as regards the peace and welfare of the Church less grave than they are, it would not be undeserving of censure. But when one reflects upon the condition to which our Church has been brought by their rashness and self-will; when we witness the feeling of exasperation which prevails so largely, even among those earnest, loyal, hearty Churchmen who have never been religious partisans, but who cannot help looking upon these demonstrations as indicative of a desire, openly avowed in some quarters to *undo the work of our Reformers*,* their conduct does indeed merit strong reprobation. We hear it however sometimes urged that it is inconsistent with even-handed justice to condemn those who offend in excess of ritual, while we refrain from animadverting upon those who

habitually violate the Rubrics on the side of omission. It is not for me in any way to countenance such shortcomings, but I could not say with truth that those who have been following irregular practices which custom had long sanctioned, are equally to blame with those who introduce innovations, with a special object, which we believe to be foreign to the letter as well as the spirit of our formularies. It transpired in the course of the evidence given before the Ritual Commission, that some of those who insist most on the strict observance of Church order are wont to omit certain parts of the Church Service when it suits their convenience to do so. I desire, however, to remind all those who have, either through negligence or under the influence of custom, deviated from the directions of our Church, how much they thereby weaken the side of order, and embarrass the administration of even-handed justice by their shortcomings. It is fair to acknowledge that good progress had been made in many quarters where that negligence had been observable towards greater solemnity in the performance of Divine worship, and towards the restoration of churches that had been suffered to remain in a state of decay and deformity dishonourable to that Holy One in whose honour they were erected. It is much to be feared that the approximation towards the ritual of Rome which is to be seen in many churches *will check this movement*.

It is constantly pleaded in behalf of those who have adopted a very advanced Ritual, that they are self-denying and devoted men, who sacrifice every thing for their Lord's sake and for the temporal and eternal welfare of their flocks—who devote their best energies to relieve the sufferings and soothe the sorrows of the poor and destitute. Such characters, in whatever communion they may be found, are worthy of all honour and respect. But these meritorious exertions cannot undo the great mischief which their conduct and proceedings have caused, cannot atone for every extravagance they may please to adopt, which startles and estranges those whom it ought rather to be their aim to conciliate. There may be zeal without knowledge, and *zeal without charity*; that charity which refrains from things which are not expedient, even though they be lawful, for the welfare of the Church in general. . . .

It is far from my intention to impute to all those who have taken this ill-advised step of

* The italics here and elsewhere, excepting in the citations, are not in the original Charge.—ED.

adopting the Sacrificial Vestments any sympathy with Roman error; but I am constrained to avow that there are plain indications in some of the publications which have been issued as manifestoes of the opinions of that section of our Church, that some of its professed members, yea, even of her ministers, think themselves at liberty to hold the doctrines of the Church of Rome in relation to the Sacrifice of the Mass, and yet retain their position within the pale of the Anglican Church with the avowed purpose of eliminating from its formularies every trace of the Reformation, as regards its protest against Romish error. The language they hold with respect to it is entirely incompatible with loyalty to the Church to which they profess to belong. They call it "a Communion deeply tainted with Protestant heresy;" "Our duty," they say, "is the expulsion of the evil, not flight from it." It is no want of charity, therefore, to declare that they remain with us in order that they may substitute the Mass for the Communion; the obvious aim of our Reformers having been to substitute the Communion for the Mass. Doubtless the Church of England admits of considerable latitude in the views that may be taken of that most mysterious of all mysteries, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And so long as those solemn words of its original institution, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood" shall remain in the sentence of consecration (and they never can be erased from it), so long will there be varieties of interpretation of these words, all of which may be consistent with a true allegiance to our Church, provided these three conditions be observed:—

1. That they be not construed to signify that the Natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament:

2. Nor to admit of any adoration either of the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received, or of any corporal presence of Christ's Natural Body and Blood:

3. Nor to justify the belief that the Body and Blood are again offered as a satisfaction for Sin; seeing that the offering of Christ once made was a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, original and actual.

These are the limits which our Church imposes upon the liberty of interpretation of the words of our Blessed Lord.

Leaving to the workings of their own conscience those who deem it consistent with

their allegiance to our own Church to preach or publish that against which she has formally protested, I will confine myself to the case of those who really believe that their tenets are agreeable to the spirit of our formularies, though they may find it somewhat difficult to reconcile them with their letter. And as it is the duty of those who are set over you in the Lord to express our opinions distinctly on those subjects which at present distract and divide our Church, I will dwell more at large on the topics which bear on the subject of the vestments in connexion with the Holy Eucharist.

Let me first impress upon you the great importance of not indulging in language on this most solemn subject which is not *strictly authorized* by the formularies of our Church. If we venture to put our own gloss and interpretation upon the terms used by the Church, we are in fact giving new definitions of doctrine, and are following the example of the Church of Rome, which has entangled itself in inextricable difficulties by such a process. And in warning you to avoid this error, I would wish you to remember that it is not every expression respecting the Holy Eucharist to be found in the writings of the early Fathers which will justify the use of the like by a divine of the Church of England. Many of the Fathers indulge in figurative and rhetorical language where modern and Western judgment and taste would have led to greater simplicity of expression; language which they themselves elsewhere modify and correct, so as to neutralize the effect of words poured forth under the influence of excitement. This point I shall have an opportunity of illustrating hereafter.

Then there is a distinction to be drawn between terms adopted in controversy, where there is ample room for explaining and qualifying them, and such as may be used in the pulpit and in general teaching, where the like opportunity is not so readily found. And in general I would say, without attempting to define accurately the limits of opinion on the Holy Eucharist, I cannot think that a Clergyman is justified in propounding anything to his people save that which fairly represents the tone and language of the Church of England.

Having premised thus much, I would observe (what you are all doubtless aware of) that the use of these vestments is in the minds of many intimately connected with the idea that an essential element in the Holy Communion is

the offering to God a Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, which abide with the elements in a mysterious manner after the act of Consecration. The minister wears the vestments at that time as a sacrificing Priest. According to this view it would seem that the most important part of this Holy Sacrament is what we offer to God, not what we receive from him.

This view is not recognized by the Church of England in her formularies. The general definition in the XXVth Article states that Sacraments are "certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, by the which [God] doth work invisibly in us," and it is said specifically of the Lord's Supper, (Art XXVIII.) that it "is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." The idea of the Sacrifice of that Body and Blood finds no place in either of these strict definitions. The Catechism speaks the same language when it defines a Sacrament to be "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us." Nor will an examination of the Office of the Holy Communion itself give any countenance to the idea in question. The only distinct oblation or offering mentioned in that Office is previous to the Consecration of the elements, in the Prayer for the Church Militant, and therefore cannot be an offering or sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ; and the only sacrifice which we are spoken of as making is the offering of "ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice¹." Our Church seems most studiously to have avoided any expression which could countenance the notion of a perpetual Sacrifice of Christ, while on the other hand it speaks of Christ's death upon the Cross as "His one oblation of Himself once offered as a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world." No room is left for the repetition of that sacrifice, or for the admission of any other sacrifice for sin.

The Romish notion of a true, real, and substantial Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, as it is called in the Council of Trent, entailed the use of the term *altar*. But this term appears nowhere in the Book of Common

Prayer, and was no doubt omitted lest any countenance should be given to the sacrificial view. The notion, therefore, of making in the elements a perpetual offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, is as foreign to the spirit and the letter of our Service as I hold it to be to the doctrine of the early Fathers, as well as of the leading divines of our Church. This latter point also I shall endeavour to establish hereafter.

Meanwhile, it cannot be denied on the other hand, that the doctrine of the Real Presence is, in one sense, the doctrine of the Church of England. She asserts that the Body and Blood of Christ are "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." And she asserts equally that such presence is not material or corporal, but that Christ's Body "is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner" (Art. XXVIII.). Christ's presence is effectual for all those intents and purposes for which His Body was broken, and His Blood shed. As to a presence elsewhere than in the heart of the believer, the Church of England is silent, and the words of Hooker therefore represent her views: "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament."¹

All agree in believing that the Holy Eucharist is a commemoration of the Sacrifice of our Blessed Lord upon the Cross; a representation of it, or pleading of its merits before the Throne of Grace. Some of our divines also have applied the word *Sacrifice* to it, but in some part of their writings or other have explained their meaning to be a Representation of the true Sacrifice, and not a real Sacrifice in itself.

In the general view which I have briefly sketched of the mind of our Church on this subject, I am firmly convinced that she fully harmonizes with the Primitive doctrine as stated by the early Fathers. They are very consistent in the opinion that *spiritual* sacrifice was the

¹ This sentence of Hooker's has been sometimes mistaken to mean of the Real Presence *absolutely*, that it is *not* in the Sacrament; but the statement "*not to be sought*" does not justify such an inference. It would caution us rather not to affirm or define the spiritual reality of the "*Res Sacramenti*," otherwise than Christ's own words teach us: "Take eat, this is My Body." It is simply, in fact, a question of the sense in which the word "Sacrament" is used, being sometimes understood of the consecrated elements only, instead of the whole ordinance.—Ed.

real and true sacrifice, that duties and service are the offerings which the Christian has to offer to God, that in this sense the whole act of celebrating the Holy Communion is a spiritual sacrifice, and that it requires no other offering on our part to make it more acceptable. In truth, this was a favourite topic with them when arguing in behalf of spiritual sacrifices, that such offerings were most suitable to spiritual beings, to God and to the souls of men. And they constantly maintained the dignity of the Holy Eucharist by supporting the dignity of spiritual sacrifices.

Before I enter in detail upon their opinions I must make one remark. It is much to be lamented that Mediæval authors, whose writings are thoroughly impregnated with the doctrines of the Church of Rome, should be the favourite study of many of our younger Clergy. Better would it be for them to devote themselves to a careful examination of the writings of the early doctors, whom our Reformers chose as the surest guides to truth after the Word of God itself.

I have already remarked that even in this study very great care is requisite. Bishop Cosin most wisely cautions us in these words: "We do not deny that some statements are found in Chrysostom and other Fathers, which are set forth in emphatic, nay, even in hyperbolical terms, concerning the Eucharist. Moreover, unless those same statements are received with caution, they will easily lead incautious men into errors."¹

Bishop Jeremy Taylor speaks in the same strain:—"We think it our duty to give our own people caution and admonition, that they be not abused by the rhetorical and high expressions alleged out of the Fathers."² Now it is very easy to quote from the Fathers, and especially from St. Chrysostom, rhetorical expressions, which seem to represent him as an advocate of a real and substantial sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist; but, on the other hand, there are passages in his works in which he corrects himself, and plainly tells us what his real sentiments are. A single disclaimer of a meaning which might be attributed to his language, a single explanation on his part of

what might otherwise be doubtful, a single correction of a phrase which might otherwise mislead, surely serves as a general interpretation of an author's meaning in other passages where the like correction or explanation does not occur. Now St. Chrysostom, in his Commentary on the tenth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, having used the word "Sacrifice," as applied to the Holy Communion, at once gives us the sense in which he uses the term: "How then? Do we not offer daily? Yes, but we offer as making a commemoration of His death upon the Cross. This thing is done for a memorial of that which was done of old. For 'This do ye,' said He, 'in remembrance of Me.' Not another Sacrifice do we make, as the High Priest did then, but always the same; or rather, we make a memorial of the Sacrifice." These words St. Chrysostom introduces to qualify expressions which he had used in the same passage. He had said, "Our High Priest is He who offered the Sacrifice that cleanseth us. That Sacrifice we also offer now; that I say which was then offered, and which cannot be consumed." This, qualified by the explanation given above, is in entire conformity with the language of our own Church, which regards the Holy Communion as a perpetual commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ, but not a perpetual repetition of it. He himself gives us the true clue to all the passages which seem to favour a higher doctrine, and tells us, in so many words, that this commemorative view is the preferable one. To the same effect writes St. Augustine in his treatise against Faustus³ (lib. xx. c. 18): "The Jews, in the victims of cattle which they were accustomed to offer to God, used to set forth a prophetic declaration of the future Victim, which Christ offered. Whence the Christians now set forth the memorial of the same Sacrifice thoroughly accomplished, in the oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ." Again: "The Flesh and Blood of this Sacrifice was promised before the Advent of Christ by means of victims bearing resemblances to them; in the passion of Christ, it (the 'flesh and blood,' or human nature) was rendered by the very Truth Himself; since the ascension of Christ it is set forth by means of the Sacrament of commemoration." But the passage most

¹ These extracts are given in Latin in the Charge, but we here give a careful translation instead, as being more convenient to the general reader.—ED.

² Works, Anglo Cath. Theology, iv. 103.

³ Vol. x. p. 161.

³ Theophylact, in his commentary on the same chapter of the Hebrews, adopts the same form of expression with just the same correction of himself. "We always offer Him, or rather we make a remembrance of that offering, as though it were now taking place."—Vol. li., p. 719.

satisfactory and conclusive as to St. Augustine's meaning is that in his letter to Bishop Bonifacius on infant baptism (Ep. xcviii. §. 9): "Was not Christ sacrificed once for all in His Very Self? And yet He is sacrificed in the Sacrament not only throughout all the celebrations of Easter, but every day for the people." A strong expression this, no doubt, seemingly favouring the idea of a repetition of the Sacrifice of Christ; but how does he proceed to explain his meaning in the use of this word? "And he verily does not lie, who, on being questioned, should answer that *He is sacrificed*: for if the Sacraments have not a certain resemblance to those things of which they are Sacraments they would not be Sacraments at all." Exactly in accordance with this view, he says elsewhere, "That which is called Sacrifice by all is a sign of the true Sacrifice;" showing plainly that if he ever uses the word "sacrificium" in reference to the Body and Blood of Christ in the celebration of the Holy Communion, he does so under a figure, a metonymy; things being often called by the name of that which they represent. When on Easter Day we say, "Jesus Christ is risen to-day," we no more mean that the Resurrection is actually repeated every Easter, than one of the Fathers means that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are actually offered again to the Father every time the Holy Eucharist may be styled by him "a Sacrifice." He so calls it, often in the figurative way in which St. Austin tells us it may be used. Theodoret (vol. iii., p. 595), in commenting on Hebrews viii. 4, says: "To those who have been instructed in Divine things, it is manifest that we do not offer any other sacrifice; but we perform the memorial of that one and saving Sacrifice; for thus the Lord Himself commanded, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' in order that by contemplation we may call to mind the image of the sufferings which He underwent for us, and influence our love towards our benefactor." Eusebius ("Demonstratio Evangelica," lib. i. c. 10): "And to finish all, a certain marvellous Sacrifice and choice Victim He offered to His Father; and He delivered to us to offer to God continually a memorial of the same instead of a Sacrifice."

The word *ποιεῖν*¹ is sometimes urged as a strong argument in favour of a real Sacrifice. But several distinguished Roman Catholic

authorities, e.g. the learned Jesuit, Estius, refuse to acknowledge it as any proof in favour of the Sacrificial doctrine; and it is remarkable that the word is only found in one of the four Evangelists. Had it been so all-important a word as some would have it to be, it seems impossible to believe that the Spirit of Truth should have failed to bring it to the remembrance of the other narrators.

Now there is no doubt that those to whom we are indebted for the composition of our formularies were thoroughly versed in all the branches of our controversy with Rome, and were stored with learning which eminently qualified them for the arduous task they undertook: and we may well be thankful for the way in which they accomplished it. That our Church, as represented in them, pays due respect to the authority of ancient Doctors of the Church, is manifest from various passages in the Book of Common Prayer. In the Preface of 1549, for instance, "Concerning the Service of the Church," the compilers, vindicating the Liturgy previous to its corruption by the Roman Church, declare that its "first original and ground, if a man would search it out by the ancient Fathers, will be found not to have been ordained but for a good purpose and for a great advancement of godliness." In the same treatise it is lamented that for many years past "this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been altered, broken, and neglected," and the new Order of Prayer is spoken of as "much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers."

Seeing, then, the complexion which the Reformers, with all these expressions of respect for the ancient Doctors of the Church, have given to our Communion Service, it seems impossible to doubt that they had weighed well those passages of the Fathers which are generally adduced in favour of the Sacrificial view, and had judged that the corrections and explanations to which I have alluded were the true key to their real opinions. Wherefore they treated the Holy Office throughout as merely the commemoration of the great Sacrifice, or if it is to be treated as a sacrifice in itself, only as a spiritual sacrifice or act of worship, without any reference to the offering of the elements, either before or after consecration.

Let us see next what view our Reformers and leading Divines have taken of the matter.

Ridley (p. 211) says, "What the meaning of the Fathers was it is evident by that which St.

¹ St. Luke xxii. 19.

Augustine writeth in his Epistle to Boniface, and in his book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places ; likewise by Eusebius, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this . . . that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lord's Supper, consisteth in Prayers, Praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the Cross."¹

The author of the Homily on the Sacrament was evidently well acquainted with the Fathers, and there we find this sentiment in accordance with the above: "As that worthy man, St. Ambrose, saith, He is unworthy of the Lord who doth otherwise celebrate that mystery than it was delivered by Him. We must then take heed lest the memory of it be made a sacrifice, In these matters let us follow the advice of Cyprian in the like cases ; that is, cleave fast to the first beginning : hold fast the Lord's tradition : do that in the Lord's commemoration which he Himself did, He Himself commanded, and His Apostles confirmed."

Bishop Poynt is often quoted as a great authority by those who hold high views as to the Eucharistic Sacrifice. But he too gives us a clue to his real meaning in the following passage, whatever strong expressions he may elsewhere have used in another direction :—"The very words of Cyprian sufficiently show that the letter is not to be followed in those things which are said concerning this Mystery, that we must drive away from our minds every sense of a carnal kind, and that every expression must be referred to a spiritual meaning, that to this bread comes the presence of the Divine Virtue, the efficacy of life eternal, that the Divine Essence is poured into it, that the words are Spirit and Life, that a spiritual formulary is handed over to us, that it behoves us to receive this Body, this Bread and Flesh, this substance of His Body, not in a common manner, nor as human reason dictates, but that it should be so named, thought of, believed in on account of certain exalted effects, virtues and properties conjoined, which are natural to the body and blood of Christ, inasmuch as it feeds our souls, and makes alive, at the same that it prepares our bodies for the resurrection and immortality." (Diallacticon, p. 33.)

Bishop Andrewes is constantly advanced as a supporter of the high Sacrificial doctrine. It is true that there are passages in his writings which may seem to countenance such doctrine. But I must once more maintain the rule I have before laid down, and hold that doubtful passages must be interpreted by other passages from his writings. In this case also I shall add, words written comparatively early are explained by those of later life. Now he writes thus to Cardinal Bellarmine: "We believe a real presence no less than you do. We dare not be so bold as presumptuously to define any thing concerning the manner of a true presence, or rather we are not even anxiously inquisitive concerning it ; no more than in Baptism, how the blood of Christ washeth us."¹ That he is speaking of a Sacramental, not a Personal Presence, appears from the following, which he never could have written otherwise :—"His person is taken out of our sight ; all that we can do will not reach unto it. But His Name hath He left behind unto us that we may show by our reverence and respect to it, how much we esteem Him, how true the Psalm shall be, *Holy and reverend is His Name.*"²

Ten years later, and not long before his death, Andrewes wrote his answer to Cardinal Perron. The Cardinal had produced certain passages from the Fathers in favour of Eucharistical Adoration. Andrewes replied that the expressions adduced amounted not to adoring, but only implied honour and reverence. He did not argue that it is Christ who is adored in the elements. And in enforcing the duty of kneeling at reception he says, "What other gesture befits people *praying*?"—not *adoring*. Truly we may say that all acts of faith and thanksgiving are acts of adoration : in this sense, and *in this only*, all faithful Christians unite in adoration.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor is a divine who gives reins to his imagination, and with respect to whose writings the same caution would seem to be necessary which he himself gave to those who would study the Fathers with advantage, namely, against putting unwise dependence on their hyperbolical expressions. But his "Dissuasive from Popery" contains his last treatise on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and may be supposed to contain his matured and settled opinions. In this treatise he writes, "We by

¹ Resp. ad Apol Bellarm c. xi.

² Seventh Sermon on the Resurrection.

the real and spiritual presence of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace, and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence."

Dr. Hickes, speaking of the bread and wine as substituted and deputed in the Lord's Supper for Christ's Body and Blood, and in virtue of that deputation, to be deemed, taken, and received as His Natural Body and Blood, compares this to the putative and virtual presence of a King in all His Courts of Judicature.¹ He elsewhere says, "It is impossible that a solemn commemoration of a fact or thing should be the fact or thing itself; or to speak otherwise in respect of the holy symbols by which we make the commemoration, that what represents should be the thing represented, the figure the verity itself, or the sign that which is signified thereby."²

John Johnson's testimony is to the same effect: "This I apprehend is the only type of Christ's body which as to efficacy³ and virtue is what it represents; and therefore no wonder that this type does so frequently and usually carry the name of its Archetype, and that the bread and wine in the Eucharist do so currently pass under the name of Christ's Body and Blood. This way of speaking descended from the Apostles to the Church of Christ of the succeeding ages; and to offer, to receive, to eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ are as familiar phrases in the ancient monuments of Christianity, when by the Body and Blood of Christ they meant only the symbols, as 'to receive the Sacrament' and 'to administer the Holy Communion' are now with us."⁴

I will bring forward one more witness only, and that shall be the pious Bishop Ken. In the first edition of his "Practice of Divine Love" (1685) he had used these words: "O God Incarnate, how Thou who art in Heaven art present on the altar, I can by no means explain, but I firmly believe it all." Finding that this passage had given offence, he altered it in this wise: "O God Incarnate, . . . after what extraordinary manner Thou *who art in Heaven* art present throughout the whole Sacramental Action to

every devout receiver—how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat and Thy Blood to drink . . . I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all that thou hast said."¹

It is evidently, therefore, in good company that the Church of England declines to give any countenance to the idea of a real, substantial, propitiatory sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist; and well, indeed, she might so resolve, seeing the monstrous superstructure which the Church of Rome had built upon this foundation of sand, the dangerous deceits into which it had betrayed its too credulous followers. But let it not be supposed that this denial of a true sacrificial character to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, otherwise than in the sense that all acts of worship, and especially this most solemn act of worship, are real spiritual sacrifices, can derogate in the slightest degree from the vast importance of that gift, the magnitude of that blessing, which is bestowed upon the faithful recipient. Upon this our Church employs every variety of expression by which she can testify her estimation of it. She speaks of it as giving us an assurance that we are very members incorporate of the mystical Body of the Son of God; as the means of preserving our soul unto everlasting life; she certifies us that, by faithfully partaking of this holy rite, we may so eat the flesh of Christ and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies shall be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood, and that we shall evermore dwell in Him and He in us; that by spiritually eating the flesh of Christ in faith we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we are one with Christ and Christ with us; thus clearly setting forth that mystical union which must take place on earth between penitent believers and their Saviour, if they are to have their mortal bodies quickened and raised by His Spirit that dwelleth in them.

The following passage from the writings of Dr. Thomas Jackson, a divine of the highest repute, will show his opinion as well on the nature of the Real Presence as on the question how the benefits of the Sacrifice of Christ are applied to faithful recipients of the Holy Communion:—"This distillation of life and immortality from His glorified human nature is that which the ancient and orthodox Church did mean in their figurative and lofty speeches of

¹ Two Treatises, ii. 158 seqq.

² Ibid. p. 183.

³ "Effectual signs of Grace." 25th Art.—ED.

⁴ Unbloody Sacrifice. Works, Oxf. vol. i.

¹ Ken's Prose Works, pp. 325, 212; and Ken's Life, by a Layman, vol. i. p. 335.

Christ's Real Presence, or of eating His very flesh and drinking His very blood in the Sacrament. And the Sacramental bread is called His Body, and the Sacramental wine His Blood, as for other reasons, so especially for this, that the virtue or influence of His bloody Sacrifice is most plentifully and most effectually distilled from heaven unto the worthy receivers of the Eucharist."¹

What need, then, is there, we may well ask, of Christ's bodily presence in the Sacrament, or of any other presence than the influence or emission of virtue from the heavenly Sanctuary, conveying to us, through the outward symbols, remission of sins and all other benefits of His Passion?

But there are dangers in an opposite direction. We are threatened with great changes from those who long to banish, as far as possible, all dogmatic teaching, and to open the doors of the Church of England so wide as to embrace all who call themselves Christians—who desire that everything save the bare truth of the historical statements of the New Testament, should be banished from our formularies, and that our Church, under the title of a National Church, should tolerate those who, having subscribed to the² (bare?) historical facts, should be at liberty to impugn every doctrine at present held by the Church of England. I need hardly say that such a scheme as this, if carried out, would entirely fail of its object. Those who firmly believe in the leading doctrines of Christianity, as now held by our Church and by the chief dissenting bodies, could never consent to acknowledge themselves members of such a Church. There could be no principle of coherence in a body so constituted. It would foster divisions rather than obviate them; and in the vain attempt to found a National Church, it would finally issue in being no Church at all, no such Church as its Divine founder could recognize as His own, when He returns in power and glory.

It is to be a Church which "the Law Court and the Legislature can be relied upon to rid of any doctrine which the slow judgment of the nation has pronounced dubious or untenable,"³ the nation consisting of Churchmen, Nonconformists, Jews, Unitarians, and Infidels.

Articles of belief, as comprehensive as possible, are to be imposed as the condition of holding benefices—articles which shall suit the taste of such a tribunal; and when it is acknowledged by the propounders of this scheme for a National Religion and National Church, that the whole tendency of modern civilization is from dogmatism towards Rationalism,¹ we may well ask ourselves what shreds of truth would remain uncondemned? They tell us, indeed, that they are willing to leave the doctrine of the Incarnation as a dogma which they cannot surrender; but if the voice of the people is thus to supplant the voice of God, who can tell how soon that also may not be demanded as a surrender to their peremptory decision?

I have thus endeavoured to lay before you, my reverend and dear Brethren, a few hints which may possibly be of use to you, should you hear the Church of England blamed for the inadequate representation, as some maintain it to be, that she gives us of the Holy Eucharist; and if I shall have succeeded in clearing the views of any among you on this solemn and momentous question, I shall have an ample reward for my pains. Grievous are the divisions in our Church which have been engendered by these questions; but may we, amid the din of controversy, find our chief and most cherished occupations in meekly and earnestly fulfilling those sacred duties which it has pleased God to lay upon us, and in living to Him who died for us. It is at all times well, and at the present day especially necessary, that we should by careful and diligent study arm ourselves with such weapons as may enable us to defend our position as ministers of the Church of England against all attacks from every quarter; but in so doing, let us shun the spirit of controversy, so often in direct antagonism to the spirit of Charity. Let us not demean ourselves as though we were lords over God's heritage, enforcing upon our flocks the dictates of our own headstrong will, spite of the reasonable remonstrances of such as would walk in the old paths of the Church of England, and not adopt a poor imitation of the Ritual of the Church of Rome. Let the weight of our responsibilities be felt more than the weight of our dignity, remembering that the pastor's power really consists not in the assumption of authority, but in the influence which the spirit of love will always gain over

¹ Works. Oxford, 1844. Vol. x. p. 41.

² Word illegible in the M.S.

³ Essays on Church Policy, p. 107.

¹ Essays on Church Policy, p. 114.

the hearts of men. Our great Exemplar came to teach us, that though He was the Lord of all, He was nevertheless the servant of all; and St. Paul gave full proof of his ministry, by being in labours more abundant. Let us be equally zealous with him in our Heavenly Master's service; equally mindful of the solemn account of our stewardship which we must one day give to Him to whom all hearts are open and all desires known. He alone can know whether I shall ever again be permitted to address you on an occasion like the present. If not, it will be an abiding satisfaction to me to have taken this last opportunity of bearing my testimony to that which I believe to be the mind of the Church of England touching the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as plainly set forth in her formularies—of thus declaring my steadfast adherence to those principles upon which our Reformation was conducted, my rooted conviction that the doctrines respecting the Holy Eucharist enunciated by our Reformers are in full accordance with the language of Holy Scripture, as well as of the ancient Doctors of the Church.

And now, in conclusion, I commend each and all of you to the holy keeping of Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think. May grace and peace be with you all, that, being fervent in your Heavenly Master's work, serving the Lord in spirit and in truth, you may at length attain to that everlasting inheritance which He has prepared for them that love Him.

SECT. 2.—THE REAL PRESENCE, "OBJECTIVE" TO THE SOUL OF THE FAITHFUL COMMUNICANT IN RECEPTION; CONSIDERED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOME STATEMENTS IN THE LAST CHARGE OF THE LATE BISHOP OF SALISBURY. ¹

*By the Rev. WILLIAM MILTON, M.A., of Newbury.**

The last Charge delivered by the late Bishop of Salisbury has drawn public attention in an unusual degree to certain doctrinal views, the increased spread of which has caused much anxiety to those who consider the position

taken by the Church of England at the Reformation to be of vital importance for the maintenance of the truth of the Gospel of Christ. That Charge has challenged discussion of the points in question, both by its outspoken plainness of statement, and by its appeal to the formularies of our Church in support of positions which it has been long thought that the Church disavowed.

In putting forward the following remarks upon these disputed points, I desire first to express my sense of the debt of gratitude which is due to the Right Reverend Prelate for the plain and faithful assertion of the great doctrine of the Incarnation, and of the close spiritual relation which arises therefrom between ourselves and our Divine Head. . . .

While, therefore, I am thankful for the plain explicit statement in the Charge of the great facts on which the Church and Christianity are founded,—viz., the Incarnation of the Son of God, the intimate union that is between Christ the Head and the members of the body, and the great truth of delegation by reason of that union, so that all His living members are, in their degree and place, capacitated and required to do that which He does, "because as He is, so are we in this world,"¹—I feel at the same time compelled to express my dissent from the views which are put forward as consequences of these doctrines. Those consequences are, to my mind, not justly deduced from the premises, and contain doctrinal statements unknown to the Church of Christ in its purest times, and alien, I am convinced, both to the spirit and to the authoritative statements of our Reformed Church.

The subject of most importance discussed in the late Bishop of Salisbury's Charge, is the effect of the act of consecration in the Holy Eucharist. It is a subject of the deepest mystery, and I desire to approach it with the full conviction of the inadequacy of human reason to search it out to the bottom. There can be no doubt that a right understanding of this point, so far as such understanding is granted to us, is of the most vital importance; for from its misconception arises the great division of opinion in our own Church between those who value the doctrines of sacramental grace and those who depreciate them; and more than this, from error on this one point has grown the whole circle of superstitions which mark the corrupt Church of Rome, which have been repudiated

* The Author wishes these extracts from his work published in 1867, to be read in union with his work on the same subject just published, in which these views are more fully developed. (*The Eucharist Illustrated and Cleared from Error. Christ our Passover, both Sacrifice and Feast. The Order of Melchizedek. The Upper Chamber. Three Sermons, with notes, by the Rev. William Milton. Rivingtons 1871.*) We hope to give some extracts from his new work before concluding this subject.—*Ed.* ¹*Dr. Hamilton.*

¹ 1 John iv. 17.

by our Reformed Church of England, but which are now being brought back into our communion by men who hate the Reformation, and who hold almost all, if not quite all, Roman doctrine upon the subject. In the train of these erroneous doctrines follows naturally and consistently the whole development of excessive Ritualism, which is but as the visible eruption upon the surface of the skin, indicating a deeper seated constitutional ailment. The mere local treatment of the symptoms, by legislation on vestments &c., will never remove the disease, but merely drive the evil in, to take a more dangerous form elsewhere. The disease must be treated at its root, and the Church of England must examine her position and views upon this deep and central truth. The Bishop's categorical statement of the doctrine, put, as he says, in the fewest words for the sake of clearness, is this: "that God has been pleased to give to certain men, as His ministers, the power of so blessing oblations of bread and wine as to make them the channels of conveying to the soul, for its strengthening and refreshing, the Body and Blood of Christ." This statement I accept most fully and without reserve. It is so completely in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England, so fully borne out by the very words of Holy Scripture and by the faith of the Primitive Church, that it ought to be accepted by all English Churchmen; and I think would be so accepted, were it not that there remains a manner of interpreting it, which brings in views and doctrines alien to our Church, unknown to Scripture or Christian antiquity, and so closely akin to the errors of Papal Rome that the most microscopic eye might fail to detect the difference.

And this interpretation hinges upon the question which the Bishop afterwards enters upon: "What is that effect which our Church teaches us to look for from the consecration of the elements in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?" He proceeds, "I answer without hesitation, because I think the evidence I can produce is very clear, that our Church witnesses that through consecration the Body and Blood of Christ become really present, and by this I mean present *without us*,' and not *only 'in the soul*, of the faithful receiver,' or to use words very familiar to you, my Rev. brethren, the Body and Blood of Christ are present objective and not subjective only" (p. 74).

There is here, it seems to me, an incorrect

opposition of terms, and no slight confusion of thought in connection with these familiar but little understood words, objective and subjective. My argument compels me to try to clear up this confusion.

By a subjective Presence, I understand merely the action of the believer's mind, by which he realizes the truth of Christ's death, and by faith feeds upon Christ, conceiving of Him as his Saviour and the food of his soul. This it is plain is no Real Presence at all, and has no actual relation to the bread and wine received, except that they by their significance suggest these thoughts to the mind of the believer. This, I suppose, is the Zuinglian view, and certainly is not that of the Church of England. The words of the Catechism are enough to exclude it—"verily and indeed taken and received."

There remains then the objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. By the objective Presence I understand a presence of the thing itself, as distinguished from our thought or conception of it,—that which comes to us, not that which exists only by our mental action; that which has real existence of itself,—whereas the subjective Presence may be in the imagination, even though the thing conceived of has no real being, and never had. The objective Presence alone is Real Presence. But where is that Real Objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ to be found! The Bishop says "really present, and by this I mean 'present *without us*' not *only 'in the soul*,'—that is objectively, not subjectively only." I think there is here a slight confusion, the clearing up of which will furnish, I believe, the clearing up of the whole difficulty and of the whole controversy.

"Present *without us*" is not co-extensive with "objective" and cannot be interchanged with it, as in this passage. Things may be present *within us* and yet be objective to us. The bread that we eat to support natural life, has, not only when without us, an objective existence, but when taken within us it still exists objectively until, being digested and absorbed, it is assimilated by us, and, being taken up into our system, becomes subjectively part of ourselves. Food does not cease to be objective when it ceases to be without us. In the fossil pike which had swallowed a smaller fish and was overwhelmed before it had assimilated its prey, the smaller fish was found to have an ob-

jective existence many thousand years after it had ceased to be "present without" its consumer. So that the distinction "present without us" is by no means a correct account of objective existence. And yet the whole argument in the Charge turns upon this definition. All that the Church says about the Real Presence, directly and indirectly, is used as though it was said about an objective Presence *without* us, whereas no one statement of our Church can be shown to mean any such Presence.

A careful investigation of this matter will show the importance of rejecting this imperfect definition of objectivity. The whole question and controversy is concerned with the character or condition of the elements between consecration and reception. Let attention be fixed upon this interval, for in it, I am convinced, lies every difficulty of the sacramental controversy. It is just within this interval that every error and every superstition connected with this subject comes in. All that is said about the objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ *without* us—the doctrine of transubstantiation, the practice of adoration of the elements, elevation, prostration, reservation, the statement that "Jesus lies upon the altar" that "Christ is present in our hands"—all these find their lurking place in the interval between consecration and reception. Observe this, and then observe that whatever is said of the elements of bread and wine during this interval is said without any authority or warrant of Holy Scripture, for this plain reason, that in Scripture no such interval is mentioned or recognized. If you say "After consecration and before reception the condition of the elements is such and such, and to them such and such conduct is due on our part," you must be saying things of man's invention only, for Holy Scripture says nothing whatever on the subject. The activity of the mind of man, his desire to define and ascertain the mystery, his yearnings, as in all ages, after visible objects of worship, have led him to widen and extend this interval more and more, and to introduce into it, of his own invention, doctrines and practices which, above all others, have agitated and divided the Church of Christ for the last 900 years.

But in the Word of God there is no such interval. In the original institution, consecration and reception were close together, most intimately connected: they formed one timeless

transaction; indeed, according to the Roman theory, they in a manner overlapped each other. For it is most important to observe, that the words of Institution spoken by our Lord Himself, commanded reception before they declared the Presence. "Take, eat;" then "This is My body,"—which last words are the essence of consecration, says the Roman Church, and their omission, say ritual writers, invalidates any liturgy. And not only do the words "Take, eat," come before these words of consecration, but the Lord had already given the elements before He spoke the words at all; and it is to be further much observed, that S. Mark, who is always specially exact in the relation of minute particulars of time and circumstance, says that the words of consecration, "This is My Blood," were spoken by the Lord after the disciples had received and consumed the element of wine—"He gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and He said unto them This is my Blood."¹ The several inspired accounts of the institution vary in many minor particulars, but they all agree in this, that the declaration of the Real Presence always *follows* the giving of the elements and the order to receive them. The interval now made between consecration and reception is thus annihilated—the two are so closely united as to leave no room for the different doctrines and practices to come in which have raised the whole sacramental controversy. Would that the Church had always borne this in mind, and followed exactly the Master's example! And at first, indeed, in the Primitive Church, reception followed immediately upon consecration, or rather the two were complicated together, as we shall presently see more exactly. The dogmatic dictum of Tertullian places the consecration by our Lord *after* distribution. "The Lord having taken bread and distributed it to His disciples, made it His own body by saying 'This is My Body.'"² In fact, in the original institution, the reception took place after the benediction—which the Eastern Church considers to constitute consecration, and before the words "This is My Body"—to which the Roman Church attributes consecration: so closely are consecration and reception inter-

¹ S. Mark xiv. 23, 24.

² "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, Corpus Summ illum fecit, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum' dicendo." Tertull. adv. Marcion, ii. 40, quoted by Archdeacon Freeman, P. D. S. ii. 369. But Jewel quotes the important additional words of Tertullian, "hoc est, figura Corporis Mei."

woven, forming one indivisible action without interval.

But the fatal interval, of which we now complain, has arisen from the ever increasing amplifications of the liturgies. It would seem that, as a first step, there came in, after the consecrating benediction, prayers for a right disposition of the heart for reception; then a prayer for the Holy Spirit to come upon the recipients to enable them to receive the Holy Body and Blood; then, in some liturgies, long intercessions were inserted here; and when men had come to speculate upon the nature of the consecrated elements in themselves, as apart from reception, from which the consecration had now been so far separated, there came in views of the outward objective Presence which were unknown to the Early Church; and in much later times there came in the novel practice of making oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, and then at last what our Church terms "the blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit" of offering Christ to His Father.

The remedy for all these errors, the one point to be insisted upon, lies in this, the inseparable unity of consecration and reception. This exactly agrees with the important fact that in Holy Scripture the Eucharist is spoken of exclusively in regard to reception; in every single instance in which it is mentioned—as far as I am aware—the "eating and drinking"—that is, the reception, is the only point brought out. Beyond the commemorative remembrance, of which more hereafter, reception is the only aspect of the Holy Communion known to the Apostles and Evangelists. This fulfilled the purpose for which Christ instituted the ordinance, that He might be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament; that we, eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, might have everlasting life. But to what a different purpose have some perverted the Lord's institution! They have transmuted it into a device by which they can create to themselves a Presence of Christ, and ensure to themselves an object of worship. To them the Eucharist is a machinery by which they can fix God, compel His Presence, retain Him for perpetual adoration, enclose Him in a tabernacle that He may not escape from them. This is the use of the Eucharist which now is made most prominent—an end and object of the institution which I do not hesitate to say is utterly unknown to Holy

Scripture and is wholly of man's invention, being gradually developed by successive additions to the truth, and inserted in that interval between consecration and reception which has no place in Scripture nor in the mind of the ancient Church. And what an unworthy conception is this of the nature and character of God! What a strange mixture of unbelief and superstition! It is unbelief, because Christ has promised His Presence in the Church, where the faithful meet together. There He is in the midst of them, He the Christ, not only as God, for that would have been no promise, no privilege granted to His people, since God is present everywhere; but as God and man, in the inseparable union of His Godhead and Manhood by the power of His Holy Spirit, He is ineffably present, according to His own most true promise among the faithful gathered in His Name. But this Presence is little accounted of or valued by our new school. They think He is not there unless they have fixed Him in the consecrated elements and have created a Presence which they can realize with their bodily eyes. In a letter published in the "*Church Review*," March 3, 1866, Mr. M. W. Blagg, pleading for celebration on Good Friday, says "In every Roman Catholic church the Presence of the Crucified One gives life to the devotions of the people, whereas with us all is cold and dead, and our contemplation of the suffering Saviour seems unable to reach its highest pitch for want of that solemn Presence and that mystic rite wherein Christ our Lord is 'evidently set forth crucified among us.'" Which comes to this—"Where the consecrated bread is not, there is not the Presence of Christ," which I say is unbelief. "Where the reserved wafer is, there is the Presence of Christ, giving life to the devotions of the people;" this, I say, is superstition.¹ And

¹ Mr. Carter seems to fall into the same error of setting aside the Lord's promise, and attributing the Presence of Christ in His Church to the Sacrament only. For, magnifying the Real Presence as the doctrine held by the Church from the beginning, he knows not how to express "the extreme blessedness of what we possess as our spiritual heritage—the Presence of our Lord still in the midst of us to be the centre of our worship, the object of our grateful adoring love brought so close to us, though so secretly veiled from us" ("*Doctrine of the Eucharist*," 1867, p. 45). According to this view, it is the consecration of the elements that brings Christ into church! Is not the true view rather this, that Christ, according to His most true promise, is present in the congregation of His saints, and that it is the office of the Holy Communion to communicate that Presence to each individual, that Christ may dwell personally in him to the nourishment and saving of his soul?

this strange mixture finds its exercise in all those opinions and practices which come in the interval which man has created between consecration and reception.

All that Christ has said, all that His Apostles have taught—and on this foundation alone can our thoughts and statements of this Divine mystery be established—has reference to reception and is indissolubly connected with reception, so that no warrant can be obtained for any assertion of His real Presence except after the elements have been given, taken and eaten. Whoever, then, says a word of the nature of the consecrated elements irrespective of reception, says all he says on his own authority, without warrant of Scripture. He who says that on consecration by the priest the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ, or that the Body and Blood of Christ are present in, or with, or by the elements, and may so be retained for days or weeks without being received, says that which Scripture has never said, nor given the least warrant for saying. So also, he who says that Christ is “present in the hands” of the receiver, has no warrant of inspiration for his statement: for him the Scripture ought to have been, “This is My Body—take, eat;” and it is curious to observe that some of the later Liturgies of the East have so transposed the words.¹

The true Ancient Liturgies afford us most important evidence of the primitive view of the Church on the Holy Communion. Dr. Neale calls them “these most pure sources of Eucharistical doctrine.” The sources would have been far more pure, had they not been mingled with continual additions and interpolations of human invention. For the liturgies, we must remember, were not regarded as the Scriptures were—as sacred deposits admitting of no change; but they were the ever-expanding expression of the ever-advancing speculations of the human mind upon this mysterious subject, the Bishops possessing authority to revise and alter from time to time the liturgy of their churches. Hence we have no primitive liturgy in its pure original form: every one has subsequent insertions and alterations of various periods; and the study of these important documents brings to light the restless activity of human speculation, by which the doctrine of the Eucharist has been drawn gradually, from

its original simplicity and mystery, into an elaborate system of carefully defined relations and circumstances. The chief help towards discovering the original form of Eucharistic doctrine, is furnished by the test of universality; and, according to this evidence, the points brought out prominently in all the liturgies are—the oblation of the elements as bread and wine, the recital of the words of institution, the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and reception.

It is the prayer of Invocation that throws the most important light upon the question now before us. “Originally, there is no doubt,” says Dr. Neale, “that the invocation of the Holy Ghost formed a part of all liturgies.” There is only one known liturgy, out of more than sixty extant, in which it cannot be found or traced—that of Rome.¹ Its place was uniformly after the commemoration of institution, and before (originally immediately before) reception. The prayer was this,—“We beseech Thee, O God, send down upon us and upon these holy gifts that lie before Thee,—or these loaves and these cups (Lit. S. Mark),—Thy Holy Spirit, that He may sanctify them and may make this bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, that they may become to all of us that partake of them, unto faith, healing, remission of sins,” &c. Here we observe that the benediction or sanctification of the bread and wine to be the Body and Blood of Christ is expressly declared to be for the end and purpose of reception—“Make them so, in order that they may become to all of us who partake of them,” &c. This is here exclusively the object of consecration, exactly in accordance with the whole tenor of Holy Scripture. There was at that time no idea in the mind of the Church of any special Presence of Christ being thereby brought about; no oblation of Christ to the Father followed on this supposed Presence; no adoration was offered to Christ in the Sacrament, still less—if that may be—to the sacramental elements as veiling the Presence of Christ; Christ was not spoken of or spoken to as present in them: a prayer for worthy reception was addressed to God the Father, the Lord’s Prayer was said, and reception followed. This was the Primitive Faith. It concerned itself not at all with any Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ for

¹ Syro-Jacobite Liturgies of James Baradaeus and S. John the Evangelist (heretical).

¹ This is the opinion of Dr. Neale, who says that the Roman rite has entirely lost it; but I believe it can be traced there also,

any purpose except for reception by the faithful. All the errors which trouble us now about the oblation of Christ's Body and Blood, about adoration, prostration, real objective Presence on the altar or in the hands, were all later imaginations—inventions of the mind of man. And it is to be further much observed, that the Church originally considered that the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood was not so absolutely attached to the reception of the consecrated elements, but that it still depended upon the right disposition of the recipient; for in the very ancient Liturgy of S. Mark—probably the most ancient of all—there is still found a prayer after reception in these words:—"We thank Thee, O Lord God, for the reception of these Thy holy and heavenly mysteries; and we pray Thee grant to us the participation of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, unto faith, love, holiness," &c.: *χαρίσαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος—εἰς πίστιν*. These important words Dr. Neale translates incorrectly, thus: "Grant that the participation of the Holy Body, &c., may be to faith;" which gives a very different meaning. This would have been a prayer that the participation of Christ's Body which had taken place, might be to faith, love, &c. Whereas the prayer of S. Mark is, that, the reception of the elements having taken place, there may ensue by grace a participation of Christ's Body and Blood to faith, love, &c. This last is exactly the one prayer of our English consecration form—"Grant that we, receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, may be partakers of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood." But it would seem that the doctrine here implied, that reception of the elements might, for lack of grace, be without participation of Christ, was afterwards felt to be at variance with the growing doctrine of absolute indefectible Presence; so, in the later Liturgy of S. Basil we find this same post-reception prayer of S. Mark's, but the words *χαρίσαι ἡμῖν* are changed into *δὸς γενέσθαι ἡμῖν*—words much more capable of that sense which Dr. Neale puts upon the very different words of S. Mark; though even these do not necessarily convey that sense, or exclude the earlier view, but are at least capable of either interpretation, which the former words are not.

It appears then, both from the invocation and from this post-reception prayer, that the Primitive Church limited her thoughts of the Real Presence to the act of Reception; she was

content to know, as the Lord had taught her, that that Body was given for the true Bread, that men might eat thereof and not die. But before long, men must needs speculate as to the manner and means of that Divine Presence. Not content with believing the Real Objective Presence presented to the soul on faithful reception, they imagined that the Presence was absolute in the elements. Then they devised the term "changed" as applying to the elements; and so we find in S. Basil's liturgy for the first time these words, "changing them by thy Holy Spirit," interpolated into the middle of the ancient prayer of invocation, and so roughly interpolated that they actually violate the grammatical structure of the sentence. The liturgy of S. Chrysostom, modified from that of S. Basil, retained this interpolation, but reconstructed the prayer and made it grammatical. Then men went on further, to speculate as to the exact moment at which this mighty change was effected;—and here they providentially fell out and disagreed, and this has always been, as Dr. Neale says, "a point of contention between the two Churches." The Eastern Church maintains that the change is effected by the prayer of invocation. The Russian Catechism, as quoted by him (Trans. Lit., p. 23), says, "Why is the invocation so essential? Because, *at the moment of this act*, the bread and wine are changed." The Roman Church, singly and alone, asserts that the change takes place at the moment of reciting the words of institution, "This is My Body." Either decision excommunicates half the Christian world. But both are human speculations, and happily the Church of England has tied herself to neither, for she has said nothing of any change at all being effected. The Roman principle plainly must be wrong. For if the words, "This is My Body," effect the change, then our Lord "transmuted" the element after He had given it to His disciples,—a view fatal to their theory of an outward objective Presence,—and then their "transmuting" the element *before* giving it, is not to "do this" as the Lord did it. If these are "the words that make the Sacrament,"¹ then our Lord did not give the

¹ Carter, "Doctrine of the Eucharist," p. 12—a pamphlet full of rash assertions and unwarranted interpretations. I have marked many such passages, but can only notice a few. To maintain his theory, that the wicked receive the Real Presence, in spite of Article XXIX., Mr. Carter asserts (p. 25) that "partaking" means "a beneficial reception"—which is not true; and besides, the Article says expressly, "*in no wise*

Sacrament to His disciples, but gave them the element, and "made the Sacrament" after they had taken and consumed. Again, the later Eastern Church's attempt to fix the moment of change, is at variance with its own primitive form of invocation; for that prayed that the Holy Ghost might be sent upon the people and the elements ("upon us and upon these gifts") to sanctify them, in order that to the receivers of the gifts they might be made the means of grace, faith, love, salvation—a prayer which recognized the relation between the sanctified receiver and the sanctified elements as requisite to produce the Real Objective Presence. No moment, then, can be fixed, other than that moment fixed by our Lord, the moment of reception and consumption.

And the Bishop of Salisbury is certainly mistaken when he says (p. 73), "these very same words of our Lord, by which you consecrate the elements, have been employed by the Church from the very first as *the* words of consecration." This is the later Roman dogma, but not the primitive Catholic opinion: for no Church at first used the words of institution as exclusively the formula of consecration, nor was consecration held to be effected by the use of those words alone. Every Church consecrated by the invocation—even Rome herself did so at first,² so that if any words are to be called *the* words of consecration, they are those of the prayer of invocation or benediction, and these were never fixed, but varied in different Churches, though bearing a close general resemblance.

The conclusion, then, to which we are brought is this, that the objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament has scriptural authority only when considered in the act of reception in the person of the receiver. If any deny this, let him bring one place of

Scripture which speaks of the Presence except in reception only. Further, we have seen that Primitive Antiquity supports the same view, conceiving of the Presence only in reception, and the Church of England holds no other doctrine. The passages quoted from the Homilies by the Bishop of Salisbury to show that our Church maintains the Real Presence, are indeed most explicit in asserting the Real Presence, but equally explicit in attributing that Presence exclusively to reception,—“the due receiving of Christ's blessed Body and Blood under the form of bread and wine,” “receiving our Saviour and Maker in His blessed Sacrament.” “Thou hast received His Body,” &c.¹ We know not by what process the soul draws nourishment from the Sacrament taken by a corporal act and physically consumed. But we hold, on the warrant of Christ's words, that when by reception the soul comes into meet relation with the consecrated elements, there is presented to the soul a real objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, which, being assimilated and absorbed by the subjective faith of the receiver, becomes the nourishment and life of his spiritual being.

This fulfils all the words of Scripture on this great subject. This carries out the whole end and purpose of the institution—thus does Christ “give us his flesh to eat.” Here all the words of that great sacramental discourse in the 6th chapter of S. John find their application. No word of Scripture states more than this, and no word of our Church's eucharistic teaching. Here is a true Real Presence, objective, but not that outward objective Presence “without us,” in both senses of the word without, which has given rise to all the errors and superstitions which have gathered round this subject—but an objectivity presented to the soul in the act of reception, through the elements received, in exact accordance with the Master's words, “Take, eat, this is My Body.” But the Presence is in a mystery—in secret, concealed from sight by the Divine provision of reception, left to faith and the ineffable working of God's Spirit. We may not hold the absolutely subjective view which evacuates the Sacrament of all spiritual grace, nor the absolutely objective view, unauthorized as it is by Scripture and fruitful of such evil consequences; but we should hold the concurrence of the objective and subjective—God's ordinance and our faith—which

are they partakers of Christ,” and the heading of the Article speaks “of the wicked that *eat not* the Body of Christ.” Again (p. 34), he perverts the words of our Church, “So is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily,” by inserting the gloss, “i.e. the same Body and Blood of Christ;” whereas, in our Prayer Book, on the contrary, the words “the same” replace the words “that Holy Sacrament,” which makes all the difference in the world to the argument. Again (p. 20), he asserts that “the supernatural Presence is the reason why our Prayer Book teaches us to receive the Blessed Sacrament kneeling,” which by her own declaration is not true; and on p. 21, that the remaining elements are to be consumed reverently, “i.e. kneeling,” which is a gratuitous and incorrect gloss.

² See Part V., Sec. 3., on Commemorative Sacrifice.

¹ Charge, App., p. 113.

meet only in reception, and then in a mystery of which the manner is secret and ineffable. And so the ancient Church prayed, and the whole Eastern Church stills prays, "Send upon us and upon these gifts Thy Holy Spirit to sanctify them and to make them the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, in order that to all who partake of them they may be unto remission of sins and everlasting life." Why "*on us*," except because of this concurrence between the objective and the subjective, between the gifts received and the faithful receiver?

This argument for the Real Presence only within the recipient is greatly strengthened by the consideration that only on reception do the Body and Blood of the Lord concur and meet together. Till then, the elements are divided. If you transfer the Real Presence to them as they are on the altar or in the hands, the question arises, Is that Presence divided, partly on the paten, partly in the chalice? This difficulty, created by the error of human speculation, has been met by human inventions in two different directions. The Eastern Church has devised a strange and most unwarrantable innovation upon the Divine institution. After consecration, the priest dips the bread into the chalice, saying, "The union of the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord," and adds, "It hath been united, and it hath been sanctified, and it hath been perfected" (Lit. St. James), as though the mystery and act of the ordinance were not fully sanctified and accomplished until this union had been effected. And this was undoubtedly the truth; but that union was ordained by Christ to take place only within the recipient. It was a strange and presumptuous device of man to intrude this outward visible union into the Lord's ordinance; but it was quite consistent; for man's speculations had transferred the Real Presence from the reception to the altar; it was only logical, therefore, and indeed became necessary, to transfer the union of the elements, which the Lord had appointed within the recipient, to the altar also, and thus one error necessitated another. The speculative error found its natural expression in the presumptuous act; and the very presumption of the act proves the falseness of the speculation which required it.

The Western Church has invented an additional mode of escaping from the difficulty which human error had thus created. Rome conceived the figment that whole Christ is pre-

sent from the moment of consecration in each morsel of bread and in each drop of the chalice—a human invention which plainly makes the Lord guilty of the ignorance of calling by different and distinguishing names two things which were in deepest reality one and the same thing—guilty of the "vain repetition" of instituting the same thing twice over with deceptive distinctions—a figment which places two Christs upon the altar, makes the priest receive whole Christ twice, and only finds its logical and consistent result in that miserable and presumptuous mutilation of the Lord's institution, the denial of the cup to the laity. Such results follow from human imaginations! Whereas our Lord, in His Divine Wisdom, appointed the reception, first of one part, then of the other part of His human life, the severance of which parts is the very type and remembrance of His death, leaving to the hidden unseen intercourse of the soul of the faithful recipient with the ordained means of grace, that unification which, as by a resurrection unto spiritual life, brings about the Real Presence of the whole Nature of Christ, and which, to use aright the wrongly applied words of the Eastern Liturgy, does "sanctify and accomplish" the mystery. So it was by secret unseen union "within the heart of the earth" (S. Matt. xii. 40), which had received the Body of the Lord, that His Body was quickened by the Spirit and He rose to the true spiritual life. For as the cross, so the altar; and as the new tomb, so the bosom of the faithful receiver. On the cross, the Lord's Body and Life were separated by death: so on the altar lie the separated tokens of His death. Within the tomb the union of Body and Life manifested the living Christ "united, sanctified, perfected; so within the faithful it is the union of the Body and Blood of the Lord that presents to the soul the living life-giving Christ, and there the Sacramental mystery is indeed perfected, *ἡνωται καὶ ἡγιασται καὶ τετελειώται*.—(Lit. St. James, p. 73.)

Further, the Lord Himself seems to suggest this view of the action of the Sacrament by concurrence of the parts in reception. "He that eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in Him: As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" (St. John vi. 56. 57). Here only does our Lord use the phrase "eateth Me;" and standing, as it does, as the combination of the other two

phrases, gathering up into one "eating My Flesh" and "drinking My Blood," it surely teaches that it is in the concurrence of the two that we are to find the life-giving feeding on the living Christ.

A view somewhat similar to that which I have advocated, is, I find from Archdeacon Freeman's work,¹ enunciated in the Calvinistic Helvetic Confession. "The glorified humanity, though locally absent, being virtually and in effect communicated for the sustenance of the faithful, simultaneously with the participation of the outward elements" (H. C. Art 36). But this is not my opinion. The words, "though locally absent," taken with the words, "virtually and in effect," appear to exclude the Real Objective Presence, which the words "This is My Body" do certainly assert as a fact, however ineffably mysterious. But the latter part, as to participation, agrees with my view, and is not the least shaken by Archdeacon Freeman's various arguments against it. He says very incorrectly, "Those who hold this view reject those words 'which is being given for you,' whereby the *already accomplished identification* of the elements previously to reception with His offered Body and Blood is declared." This previous identification—unknown to Scripture—must be regarded as a novel theory of the Archdeacon's. It turns upon an ingenious argument, that in the Jewish sacrifices the cake of flour was *identified* with the ox to be offered; but this argument, if pushed too far, is destructive of the truth of the Sacrament, for the cake, it may be replied, was not after all the true body of the ox, but only a convenient representation of it. "It was held to carry within it *in a manner*, the whole action."² To make the identification of the bread with our Lord's Body parallel to this, is indeed to make the Sacrament simply figurative. What an account of the Eucharist would this be, "The bread is held to carry within it, *in a manner*, the Body of Christ!" But his great argument against it, "the crowning and fatal objection"³ is, that "the doctrine, however Christian a face it may wear, was simply *invented by Calvin three hundred years ago.*" But he should remember that all doctrine of the Eucharist, that is, all definitive statement of the rationale of its nature and action, has

been *invented*, that is, first stated at some period or other of the Church's history. Errors of long growth and slow development must at last be met by new statements of truth—new, because the circumstances which call for their expression had not occurred at the first. Calvin's statement is partly erroneous, partly true; but the true part need not be rejected because it was then first stated explicitly. The *fact* was ever the same. The Lord declared the Presence in the midst of reception: He never spoke of that life-giving Presence except in "eating and drinking." And so the early Church received His doctrine without controversy, and therefore without definite statement. That in later times, when controversy had arisen, a definite statement was expressed for the first time, and in new words, is no proof of its falsehood. There was a time when the word "Trinity" was a new invention; a time when the "hypostatic union" was a new expression. In this nineteenth century, some new expressions have been invented by Mr. Freeman himself, and the Church has been enriched by them.

But it has been objected, that to believe that the Real Presence has place only in reception, sets aside the efficacy of consecration. This conclusion does not follow. Consecration has its office; it solemnly sets apart, with prayer, the elements to be the channels, and we have no right to say that without consecration they would be capable of being the channels of this Real Presence. But what is the "virtue of consecration," what its mode of acting, no one is authorized to say, for Scripture has defined nothing on the subject. And the Church has not even agreed what form of words are necessary for consecration, or what words are valid for consecration. The great Conservative Power of Christendom, the Eastern Church, strenuously maintains that the "virtue of consecration lies" in the Invocation. The Western Church claims to decide with infallibility that it lies in the words of Institution. No one therefore can say that there has been in the Church from the beginning, or is now, such an absolute uniformity of the mode and words of consecration, as to constitute any form an essential part of the Sacrament in any thing like the same manner in which the Holy Name is an essential part of Baptism. The English Church has defined nothing about the "virtue of consecration." Her only Prayer of Consecration is a petition resembling the Eastern Invocation, *praying that*

¹ Pr. of D. Service, ii. p. 67.

² Pr. of D. Service, ii. p. 77.

³ P. 201.

on reception there may be a presence of the Body and Blood of the Lord. She adds to her prayer the recital of the acts and the words of our Lord at institution; but what is the virtue of consecration she has nowhere declared, fixing her thoughts only on the end and purpose of consecration, namely, that the bread which we break may be a communication of, a channel for conveying, the Body of Christ.

But it is said, You give thus to every man's soul the power of consecration which you deny to the words and action of the priest. Now this objection turns upon a fallacy, a misunderstanding of the term Consecration. To consecrate does not mean, as this objection implies, to transmute or even to cause the Presence of the Body of Christ. To consecrate is to set apart for holy purposes. It is then the official act of the priest to consecrate. But it is the operation of the Holy Ghost that causes the Presence of the Body of Christ; and the Spirit works with our spirit in concurrence with our faith, and not without or irrespective of it. Each man's soul does not consecrate: the priest only can consecrate, for that is an official act; nor does each man's soul cause the Presence of the Body of the Lord. It is God that works in this mystery; and it is in accordance with the analogy of the whole economy, that God does not work except when He sees faith on man's part. And I do not find any force in the objection that this makes the reality of the Sacrament depend upon the faith or want of faith of the receiver. For why should it not? So it was with our Lord's power to work miracles: "He could do no mighty work in His own country because of their unbelief." So it is in the preaching of the Word of God: the very same utterance is effectual to one man's salvation, and is of no benefit to another who sits by his side—an Apostle's preaching was life to one and death to another. That great universal Gospel law, "According to your faith be it unto you," rules the Real Presence in the Sacrament, as well as every other case of the intercourse of the Spirit, of God with the soul of man. And it is in exact agreement with this principle that our Church has fully accepted S. Augustine's statement respecting "the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper" (Art. XXIX.), and has declared also that the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith" (Art. XXVIII). These, her authoritative statements, do make

"the reality of the Sacrament," if that means the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, "depend upon the faith or want of faith of the recipient," and do completely dispose of the view of such an objective Presence, absolute upon consecration, as shall be irrespective of the reception or the recipient. Such a view she has never admitted. Such a view has never been able to escape from the monstrous conclusion urged against it, that a mouse or worm, or other animal, might eat the Body of Christ (Jewel against Harding, Art XXIII). Peter Lombard thought that the animal could not receive it—"Corpus Christi a brutis animalibus non sumitur." But the great Faculty of Paris, acutely perceiving how such an admission destroyed their dogma of an absolute indefectible Presence, condemned this opinion: "Hic Magister non tenetur" (Error. à Paris. condemn. 450).

Such are the results to which human imaginations lead—such the dangers resulting from leaving the teaching of Holy Scripture. Scripture gives no word of support for any view or doctrine which touches the interval between consecration and reception. The history of this whole development has been after this sort: men, starting from the great truth that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily received as objective realities by the faithful communicant, have argued backward step by step, using logical inferences which have often misled them; for logical deductions do not hold good in the region of mystery and of the Infinite. They have argued in this fashion—the Body and Blood of Christ are received by the communicant, therefore they are given to him by the minister, therefore the elements which the minister gives are the Body and Blood of Christ, therefore the elements as they lie on the altar or holy table are the Body and Blood of Christ, therefore there is a real objective Presence of Christ in His Godhead and Manhood in the elements, therefore the visible elements are but a species of veil hiding the Presence of Christ; therefore worship is to be offered before the elements to Christ present in them, therefore prostration, and adoration, and incense, and the most costly vestments, and many lights, and all things that can do honour to Almighty God, thus made present, are to be used; therefore also the priest has in his hands Christ to offer before God; therefore, again, the presence of Christ thus secured is to be retained by reservation, a reasonable conclusion from the previous

position, that a special and higher Presence of the Lord is secured in the consecrated element : then followed, reasonably enough, the desire on the part of the faithful to take a portion of the element out of the Church to keep ever by them, that God might abide with them continually. Thus the whole system is consistent, built up firmly together, on the single foundation of the "virtue of consecration" by which the priest can by his words and action bring about absolutely the Presence of God. Yet has all this not one word of support from Holy Scripture. No one word is there said by the Holy Ghost of Christ received in the believer's hands nor of Christ given by the minister's hands, nor of Christ lying on the holy table, nor of Christ offered by the priest to God, nor of Christ made present to receive adoration in the elements, nor of man producing his Creator by transmuting the elements, nor of God abiding with us in a casket, nor of His perpetual Presence being secured by fixing God within a morsel of bread and retaining Him there, as it were, perforce. This whole train of doctrine exists without one word of Scripture to warrant it ; it has been worked out by the restless speculation of man, and springs entirely from one error—the error of bringing out the objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ from within the receiver, where alone Christ has placed it, and making it an external objective reality, having absolute existence independent of that one end and purpose of the institution—reception for the sustenance of the spiritual life. When that erroneous step has been taken, all the rest follows naturally, necessarily. There is no word in Scripture to contradict each advancing step in the development, for the whole thing has been taken out of the range of Scripture : the Word of God knows nothing about it : consequence follows consequence till we reach all the positions above stated. One consequence more ought to follow : the consecrated element ought not to turn to corruption and decay. But *nature is obstinate*, and refuses to fall into this magnificent system raised by man's imagination. The wafer decays ; and the *work of God* shows itself as *unconscious* of the whole device as the *Word of God* !

For all these errors there is one plain remedy. Understand that consecration and reception cannot be divided, and that of the interval which is inevitable through the frailty of man,—to whom time and succession must occur,—nothing

can be predicated. In the act of the Divine Celebrant there was no interval ; consecration and reception were inseparably connected, or even overlapped each other, as the links of a chain or the successions of the Apostolic ministry ; the bread is taken, blessed, broken, distributed commanded to be consumed, and then it is declared—"This is My body." Benediction, reception, and the declaration combined to make up the consecration. Therefore Scripture has no word about the elements in that interval, for there was no such interval, and all that men have inserted into it has been of their own invention.

The Church of England agrees with Scripture in this matter. She too knows nothing of that interval. She interposes nothing between consecration and reception ; no space is recognised, no action prescribed, no statement or definition is adventured ; even the Lord's Prayer, which was anciently inserted here by almost universal practice, she omits and postpones till after reception is completed ; immediately after the prayer of consecration is spoken, reception is to begin. In her mind, the consecrated elements have no existence but for reception : the moment they are consecrated, they are to be distributed : so much only is to be consecrated as may be thought sufficient for distribution : if any remain, it is to be carefully covered up and removed from sight till the Service is completed, then immediately consumed. No part is to be reserved in the church—none to be carried out of the church. Reception is the one end and object of the consecration ; and beyond that, nothing is sanctioned by her.

Yet it is argued that the Church of England holds a true, outward, objective Presence in the elements, consequent upon consecration. She certainly has never said so. The late Dr. Hamilton endeavours to prove constructively that such is her mind, and his zeal and learning are a guarantee that the passages he brings forward to support this view are the strongest that exist in her formularies ; but they fail to prove the point. The words of the Catechism prove, indeed, an objective Presence, of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament ; but it is a gratuitous conclusion on the Bishop's part, that that means an outward objective Presence, "*without us.*" And then he takes all her statements as to the reality of the Presence, as though they applied to that outward objectivity which alone he can conceive of. Yet

there is not one of them all that does more than declare the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in *reception*. The Bishop argues that the orders to cover the remaining elements, and to consume them reverently, were introduced, he doubts not, to teach the doctrine of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament (p. 79)—a very small foundation on which to build so vast a doctrine. Surely a reverent respect for elements which have been set apart with prayer to so high a purpose as to be the channels of the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, may be entertained without holding the extreme view of an outward objective Presence. In the XXIXth Article, where our Church declares that the wicked eat not the Body of Christ, she asserts their condemnation for unworthily eating and drinking "the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing," which words not only deny the absolute objective Presence, but also declare the reverence that attaches to the very sign or Sacrament, from its relation as a sign to so great a thing. It is this reverence that leads her to cover and consume reverently that which remains.

The Bishop's further argument, that in the Prayer of Humble Access the petition that we may so eat the Flesh, &c., &c., proves the outward objective Presence, is of no weight, for it speaks of the Presence no further than in the recipient; while the last argument, viz., that the post-communion prayer requests that those "who have received may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction," does not declare the Real Presence, even in Reception, but is a prayer for beneficial partaking of the Communion, which would not be inconsistent with the most extreme Zuinglian view.

On the whole, there is not one word or argument brought forward by the late Bishop of Salisbury from the formularies of the Church which asserts an outward Presence as distinguished from the inward objective Presence in the Sacrament in the faithful recipient. On the other hand, his lordship has overlooked the one formal, dogmatic, carefully-worded statement by which the Church of England defines and limits her view of this subject—"To such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the Supper of the Lord, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ" (Article XXVIII).¹ If the formularies are to be

appealed to, this formulary ought not to be left out; and this limits the Real Presence to participation by the fitly disposed recipient; yet it is an objective Presence, for "the bread is a partaking of"—the means of communicating—"the Body of Christ." These two points of view seem to many contradictory and incompatible; but they become perfectly consistent when we accept the position which I have endeavoured to maintain, that an inward Presence is still truly and really objective—inward, as within the man—objective, as being presented to the soul by the channel of the elements received.

Some further arguments are commonly alleged to prove that this doctrine of the absolute Presence is contained in our formularies:

I. Dr. Pusey says (I quote from memory), that "without it the prayer of consecration would be untrue." I suppose he alludes to the words, "This is My Body." But this is not an assertion made by the Church as to the elements at that moment: it is a narrative or recital of our Lord's words at the institution. The Church of Christ has never been able to define what constitutes Consecration; the East, as we have seen, differing from the West on this point. And our Church has wisely judged that the best thing for her to do is to pray for God's grace upon reception, and to recite or narrate what Christ did; this she does in a relative clause after her prayer, "Who in the same night," &c. By imposition of hands she applies the narrative to the elements before her; but what effect is produced, or how produced, she has not ventured to define: nor has she anywhere said that that particular form of words is absolutely necessary or exclusively effectual to right consecration. To say, then, that her consecration formula asserts the outward objective Presence, is contrary to fact and the truth of language. The only *substantive* part of her formula is a prayer "that we, receiving the creatures of bread and wine, may be partakers of the Blessed Body and Blood," which words recognise no presence except in reception. It has been argued indeed that the Church of England has definitely recognised the words of institution as the consecrating words, by having appointed that when it is necessary to consecrate more bread and wine, the priest shall begin at the recital of those words. But the answer to

¹ This same limiting of the Presence to right and due reception, comes out in the prayer or thanksgiving "For that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us who have duly received these

holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son."

this is full :—1st., The Church did not by that rubric decide the question, but seems purposely to have avoided the decision of it. For the Revisers of 1662, who introduced this rubric, took it from the Scotch liturgy, but in so doing they left out, surely not by accident, the decisive expression which they found there, “the words of consecration,” as though they hesitated, as well they might, to pronounce the “Recital” to be *the* words of consecration, as had been incautiously done in the Scotch book : for, 2ndly, to think to consecrate by the bare “recital,” *without prayer*, would be a thing unauthorized by all antiquity, and without parallel in any action or function of the Christian Church : while, 3rdly, to repeat the prayer as well as “the institution,” would be to introduce two separate consecrations into the same celebration, which would be an unexampled confusion : but, 4thly, the course to which our Church was guided happily escaped both these pitfalls. We have only to regard the preceding prayer as still in force, and then the fresh recital of the institution is but the application of that prayer extended to the fresh elements, just as the first recital was the application of it to the first quantity consecrated.

II. The words of the Catechism, “verily and indeed *taken* and received,” are much relied upon. It is argued that if it is verily taken, it must be verily given—an inference not perhaps necessarily valid in earthly things, certainly not of necessary consequence in a heavenly mystery ; for in mysteries and the region of the infinite, human deductions fail to conclude necessarily. But more than that. The framers of this answer in the Catechism had before them the words of the Article, “given, taken, and eaten ;” they left out, surely not without intention, the word “given.” How, then, are we justified to thrust it in again by inference ? Moreover, it is not clear that the word “taken” means here “taken from the hand of the minister,” an outward manual taking. It may very well mean “taken and received” from the Sacrament, taken up as nourishment into the soul. So the words are used in the “Homily of the Sacrament ;” “Touch it with the mind : receive it with the hands of thy heart : and take it fully into thy inner man.”¹

And since, further, the “very taking and

receiving” is limited here to the “faithful,” the argument at best does not make much for the absolute objective Presence. Mr. Carter,¹ indeed, goes so far as to assert that the word “faithful” here does not mean, as supposed, the true believer, but “Churchmen by profession.” But does any one believe that the Church meant no more than to say that the Body and Blood of Christ are received by Christians and not by heathens ? It is plain to any unprejudiced mind that the word “faithful” here is meant as precisely contrary to “such as be void of a lively faith” (Art. XXIX). Nor does Mr. Carter’s own interpretation really help his argument. If there be such an absolute objective Presence after consecration as he contends for, then heathens would receive verily and indeed the same that Christians receive, the same that the learned Faculty of Paris decided that the mouse or the worm would receive.

III. The words of the XXVIIth Article “the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper” are much dwelt upon as proving the outward objective Presence of the Lord’s Body, which is here said to be “given.” But the subsequent words of the sentence, “only after an heavenly and spiritual manner,” take away the force of the argument, since the meaning is thus shown to be “given by God and not by man, taken by the spirit and not by the hand, eaten by faith and not by the mouth. For this is an heavenly and spiritual giving and eating ; but by the hand and mouth is an earthly and corporal manner, and is excluded by the Church. For it is indeed scarcely worth while to discuss these fine questions of possible intentions, and assignable meanings, and ingenious inferences and deductions by side winds, when our Church has so plainly spoken her opinion in the exactly contrary direction, saying in this same Article, “the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith,” which precise statement declares that irrespective of the faith of the recipient there is no objective Presence. In vain does Mr. Carter struggle against this plain statement, and try to evade it by the unwarranted assertion that “the object of the Article is only to explain how the Sacrament is to be duly received and its benefits obtained ; it says nothing as to the manner whereby the Presence is vouchsafed or

¹ Quoted in the Charge, App. p. 148.

¹ “Doctrine of the Eucharist,” p. 23.

the conditions under which it is brought near" (p. 24). Mr. Carter must know, from the history of the controversy that gave rise to this Article, that the object was not to preach a homily on the duty of right preparation, but to declare that without faith there is no reception of the Body of Christ, as against that Roman doctrine of absolute unconditional Presence which he now re-asserts; according to which, the instrument which receives the Body of Christ is not the faith but the hand, of the man; and a Turk or a Buddhist receives the Body of Christ if he receives the consecrated wafer. But Mr. Carter's own words on the same page confute him. "Being a spiritual Presence, it is to be received by the spirit." Exactly so; and where the spirit is not, it is not received at all.

On the whole consideration of the subject, the result to which we are brought is this:—There is a Real Objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament *when received*. More than this, nobody can say, with any authority, at least, from Scripture, from the Primitive Church, or from our own Church. For in the institution by Christ, and in the pages of Scripture, the Sacrament is no otherwise conceived or spoken of than in reception;

in the Primitive Church the prayer for the Presence was simply and expressly limited to the end and purpose of reception; and in our own Church, consecration is followed immediately by reception, and the Presence is only spoken of as having place actually *within* the recipient, and only in the faithful. This is the utmost that is authorized, sanctioned, revealed. Anything more is but the fruit of human imagination, generated by restless speculation. And why should more be said? This answers the whole purpose for which the Holy Sacrament was instituted, viz., that we might "eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood."—that we might "dwell in Him and He in us." This Presence is effected by the Holy Spirit, acting upon the recipients and upon the elements—"Send Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts" (liturgies), quickening the subjective faith of the recipients, and so sanctifying the elements as to make them the channels by means of which the Body and Blood of Christ are objectively presented to the soul, to be assimilated by the soul which the Spirit has made capable of apprehending and taking into itself the Body of the Lord and His Blood, and receiving thereby His whole Divine saving Presence.

*Prayers for the Private Devotions of the Communicant, before receiving the Sacrament.**

A PRAYER AFTER THE CONSECRATION, BESECHING OUR HEAVENLY FATHER TO ACCEPT OUR "MEMORIAL OF THE DEATH OF HIS SON;" AND AN ACT OF ADORATION TO OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR, FOR ALL THE BENEFITS OF HIS DEATH AND ATONEMENT.

O eternal God, Our heavenly Father, accept, I beseech Thee, of the representation we make before Thee of that all-sufficient sacrifice which thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ made upon the cross: let the merit of His sacrifice plead effectually for the pardon and forgiveness of all my sins, and render Thee favourable and propitious to me, a miserable sinner; let the power of It prevail against all the powers of darkness; let the wisdom of It make me wise unto salvation; and let the peace of It reconcile me to Thee and bring to me peace of conscience.

I adore Thee, O blessed Jesus, my Redeemer, Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, who didst endure the painful and shameful death of the cross, to recover me from a state of sin and misery; I admire Thine infinite condescension, who wert pleased to be made miserable, that I might be made happy; poor, that I might be enriched; and didst die, that I might live for ever. With all my soul, O Blessed Jesus, I love and praise Thee for these stupendous expressions of Thy bounty and goodness towards me. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me; O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant me Thy peace. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

By Thine Agony and bloody Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, by Thy precious Death and Burial, by Thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost,—

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

* Taken from "Guide to the Holy Communion," by Robert Nelson, 1706.

Extracts from "THE LORD'S SUPPER, CLEARED FROM CERTAIN MISCONCEPTIONS."—By the Rt. Rev. DR. PEROWNE, BISHOP OF WORCESTER. *

ON THE "REAL PRESENCE."

THE term "Real Presence" is comparatively novel. It does not appear to have been in use before the sixteenth century. The Church of England has nowhere adopted it, and no loyal Churchman is bound to adopt an expression which is foreign to our English Liturgy, and for which there is no sanction either in Scripture, or in primitive antiquity. . . .

"Christ's body broken and blood shed 1,800 years ago are no more in that capacity, nor ever will be, and, therefore, it is absolutely impossible that they should be literally present in the Sacrament, or made food to the communicant. What is represented and eaten in the Sacrament is not the body glorified, but the body crucified and blood shed, which are no more, and which, therefore, cannot be received, either with mouth or mind, excepting only in a qualified and figurative sense." ¹ . . .

The argument has been put forward that where the body and blood are, there the whole Christ must be, and that His glorified humanity dwells in the consecrated elements, and, united with His Godhead, ought to be adored. But if we keep to the words of the institution, we shall not fall into this error. Whatever our Lord gave at the original institution, He gives now. What He gave then was not His glorified humanity, but (by anticipation) His sacrifice on the Cross. It was on the sacrifice shortly to be accomplished that His disciples were to feed. The blood shed for the redemption of sins was in that cup. Was it there literally, or was it there in spiritual efficacy? In spiritual efficacy most surely. For that body as broken and that blood as shed exist as such nowhere in the compass of creation—no, not in heaven itself, and no natural or material or objective presence of them is possible. It is not true, then, to say that that which Christ gave and which He held in His hand, was nothing less than His own Person, Body, Soul, and Godhead. "There was a time," says Bishop Thirlwall, "when to show of any proposition that it involved such a consequence would among us have been accounted a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum*. Now I am afraid a spirit is abroad to which there can be no greater recommendation of any doctrine than, that it shocks the common-sense of mankind." ²

"No one who has partaken of the Eucharist from the time of its institution can have eaten or drunk that body or that blood in any but a purely spiritual sense. In such a sense the words of institution are no doubt as true now as ever. But they afford not the slightest support to the doctrine of the Real Presence, whether in the Roman, Lutheran, or Tractarian form. So interpreted they are wholly inconsistent with the idea of a local Presence on a material altar, which is common, and alike essential, to all those forms; and the scenic decorations of the Sacrament, lights, vestments, and ornaments of the altar, so far as they are significant of doctrine, become manifestly unmeaning, incongruous, and misplaced, and the dispute about 'the position of the celebrant' a mere waste of breath." ³ . . .

In conclusion, I must express my conviction that the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, as they are now commonly taught by too many clergymen, by some men of learning and position in the Church of England, are contrary to God's Holy Word, have no support in primitive antiquity, and are at variance with the plain teaching of the Church of England. I see with sorrow how the minds of the young and the unsuspecting are imposed upon by the specious claims that are urged by those who teach these doctrines as "Catholic" verities. I have felt it my duty to point out what I believe to be very serious errors. We know what the effect of teaching of this kind is—how it has led many to forsake our Communion for that of Rome. We know how perilously near to idolatry is that reverence which is inculcated for the Blessed Sacrament. We know that our Church stigmatizes doctrines scarcely distinguishable from those which many of our clergy maintain as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." We are sure that in any case there is fostered by this teaching not a spirit of humble faith, but a carnal and material conception of spiritual truths. At the root of it lies the fundamentally false conception of the Christian ministry which degrades it into a sacrificing priesthood, and virtually denies, or at least makes light of, the priesthood of the Christian laity. Let us beware how we be led away into these errors. Let us keep close to the Scriptural language, to the devout spiritual feeling of our own Liturgy. We want nothing more. We shall find nothing better, truer, deeper, than is furnished there. We may crave some visible representation, something which, as we think, shall bring our Saviour nearer to us. Let us beware lest we repel Him.

¹ Waterland, Works, vii., chap. viii., p. 200. ² Thirlwall, "Charges," ii. 251. ³ Ibid. "Literary Remains," iii. 487.

* Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, London. 1898.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART IV.—(*First Division—Section 3.*)

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION.

*By the Very Rev. EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich.**

“Christ was the WORD that spake it,
He bless'd the bread, and brake it,
And what that WORD doth make it,
That I believe, and take it!”

—Declaration of Queen Elizabeth.

SEC. 3.—ON THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN HIS GLORIFIED HUMANITY TO THE SOUL, BY FAITH.

“The nobleman saith unto Him, Sir, come down ere my child die. Jesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth.”

“The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed.

“For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

“When Jesus heard it, He marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.”

— JOHN iv. 49, 50. MATT. viii. 8—10.

THE healing of the nobleman's son, recorded by St. John, reminds us of the cure of the centurion's servant, under circumstances in some respects similar. Both nobleman and centurion were of Capernaum. The son in one case, the servant in the other, was healed by an act of Our Lord's will, operating upon them while they were at a distance from Him. But beyond these two points, the contrast of the two cases (a contrast which Augustine and others have drawn out in detail) is more remarkable than their resemblance.

One man was a centurion,—a position which may be represented with tolerable accuracy to our minds by calling him a non-commissioned officer of the Roman army. The other was a nobleman, or, as perhaps the word might be rendered, a person engaged in the royal household, a courtier. It is most interesting to ob-

serve, in reference to this difference of position, how Our Lord volunteered a visit to the house of the little man (“Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him”); but made no such offer to come under the roof of the great man, nor to move from the place where He then was. Elisha does not stir when an honourable captain comes “with his horses and his chariot,” and stands at the door of his house; and Christ does not stir when a member of the royal household implores Him to “come down and heal his son.” The messengers of God accept no man's person. The nobleman's interest was in a son, and flowed from natural affection. The centurion's interest was in a servant or slave, and argues him, in the then estimate usually formed of slaves, to have been a man of kindly feeling and general sympathy. It never seems to have crossed the nobleman's mind that he was unworthy of a visit from Our Lord. The centurion, on the other hand, is quite overwhelmed by the prospect of such an honour; “Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof.” Finally (and this is the point to which I propose to draw your attention), the nobleman seems never to conceive the possibility of Christ's healing at a distance. If the Lord is to restore his son, He must be under the same roof, and in the same room with the patient; “Sir, come down ere my child die.” The centurion, on the other hand, expressly avows his conviction that Christ's Presence is not needed to perform the cure which he solicited. A word, a beck, a

* From “Lectures on the Holy Communion” (Rivingtons).

nod, a mere signification of the will from a Person possessed of such extraordinary powers will abundantly suffice; "Speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed." And the way in which from the circle of his own experience he reasons himself into this faith is very remarkable. He was familiar with the discipline of a camp or an army, in which the various arrangements and movements are ordered at head-quarters, and executed by subordinates. When this is done on a large scale, there is certainly something very imposing in the authority which the will of a single individual exerts. The centurion would think of the Roman emperor, the commander-in-chief of all the armies of the state, whether in the most distant provinces, or in the neighbourhood of the seat of empire. . . . "If I now," reasoned the centurion,—“quite a subordinate link in the great chain of military authority,—if even I, by an order to my private soldiers, or my servant, can alter the state of things in the troop under my command without my own personal intervention, cannot this extraordinary Man, who has evidently the powers of nature at His command (for He has stilled the tempest, He has cleansed the leper, He has cast out devils, He has raised the dead), raise up my servant from his bed of languishing, without moving from the spot where He at present is? Therefore 'Lord, trouble not Thyself; but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.'”

This man's faith, then, was in fact an enlarged conception of the power of Christ,—such a conception as the nobleman wanted, and as Our Lord sought to create in him. In the other great instance of faith commended by Our Lord, the faith stands in an enlarged conception of the *love* of Christ. The Syrophenician too reasons herself into this faith from the facts of her experience. She had observed that in the great system of God's universe provision is made for the wants of the inferior creatures. Bread is for men, not dogs; but still dogs get some portions of it, the fragments which the master wipes off with his hands, and flings down on the floor. If a fragment of good bread is thrown to a dog, may not she, although an outcast of the Gentiles, have a fragment of mercy bestowed upon her? Despite all the apparent ungraciousness of His answers, she believes that the fragment will be thrown to her, and perseveres in her application.

But to return to the centurion's faith, and

the point in which it contrasted with the nobleman's.

The nobleman's faith, then, was poor and narrow, because he conceived the exercise of Our Lord's power to be limited by the condition of His Bodily Presence. The centurion's faith was large and generous, because he reckoned that Our Lord's power to heal was in no way dependent on His Bodily Presence; that He had hosts of subordinate agencies at command in every district of Creation, who would execute His will immediately upon its being signified. This is the faith which Christ commends and approves, yea, which in an heir of sinful flesh and blood He marvels at. We shall attempt to show our own backwardness in this kind of faith, and to reprove ourselves, who have so much clearer light than he had, by the example of this centurion.

First, then, we remark that there is a tendency in the human mind,—a tendency which has made itself only too manifest in the history of the Church,—to crave after the bodily visible presence of our Lord. Who can doubt that this tendency is at the bottom of the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation? It is very easy to rail at Transubstantiation in the ordinary coarse way, and to deery the revolting absurdities which seem to be involved in such a tenet. But surely it were better far to consider whether there is not some instinct in the fallen mind of man, which may have prompted this fatal error, and whether we ourselves are not apt to be misled by the same instinct in another form. Putting aside all the subtleties which the wits of Theologians have woven like so many cobwebs round this dogma, and the hard terms, such as “substance” and “accidents,” in which they have attempted to explain and vindicate it, I take the idea which the tenet conveys to a plain simple-minded Romanist to be exactly this; that usually, and even under the circumstances of ordinary worship, Our Blessed Lord is locally in Heaven, observing us, no doubt, and listening to our prayers, but still at a vast distance from us; but that on the utterance by the Priest of the words of Consecration He is drawn down into the Church, and lies concealed under the Consecrated Elements, so that the state of things is really just the same as when He visited the Apostles from time to time after the Resurrection, and ate and drank with them, and showed them the wounds in His hands and side. A pious and simple Romanist, who has

no head for subtleties, thinks that He pays very similar visits to His Church now, whenever mass is celebrated, and that the elements are merely a disguise, which it pleases Him to wear while making the visit. And, absurd as the tenet is when stated in its bare logical form, there are feelings in the human heart which will explain its being taken up with. Are we quite sure that when reading the Gospels, we ourselves have never longed for the privilege vouchsafed to the Apostles of having our Master with us in Bodily Presence; of being able to put questions to Him on our difficulties and elicit answers; of being allowed to look up into the lineaments of His majestic and loving countenance, and see there the very expression which harmonized with the occasion, whether of tenderness, or trouble, or joy, or severity, or simple serene peace? And has a thought never insinuated itself that the Apostles, whatever their privileges afterwards, were great losers by the withdrawal of this sort of Presence; that there was in it a support, and a comfort, and a strength which could not be made up for by what occurred at Pentecost, or, in other words, by a Spiritual Presence? In short, does the state of things represented in the Acts of the Apostles seem to us meagre and unsatisfactory in contrast with that glorious fulness of privilege which they enjoyed while their Master was with them? It is probable that some such thoughts have at times crossed the minds of all devout persons. There is a certain phase of feeling in which the Lord is regarded as a human friend, association with whom in the flesh would be the greatest of all privileges, if it could be permitted, and would bring us under an influence for good which nothing else could supply. That is probably the feeling which Transubstantiation seems to meet in the mind of those who adopt it, and which, aided by a strong effort of the imaginative faculty, it seems to satisfy. The Lord is supposed to be among His people as heretofore,—as heretofore, to occupy a certain space upon earth, to the exclusion of all other parts of space,—as heretofore (although in a great mystery), to be the subject of sight and touch.

2. But how emphatically corrected and improved by Scripture, is the sentiment which I have described! Nothing can be clearer on the surface of the narrative than that the spiritual state of the Apostles after Pentecost was far higher, far more blessed, yea, one of far more

intimate communion with the Lord than it had been previously. Whence the immense increase of light, of joy, of power, contrasted with the ignorance and imbecility of their former state, if not from the fact that they were now one with their great Head, by the indwelling of His Spirit, in a manner in which they had never before been one? Their relation to Him was altered, and the latter relation was far closer, and so far more excellent and desirable, than the former had been. He begins to teach them this immediately after His Resurrection. When an attempt is made by one of his most devoted followers to spring towards Him with the old ardour of human affection, He withdraws Himself from the bodily handling as that which was now to find place no longer, and the mysterious words fall from His lips; "Touch me not." Not that His heart of love to His followers had been in the smallest degree chilled by the great ordeal through which He had passed; not that His change of circumstances had rendered Him in the least degree cold and distant, or made Him push those to arm's length whom He had once delighted to gather round Him in the familiarities of friendly intercourse; but that by this first significant word He would have them understand that it was not any longer by the senses that they were to touch Him and have intercourse with Him, but by the *spiritual faculty of faith*. In short, He would initiate them into the new relationship, and teach them that they must now no longer know Him as they once had known Him, "after the flesh," must seek Him no more locally, but in prayer, speak to Him by lifting up their hearts, draw down His Power to their relief by communicating with Him invisibly through hope and trust. But alas! the natural and corrupt heart of man is not really satisfied with that spiritual Presence of Christ which has superseded His bodily and visible Presence. We like walking by sight much better than walking by faith; and liking this naturally, we imagine to ourselves a *local* presence of Christ upon earth in one particular spot, and under a particular form of matter, even when such an imagination involves the greatest absurdities. The same feeling would have led us, had we lived in the time recorded by the Acts of the Apostles, to go back again in fond yearnings of memory to the time when our Master still walked visibly among men, and to pour forth sentimental regrets on the intercourse once vouchsafed, but which had

now been withdrawn. But do the Apostles themselves ever manifest such yearnings or regrets? Is it not altogether the contrary? Do not cheerful activity, vigour, boldness, and a joyous assurance of their Master's support characterize all their proceedings after Pentecost; whereas before they are feeble, dull, timid, and sorrowful? After all, the mere support to be derived from the Bodily Presence of one wiser and better than ourselves, — what does it amount to? There is a good deal of our lower nature in such support, but little of the higher. An animal may be bold when his master is close to him, cheering him on to the attack, or docile when the human eye is fixed steadily upon him, and exerts a kind of spell in subduing resistance. But it is the glory of man that he has a faculty which enables him to throw himself upon and realize the support of an unseen God,—a faculty which gives him a moral support, such as derives no aid from the senses. True it is that God has condescended to that infirmity of our nature by which we demand a visible object of worship, by sending His Son into the world to reveal His Name and Nature. But a definite apprehension of God having thus been established in the minds of men—a great object of Faith, level to our understanding and sympathies, having been once for all displayed,—this object is withdrawn again into the Invisible World, in order that our faith may have scope to exercise itself. If Christ were under our eyes, what trial of faith would there be in believing?

But let us rather ask with the centurion, what could the Bodily Presence of Christ under our roofs, in our Churches, do for us, which He is at present unable to do? "The Natural Body of our Saviour Christ," says our Prayer Book, "is in Heaven, and not here." And Heaven is the Great Presence Chamber of God beyond the stars, distant we know not how far from our globe. But what of that? "I am persuaded that neither height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." This earth is but a remote corner of God's Universe,—an extremity of the great system, in whose centre sits enthroned the Son of God, in His risen and glorified Humanity. But to Him, as He has Himself assured us, is given "all power in Heaven and in earth." His will permeates all space with a speed greater than that of the electric spark. "He speaks, and it is done;

He commands, and it stands fast." By His Word He is present in every district of Creation, upholding, informing, controlling all things. What though suns and systems of worlds roll between us and His glorified Body, do we think He cannot reach us? Are we not told that "Angels, and authorities, and powers are made subject unto Him?" Has He no subordinate ministers, who can execute His behests on the moment that His will is signified to them? Is not the Holy Spirit a mysterious link between us and Him, knitting us as close to Him as the body, by the possession of life, is knit to the soul? If He is the centre of life and influence to us, as the soul is to the body, can there be any closer union with Him? Is not this more than enough to satisfy all the longings of the spiritual mind? And do we imagine that He cannot hear us at so great a distance? O unworthy thought! Who shall tell the speed with which prayer travels to His ear, or rather to His heart? Who shall tell how instantaneously the upward glance of an eye directed towards Him, the breath of a single devout aspiration, reaches His Presence Chamber? We must enlarge our views of His power and His omniscience, if we desire that our faith, like the centurion's, should be commended by Him. "Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? . . . Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord." We must dismiss all notions of Him which would reduce Him again under the limited conditions, which it pleased Him once to assume, of an earthly body and a natural relationship. Let us regard Him as the King of Heaven, whose fiat takes effect immediately upon earth. Let us learn to see in all events, arrangements, movements of this shifting scene, whether great or small, of public or private concernment, the execution of His will. Let us think of Him as everywhere present by His Word. And let us find Him in our own hearts by the motions and instigations of His Spirit, nearer to our true personality, nearer to our consciousness and inner man, than even the most confidential friend can ever be. There let us hold communion with Him. There let us seek His face, and speak to Him, and take counsel with Him, and listen to His replies. "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above :) Or, who shall descend into the deep?

(that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart." Prayer is in the mouth of the Christian. Christ (by the

Spirit) is in his heart. Verily He is not far from every one of us. He is a God nigh at hand, and access to Him easy.

PART IV.—(*First Division—Sections 4, 5, 6.*)

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION.

SECT. 4.—THE MYSTERY OF THE "INWARD PART" IN THE SACRAMENT, DENIED ALIKE BY THE RATIONALIZING AND THE ROMANIZING THEORIES. SECT. 5.—OUR UNION WITH CHRIST IN THE RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENT. SECT. 6.—THE EFFICACY OF THE CONSECRATION.

By the Very Rev. EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich.*

O come to our Communion Feast :
There present in the heart,
Not in the hands, th' eternal Priest
Will His true self impart.

—Keble's "Christian Year."

(According to the Version accepted and welcomed throughout the Anglican Church, in many editions, during the life of the Author.)

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?"—1 Cor. x. 16.

THE history of the Apostolic Church, as given in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles, may be said to be a model and miniature of all that was to come after in Ecclesiastical History. In the Apostles and their associates we find patterns of the different characters and endowments of Christians down to the end of time; after ages only offering feeble repetitions of what those holy men were. In St. John, the devout and meditative Christian; in St. Paul, the extensively active and influential Christian; in St. Peter, the enthusiastic Christian, with strong will and abilities for administration; in Barnabas, the quiet and gentle Christian, whose voice soothes the mourner; in Apollos, the eloquent teacher, who kindles with his lofty theme; in Timotheus, the disciple who has imbibed the principles of true religion from a mother's precepts, combined with a mother's prayers,—are

respectively exemplified. And as it is with characters, so it is with heresies, contradictions, controversies, and movements in the Church. A little model and miniature of all these movements (very perfect and exact as models and miniatures are) is to be found in the primitive Church, while yet it was under inspired government. There was a Rationalistic party in the Sadducees. And there was a Romanising party, —Romanizing, I mean, in tendency and spirit, before the Church of Rome was ever heard of, —among the Pharisees. There was a strong Antinomian party, denounced and censured by St. James. There was a strong party who stood up for justification by human merit, demolished a thousand times over by St. Paul, so that one would think (although the event has not justified the anticipation) that they never could have held up their heads again. There was a philosophical party called Gnostics, who adulterated the faith by spurious admixtures of Rabbinical and Oriental speculations, against whom St. John, the great speculative divine of Inspiration, directed all his strength. And, finally, there was in those days the Free-grace and Free-will controversy (called in these modern times Calvinistic and Arminian), which the holy Apostles left without any logical adjustment, making statements which looked in both directions; so that the result of all Biblical research on that moot point has been well and tersely summed up thus: "Calvinists and Arminians are both right and wrong; they are right in what they assert, and wrong in what they deny."

And was there any controversy on the subject of the Eucharist in the time of the Apostles, as there has been much since? No formal controversy on this great subject even showed its head, —much less came to a crisis,—till the eighth century of the Christian Era. But still there

* From "Lectures on the Holy Communion," and from "Farewell Counsels" (Livingtons).

were the elements of Eucharistic controversy in the Apostolic Church, though they were not for a long time to receive their full development. Modern views on the subject err either in excess or defect; the Lord's Supper is either unduly exalted (which is the tendency of all Roman and Romanizing Theology), or unduly depreciated (which is the error of the Protestant sects). Now it is clear that the last of these errors found itself represented in the Corinthian Church in the time of St. Paul. Their flagrant desecration of the Ordinance could not possibly have consisted with any high view of it. Those who snatched their own portion of the common Supper, before the communicants had fully assembled, and the entertainment had been formally opened, could not have regarded with much reverence the sacred Institution, which was to form part of that supper. They looked upon it too familiarly (though one would think the very solemn words of Institution would have acted as a sufficient safeguard against desecration); the Ordinance had dropped in their estimation to the level of a very common thing. Accordingly, St. Paul sets himself to put it on a higher level in their minds, that it might be out of reach of their desecration. For before he enters on their abuse of it in the eleventh chapter, he expounds, in another connexion, the nature and dignity of the Sacrament in the tenth. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" And still in the eleventh chapter he harps on the dignity of the Ordinance; he speaks of their eating and drinking unworthily, in consequence of their not discerning the Lord's Body, i. e. not appreciating the mystery of it, not distinguishing between it and a common meal. And the guilt incurred by an irreverent and undiscriminating reception is painted by him in these frightfully strong colours: "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." And he points out that this guilt would be, and in their case had been, followed by certain temporal judgments of God upon the offenders, sickness and death, which judgments, he says, were corrective, and designed to bring the Corinthian Church to a right mind. "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh" (the word "damnation" in our Authorised Version, which has given rise to so

much false alarm, is well known by all scholars to be a thoroughly inaccurate rendering) "a judgment unto himself." The kind of judgment is immediately explained in the verse next following; "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep" (i. e. sleep in death.) And the merciful design of the judgment (which was in order to avert eternal condemnation) is subjoined: "But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned" (here the word "condemned" is perfectly right) "with the world."

Now this manner of writing on the part of St. Paul,—the Apostle, generally speaking, not so much of Ordinance as of Faith,—gave the first impulse to a reaction in the minds of Christians on the subject of the Lord's Supper. His Apostolic word had disentangled the Eucharist from the Supper with which it was once associated; had placed it in a shrine of its own; had declared its true nature as a participation of the Body and Blood of Christ; and had pointed out the sad consequences of desecrating it. From that time forth, there arose in the Church a strong tendency to exalt the Eucharist, which, like most strong tendencies, became, as time went on, grossly exaggerated, and resulted at length in what may be rightly called the deification of the Ordinance. Thus in the Apostolic Church we find a party which irreverently derogated from the dignity of the Lord's Supper; and we also find in St. Paul's censure of this party, the origin of the tendency which resulted in an undue exaltation of it. For indeed, in that Apostolic Church, as I have said, were the seeds of all future Ecclesiastical History.

It will be well, in endeavouring to expound the Scriptural and Church of England doctrine of the Eucharist, to state briefly and clearly the two extreme views (you may call them, for the sake of a name, the Rationalizing and Romanizing views) between which the truth lies. And may God help me, by the light of His Spirit, to a clear exposition, and you to a clear understanding of this matter, for His Son's sake!

I. What may be called the Rationalizing view of the Lord's Supper acknowledges no mystery in the transaction. It is all, according to this view, as plain as day. Just as a dying father gathers his children round his deathbed, and gives them each his blessing, and puts into the hand of each some little token by which, when he is gone, they may call him to mind, so,

it is said, the Everlasting Father, when on the eve of leaving those whom He so lovingly called His "little children," instituted a certain rite for their observance, which rite was purely and merely commemorative, answered (and was designed to answer) no other purpose towards them than that of reminding them in a lively manner, through the senses, of the Blessed Body which had been broken, and the precious Blood which had been spilled for them. No one denies, you will observe, that this commemoration is one great object of the Holy Communion. But the divines, whose views we are now representing, maintain this to have been its *exclusive* object, and that this account of the Ordinance exhausts the subject. With regard to the words of Institution: "This is my Body;" "This is my Blood;" it is maintained that they are to be taken figuratively; "This Bread is a *figure* of my Body," "This Wine is a *figure* of my Blood;" and instances are adduced from the Scriptures, where the substantive verb "is" has a similar meaning to that which is here imposed upon it; as for example, "The seven good kine *are* seven years" (that is, represent, or stand for, seven years); "The seed *is* the Word of God;" "The harvest *is* the end of the world;" (meaning that the seed and the harvest, in the parables where they occur, represent, respectively, the Word of God and the end of the world;) and so forth.

Now, perhaps, had it not been for the Apostle Paul, we might think this view capable of a tolerable reconciliation with Holy Scripture. He, however, was appointed by God to bring out more clearly, and define more exactly, the words of Institution, which his Divine Master had employed. And be it observed, that St. Paul's style of writing is not imaginative or rhetorical, but logical, closely argued, and, generally speaking, as far removed as possible from the figurative. Thus he paraphrases (and in paraphrasing points out the true force of) the words, in which the Ordinance had been instituted. "The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion?" (mutual or reciprocal participation) "of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?"

He does not say, "Is it not a figure or representation of the Blood and Body of Christ?" (though this would have been perfectly intelligible and perfectly true); his words go far beyond this in strength and mysteriousness; he says, "Is it not a communication of, a means of

participating in, the Body and Blood of Christ?" Now what is the utmost you could say with truth of the miniature of a deceased parent? You might say no doubt, "This miniature reminds me of my dear father and mother, and brings back especially to my mind that painful hour when they forsook me, having first committed me to His care, who is the Protector of orphans." But no man, speaking prose and sober sense, could possibly say of such a miniature; "My looking on this miniature is a means, whereby I hold intercourse with the spirit of my departed parent in Paradise." It is perhaps just conceivable that in very high-flown and extravagant poetry some such idea might be insinuated; but the Epistle to the Corinthians is not poetry; and even if it were, where the Holy Ghost is the speaker, and the faith of the Catholic Church on the most important Ordinance of Religion is the thing to be determined by His verdict, His speech will surely be in all truth, and soberness, and exactitude.

Thus the view that the Eucharistic Rite is simply commemorative, and the Consecrated Elements merely figures, is excluded at once and for ever, by the plain language of the Apostle Paul.

And our Church faithfully and devoutly echoes his language, telling us in the Catechism that "the Body and Blood of Christ are *verily and indeed*" (not in an empty figure and barren ceremony but "*verily and indeed*") "taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and in the Twenty-eighth Article, that "the Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ."

2. We now come to the Romanizing view of the Eucharist, which culminates, or finds its extreme form, in the dogma called "Transubstantiation." I will represent, as shortly and plainly as I can, what well-instructed Romanists mean by that dogma, observing, first, that their views on this, and other points of Theology, are often much misapprehended and misrepresented by Protestants.

Transubstantiation, as our Twenty-eighth

Article well defines it, means the "change of the *substance* of Bread and Wine in the Supper of the Lord." Observe, the change of the *substance*, not the change of the *phenomena*. There is one great change of natural substance, recorded in the Scriptures of truth, which may help us to a clear understanding of the matter in hand. At the wedding of Cana in Galilee, Our Lord changed water into wine—into wine of a quality and flavour superior to any which the guests had yet partaken of. Now if we were to ask a Romanist whether the change effected in the elements by the Priest's consecration of them is of the same kind as the change which passed upon the water in the six waterpots of stone at Cana, he would say, because in truth he could say nothing else, "Not exactly. I believe that the transformation wrought by the Priest is as great a miracle as that wrought by our Lord on the occasion you refer to, but *not as capable of being appreciated by the senses*. The water at Cana, when changed into wine, had the taste and colour of wine; whereas the bread and wine after consecration, though changed (as I believe) into the literal Body and Blood of Christ, still retain the taste and colour of Bread and Wine. It is the substance which I believe to be changed, not the phenomena which meet the senses. Everything which meets the senses remains just as it was before." In short, the Romanist avails himself of an old philosophical distinction broached by Aristotle, and gravely questioned in modern times by Locke, between the substance and the accidents in things material. All matter was supposed to have, in addition to those properties which reach the senses, such as shape, colour, smell, taste, consistency, and so forth), some inward nucleus or substance, which could neither be seen, heard, tasted, smelt, nor felt. This old philosophical distinction was found a mighty convenience by Roman Divines. For when their adversaries asked them how the Bread and Wine could be changed into Flesh and Blood, without having the appearance and taste of flesh and blood, they furnished up Aristotle's old distinction, and made a controversial weapon out of it, saying that the substance of the Bread and Wine was changed into another substance, but that the phenomena, that is the taste, the smell, the colour, the consistency, remain the same as ever. And this is the form in which the Council of Trent has stereotyped the dogma.

Of this dogma our Church most wisely says,

first, that it cannot be proved by Holy Writ. It is of course utterly vain to seek in Scripture for the absurd philosophical distinctions and technicalities, which constitute the real ground of the Romanist's position. Scripture gives us food for the heart, not metaphysical cobwebs to entangle the mind. But there is another and most fatal objection to the acceptance of any such distinctions; which is this. Once grant that things are not what they seem to be, and that habitually the human senses are imposed upon by the appearance of bread and wine, where there is really nothing but Flesh and Blood; and you cut away the evidence of the Resurrection of Christ, and so supplant the whole of Christianity. Has not God consecrated the evidence of our senses, by resting the proof of the Resurrection of His dear Son on the testimony of veracious persons, who *saw* Him and ate with Him after He was risen? And if God has consecrated this evidence, am I at liberty to tamper with it by foolish subtleties, which open a breach in the fortress of Christianity, whereby the infidel may easily enter?

Next, our church asserts that it is "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture." So far from being annihilated by Consecration (as the Romanists pretend), the bread is expressly called "bread" by St. Paul *after* consecration: "As often as ye eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*, ye do show forth the Lord's death till He come." "Whosoever shall eat this *bread*, and drink this *cup* of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." And if the words are to be so literally pressed, we must, according to one version of them, say that the cup is the New Testament, which is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole principle of interpretation. And further, in Our Lord's first administration of the Ordinance, how could the bread, which He held in His hand, be His Body in the literal and carnal sense of the words? which single argument ought for ever to have put to the flight so monstrous an absurdity.

Finally, our Church asserts that "Transubstantiation overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament." For a Sacrament has two parts, "an outward visible sign, and an inward spiritual grace." And if you maintain that the substance of Bread and Wine is annihilated in the Lord's Supper (which the Romanists pretend) you leave only the thing signified, and destroy the sign.

What, then, is the true doctrine of the Eucharist, moving between these two extremes—

the doctrine announced by Holy Scripture, and faithfully echoed by our Church? Nothing more nor less than this, that "the Cup of blessing which we bless, is the Communion" (means of participating in) "of the Blood of Christ;" and that "the Bread which we break, is the Communion" (means of participating in) "of the Body of Christ." The elements are the medium of our Communion with Christ in some way altogether mysterious, supersensual, heavenly, and divine—not to be comprehended by the human reason, and therefore not to be expressed by human definitions. If it be asked what it is which gives the elements this character, the answer is, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the Consecration. Why are we afraid of the Apostle's own words, because Rome has perverted them? "The Cup of Blessing, WHICH WE BLESS" (there is the Consecration) "is it not" (in virtue of such blessing) "the Communion of the Blood of Christ?" "The Bread WHICH WE BREAK" (and the Bread is broken in the course of the Prayer of Consecration) "is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" Why should we be afraid of the precise and admirable language of our own Twenty-eighth Article; "The Body of Christ is *given* in the Supper" (observe, the words are "given, taken, and eaten;") and it is clear from the following paragraph, where the taking and eating only—not the giving—are said to be by faith, that the "giving" must be by Consecration) "only after an heavenly and spiritual manner?" If it be asked what it is in us, which lays hold of this Gift, appropriates it, assimilates it, makes it a strength and a refreshment to the soul, the answer is perfectly clear, "Faith." Without Faith there is no blessing, and no receptivity of blessing, to the individual. Without Faith, in no wise is the recipient of the Consecrated Elements a partaker of Christ, but "rather to his condemnation he doth eat and drink the sign and Sacrament of so great a thing. For "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten" (not "given," observe, but "received and eaten") "in the Supper is Faith." The faithless communicant resembles the crowd who thronged and pressed our Lord's natural Body, without partaking of any benefit whatever. The faithful communicant resembles that poor woman, who, by touching the hem of His garment, drew forth an instantaneous cure.

It is quite necessary to remark, for the full illustration of the subject, that the

error both of Rationalists and Romanists has, strange as it may appear to say so, a common principle; and that this is one of the many instances in which extremes meet. Observe, then, that neither Rationalist nor Romanist acknowledges a mystery in the Eucharist. The Rationalist avows explicitly that there is no mystery; that Christ's words of Institution are to be taken figuratively; that the elements are mere emblems of Christ's Body and Blood, and nothing more; that the right is merely commemorative. The Romanist equally abolishes the mystery, though in another way; as the Rationalist had eluded the mystery by a figurative, so he no less eludes it by a gross and carnal interpretation. This Bread, he says, becomes substantially flesh; and this Wine becomes substantially Blood. In that case there is no mystery in our reception of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist; we press with our teeth that which is flesh; we taste with our tongue that which is blood; there is nothing mysterious here; but merely a carnal animal process, the very notion of which shocks our feelings of reverence as well as our common sense. On the other hand, we of the English Church hold that while, on the one hand, the consecrated Bread and Wine remain all along in their true and natural substances, they become by consecration the medium by which every faithful communicant "verily and indeed" (not in figure only) "takes and receives," in some mysterious manner, the Body and Blood of Christ. And if our adversaries ask us with Nicodemus, "How can these things be?" our answer must be that of the three Hebrew youths to Nebuchadnezzar; "We are not careful to answer thee in this matter." We are not ashamed to say frankly, "We do not know how." We are not afraid to acknowledge a mystery in the highest ordinance of the Faith; and we desire to bear in mind that if a mystery could be explained, and made clear to the human understanding, it would cease to be a mystery. We object to you Rationalists, we object to you Romanists, that, the one by a figurative, the other by a gross and carnal interpretation, ye profess to explain the inexplicable. We think that even on subjects of Natural Science, which are not beyond the compass of human reason, professed explanations often serve only to obscure the truth. The Body and Mind reciprocally act upon one another; that the blood circulates in living

animal bodies; that the nourishment received by such bodies is assimilated, and becomes part of the animal fabric, either bone, or flesh, or muscle; all these positions are certain, and may safely be assumed and acted upon; but as to how these things are, as to what precisely is the mystic link of sympathy between mind and matter, what is the origin of the movement called circulation, why a living body should have an assimilative power over nourishment—of these points, even in the present very advanced state of science, we must confess ourselves entirely ignorant. Is it to be wondered at if in subjects of Revelation, which notoriously transcend the powers of the human mind, our understanding should sometimes be at fault? If in the researches of Natural Philosophy you can hardly move three steps without coming to a dead wall, how can we suppose that in Divine Philosophy mysteries, precluding all further research, will not meet us at every turn?

It will, however, frequently happen that if, in the acceptance of mysteries, we are humble, patient, and docile, our Heavenly Father will not indeed make them plain to our understandings, but will give us such glimpses of light upon them as will confirm us in our faith. And perhaps we may derive, under His blessing, some such confirmation of our faith from an illustration of the subject (it is nothing more) which we are about to propose.

SECT. 5.

“Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.”—John vi. 53.

THERE is one other thing besides the Eucharistic Bread, which in Scripture is called, and called repeatedly, “the Body of Christ.” The Church or Society of the faithful is so called. The Church “is His Body,” we are told, “the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. “Ye are the Body of Christ, and members in particular.” “The Head, even Christ, from whom the whole Body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.”

And again (with an evident allusion, as the context shows, to the words of Adam respecting his newly-formed partner, “This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh”). “We are members of His Body, of His flesh, and of His

bones.” In this and other passages the marriage union is pointed at as signifying and representing the spiritual marriage and unity which is betwixt Christ and His Church. And it is much to our purpose to observe, that this spiritual union is spoken of explicitly as a *mystery*: “This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.”

Now, in the first place, we can easily see that when the Church is said to be the Body of Christ, just as when the Bread in the Eucharist is said to be His Body (or the Communion of His Body), the words have a figurative meaning. No one will dispute this. The eyes, by which the body guides itself, are in the head. The thinking faculty, the willing and determining faculty, are supposed to reside in the head. The brain reflects, and then issues its volitions to the hand and the foot, through whom those volitions are carried out. Similarly Christ in Heaven illuminates His Church by the Holy Spirit, and shows her the way wherein she should walk. Christ issues His mandates to us through His Word, and through His Spirit in our consciences; and we are His instruments for carrying them out. All this is perfectly true; and all this serves to explain to us the reason why the Church is called the Body of Christ.

But is the expression *nothing more than a figure*? Is the union betwixt Christ and His Church, in virtue of which He is our Head, and we are His members, merely a metaphor, a poetical form of speech? God forbid that we should think so! for to think so would be to forfeit our greatest comfort. We are verily and indeed united to Christ,—after an heavenly and spiritual manner,—a manner no less real because it is spiritual and heavenly. Just as the immortal spirit is really united to the body, and just as the thread of connexion between the spirit and the body is that mysterious thing which we call Life; so our spirits are really and truly united to Christ in Heaven, and the thread of connexion is that mysterious Agent, by whose operation He was conceived of the Virgin, and is conceived again in our hearts, the third Person in the Blessed Trinity, called, in the Nicene Creed, “the Lord, and Giver of Life.” This Spirit, the human soul of Our Lord possesses *without measure*; we, on the other hand, possess Him according to the measure of the gift of the Christ; but the connexion between us and Christ established by this medium, so far from being a mere figure, is the most real

union in the world. All other unions,—the union of the head with the members, of the branches with the vine, of the man with his wife,—are but shadows of this heavenly, spiritual, ineffable, and incomprehensible union, just as the furniture in Moses' Tabernacle was but a poor dim copy of the things showed him in the mount.—Yet, on the other hand, what a monstrous and revolting absurdity would it be to represent this union of Our Blessed Lord with the members of His Church, as in any sense natural, earthly and carnal! Only imagine the absurdity of a man's pressing St. Paul's words,—"We are members of His Body, of His flesh, and of His bones," so literally as to say that he himself had an actual blood relationship to Our Lord, and was a member of His family according to the flesh. Or suppose that because it is written, "We are members of His Body," another should assert that he was literally the very foot, or the very hand of Christ, which was nailed to the Cross. These speculations would be justly regarded as the very ravings of fanaticism; and the man who should broach them would only be thought worthy of being lodged in an asylum for lunatics.

Now if the Church be called the Body of Christ, on the one hand, not by a mere figure, nor yet, on the other hand, in a literal, natural, and carnal sense, but in a heavenly mystery, why should not the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist be called His Body and Blood in a manner something similar? The Bread and Wine are unquestionably *figures* of His Body and Blood, the corn bruised in the mill aptly representing Him who was bruised for our iniquities, the wine (or pressed grape) aptly emblemizing that precious Blood, which was pressed out in the endurance of the curse for our sakes. But are the consecrated elements *nothing more than figures*? Not so. They are in a heavenly mystery, which we presume not to understand, and therefore which we presume not to define, the Body and Blood of Christ, inasmuch that to those who "rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ."

But it is surely fanatical, contrary not only to sobriety, but to reverence, to maintain that in a natural, animal, carnal way the elements are the Body and Blood of Christ. To take up such a position is to press the words of Scripture

against common sense, and against the analogy of other passages in which the same words are used, to a most revolting conclusion.

Our illustration has led us to speak of the real living oneness of the Church with Christ, even as the Body is united to the Head, and as the Branches are united with the Vine.

And we shall gain still further light upon our subject by remarking that of this union with Christ the Holy Communion is the great appointed means and instrumentality. This is well brought out in the first exhortation; "The benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink His blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; *we are one with Christ, and Christ with us*").

Now it ought to be thoroughly understood and considered, in order to any right conception of the subject, that this Union with Christ is the great blessing of the Ordinance to the faithful recipient. It is the blessing shadowed forth by the use of the outward visible sign, and actually realized by the soul of every faithful communicant. I say it is the blessing shadowed forth. For what is the use made of the Bread and Wine? They are taken and eaten.* And what becomes of sustenance when received by a healthy frame? It is assimilated; or, in other words, in due time it becomes part of the frame which receives it, and cannot be distinguished from other parts of the same kind. The food becomes bone, or flesh, or muscle, as the case may be. In an analogous way the Heavenly or Spiritual Food, which is given in this Supper after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and which Faith, wherever it exists, assimilates (for our faith is the organ of digestion,—that which alone makes the food available), is incorporated with our inner man; and He, upon whose Body and Blood we have fed, becomes one with us, and we with Him. So that there is something more in this Sacrament, and something higher, than a mere spiritual Presence of Christ. That spiritual Presence is covenanted to all united worship, even when the Holy Supper is not celebrated; for the charter of mere Common Prayer runs thus: "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them." But you will at once see that the idea of Christ's Presence with us, and the idea of Christ's Union with us, are totally distinct;

and that the latter idea, while it involves the former, goes far beyond it in blessedness. When we pay our respects at an earthly court, we are in the Presence of the Sovereign; but when, in the comparative privacy of our homes we feel the full solace of all the charities and sympathies of domestic life, this is something more than the presence of our relations and friends,—it is a union of hearts with them. And, similarly, it is a high privilege (as doubtless angels account it equally with ourselves) merely to present ourselves before the King of kings, to do homage at His footstool in conjunction with our brethren. But it is a still higher and more blessed privilege (and one for which the angels have no capacity, because Christ took not their nature upon Him, as He hath taken ours) to be united with the Lord, so as to become one Spirit with Him, so as to be “members” (after a true and real, and yet after an heavenly manner) “of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones.”

Having thus obtained the leading idea of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as conveying (or rather, cementing and maintaining) a close and living union with Christ, let us expand this idea in somewhat greater detail.

We are all in the most real and actual way united with the first Adam by natural generation; and, in virtue of this union, we all inherit the entail of sin, sorrow, and death. “We are in Adam, and Adam in us,” is a statement of matter of fact, not involving in the least degree any theory of imputed sin. “We are in Adam;” for the child is a part of the parents, drawn out of the parents, deriving physical and mental peculiarities, if not from them, yet from some of his remoter ancestry; and as the human race originally had one father, we are all ultimately, with all our physical and mental peculiarities, drawn out of Adam. Time was, when he and Eve stood alone in the world, and the whole human race with all its immense varieties of manner, character, and physiognomy, was all wrapped up in that first pair.—“And Adam is in us;” to be sure he is; the parent (or other ancestor) comes out in the offspring. Adam’s openness to sinful enticement: Adam’s curiosity to know more than was meet for him; Adam’s self-willed disobedience to orders: Adam’s shame, when he felt he had done wrong; Adam’s miserable and cowardly prevarication, when remonstrated with by God,—all these features of Adam’s character are

exactly reproduced in every young child of the present day, because that child is in fact a part of Adam, drawn out of him, in the last resort, though through the intermediation of a long line of ancestry. And every such child in due time suffers, toils, and dies for the same reason, that he is a part of Adam, who was doomed for his sin to suffering, toil, and death.

Now as our sin and misery comes, in the natural order of things, by our union with (or, to phrase it differently, our participation of) Adam, so the appointed method of our salvation is by our union with (or participation of) Christ. And the union must be as real and true in the one case as in the other. The connexion with Adam, which ruins us all, bringing death into our physical, and sin into our moral constitution, is not a fictitious, imaginary, or figurative connexion, but an intense and painfully experienced reality. And our connexion with Christ must be equally real. Divines talk about the imputation of Christ’s merits to us, as if such imputation were some legal fiction, by which God blinded Himself to our sins. But the imputation of Christ’s merits to any soul is nothing else than the natural and necessary result of that soul’s union to Him. A soul united to Christ is literally and actually a part of Christ (just as a child of Adam is literally and actually a part of Adam), and, as a part of Christ, has Christ’s merits to show for itself. “He that is joined to the Lord,” says the Apostle Paul, “is one spirit.”

But how is this real and true union between Christ and the souls of men brought about? The first grand step in effectuating it was the Incarnation. The Second Person of the Blessed Trinity came down from Heaven, and took upon Him our nature, in its germ or seminal principle, and in taking it, purified it from all the stains which it had taken from the Fall. He did not ally Himself (as certain old heretics pretended) to a human person called Jesus of Nazareth; but took the simple nature of Man, before it had received any personal configuration. In this nature he lived a truly human life, full of human sympathies and affections, and pre-eminently full of human virtues and merits. And these virtues and merits shone forth most conspicuously in the end of His career, when His willing, meek submission to the curse which man had earned by sin, to the bodily torture, to the mental and spiritual darkness, (He alone of all men appreciating sin in its true awfulness

and horror), won for us exemption from the curse.

But something more than the union of Christ with our nature is necessary in order to our salvation. It is necessary that we should be joined individually to Christ, should be made to belong to the Family, of which he is the Head; should be brought into a real connexion with *His* humanity, as we already stand in a real connexion with the humanity of *Adam*. I say, into a real connexion with the *humanity* of the Lord Jesus. To be brought into connexion with Him as God, as the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, would not be what we need. He, the Lord from heaven, is the Second Man, who has repaired the ruin of our race; and if that ruin is to be repaired in us, we must belong to, and become part of, *His* humanity. And so He speaks in the text of eating the flesh, and drinking the blood, of the Son of Man, as an indispensable condition of life. There is a two-fold significance in the expression "flesh and blood," which we must not miss. First, these words are used to show us that the union is to be with *His* humanity. "*Flesh and blood*" is an expression used in Scripture, and by Our Lord Himself, to denote man,—human nature in its present state. Thus, when St. Peter is to be assured that he had received the communication of Christ's Messiahship, and Divine Sonship, from God, not from man, the words are; "*Flesh and blood* hath not revealed it unto thee; but My Father which is in heaven." And again, when St. Paul claims to have received his Gospel by direct revelation, and not through the medium of the other Apostles, the words are; "Immediately I conferred not with *flesh and blood*: neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were Apostles before me." . . . As to the words "eating" and "drinking," they are no doubt employed to denote the closeness and intimacy of the union. How could Our Lord have expressed our union with *His* humanity in words more forcible? To contemplate one who stands before us is not to be united with him. To fall on his neck and embrace him is not to be united with him; for he is still external to us. But in eating and drinking, the food passes into us, and becomes identified with us; it is converted into bones, or flesh, or blood; it becomes part of the living frame.

But now, once again, how is this close union betwixt the individual soul and the crucified Humanity of Christ to be effected? The agen-

cies are clearly revealed to us; but over the method of their operation there hangs a mystery, which we shall seek in vain to penetrate. And what wonder? Our connexion with Adam by natural generation is a patent fact which no one doubts. But who can explain this connexion, by which man is drawn out of man in interminable succession, so that each person, though distinct, is a part of his ancestor? How then can we think for a moment, to understand or explain the method of our connexion with Christ, though it may be as certain, real, and indisputable a fact as our connexion with Adam?

But what are the agencies which bring about this connexion? And first; what is the sovereign efficient cause of this union with Christ? Holy Scripture gives one unequivocal answer. It is the agency of the Holy Spirit of God, who at the feast of Pentecost descended upon the Church, to consummate the union between God and man, which the Incarnation had commenced. In constituting the *Head* of the new Family, the second Adam, there was a signal operation of the Holy Ghost; as it was said by the angel Gabriel at the Annunciation; "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." And in the addition of any member to the Family of this Second Adam, the same Spirit is the prime agent, and the sole efficient cause, of the result. And so our Saviour spoke to Nicodemus of being born of the Spirit, and becoming "spirit" in consequence; and St. John the Evangelist speaks of being "born not of blood" (i.e., not in the way of natural descent, as the Jews were, by the mere fact of their lineage, the chosen people of God) "nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

But this prime agent, the Holy Ghost, employs two instrumentalities, of different orders, in effecting the union of the soul with Christ, faith and the Sacraments. Faith, including the foregoing process of Repentance, which leads up to it, and the subsequent graces of Hope and Love, which grow out of it, He forms by His own independent agency, in the abyss of the heart. For, indeed, the idea that a being capable of exercising moral and spiritual powers, can be united to Christ *independently of the exercise of such powers* is one of the wildest fancies which ever entered into the brain of man. The differ-

ential part of man's nature (that which distinguishes him from the lower animals) is the spirit; that is, the reason and the conscience. If we could imagine for a moment that without an action of the reason and conscience (in a being capable of such action*) a soul could be united to Christ, then one of the lower animals might be united to Christ; a conclusion absurd and profane. Therefore faith must be engendered by the Holy Ghost in the reason and conscience, as an indispensable condition of the union. Yet think not that by any mere convictions of the mind, however profound, or aspirations of the heart, however sincere, man can bring himself into union with Christ. That union is a work of grace, and is to be regarded as a gift of God, not as an endeavour on the part of the soul. And it is conferred in the Sacraments, whensoever they are received with faith. Our grafting into Christ is accomplished by Baptism, a Sacrament originally administered by immersion, and, as so administered, expressing our burial with Christ, and thus our union with Him in His death, and also our rising with Him from under the waters, which have submerged us, unto newness of life. "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized unto His death?" But since the washing with water is external, Baptism does not either convey or express so close an union with Christ as the second Sacrament. By this Sacrament, when duly administered and duly received, is effected the closest possible union with the crucified Humanity of the Lord Jesus; and to express this closest union, the Sacramental act is that of eating and drinking the consecrated elements of bread and wine, which pass into, and are absorbed in, our living frames. The elements are not only the sign and symbol of the Body and Blood of Christ, but also the instrument of conveying, in some highly mysterious way, far above out of our reach, an actual participation in His crucified Human Nature, according to that word of St. Paul's, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not

the communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?"

I seek not for a moment to understand the method, by which this mysterious union is accomplished. I feel that all explanations would be only rationalizing attempts to reduce a sublime mystery to the level of the human understanding; and that they involve presumptuous speculations on what God has not been pleased to reveal.

And here I must advert to an erroneous and unscriptural practice, which is fast creeping into some of our Churches, though it has not a particle of sanction from the Liturgy. All erroneous practices will be found ultimately to spring from unsound views; and so I believe it is in this case. The practice I refer to is that of being present at the actual celebration of the Lord's Supper without communicating, and the accounting such presence as an acceptable work of devotion, though it be of an inferior grade. See how the view we have propounded fences off this mistake. The great characteristic blessing of the Ordinance is union with Christ; His Body and Blood are given in the Supper, not to be gazed upon by spectators, but to be partaken of by faithful communicants. Unless there is a participation, you defeat the end of the Ordinance. If the Church be asked to produce her warrant for the celebration, she can produce none but this, "*Take, eat: this is my Body.*" You will observe that "*Take, eat,*" are the very first words of the warrant. Then if a man comes without taking and eating, is it not a perverse thwarting of the Lord's design and intention? If a Sovereign should bid his counsellors assemble for the purpose of giving him their advice in an important affair of state, and in consequence of this summons should expect from all of them some interchange of sentiment and discourse: and if some should come to the council, but when there should refuse to open their lips, what would this be but to defeat the design of calling the council, and make the attendance of such persons at it a futile mockery?

And if the Lord has instituted a Sacrament for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the participation of it, and we come to witness, but not to partake, is not this a plain perversion of what He meant by it? The Body and Blood of Christ are given in the Supper to be partaken of, and the Consecration for any

* I desire to call attention to the parenthesis, as guarding my assertion. Of course it is not intended to deny that infants are capable of union with Christ in Holy Baptism. For an infant is a spiritual being, though the powers of the spirit are latent and undeveloped. A being void of spirits (like one of the lower animals) would present no point of contact to the Holy Spirit. And a being in whom the spirit acts not (though capable of acting), in whom the conscience and moral powers are dead, which is the case of a wicked or worldly adult, equally presents no point of contact to the Holy Spirit.

other purpose than that of partaking has no warrant of our Lord's at all, and would therefore be vain and impious.

There is one most precious and consolatory thought (connected with what has been said) which, in conclusion, we must develop. The union with Christ, which the Supper of the Lord emblemizes, and, when duly received, conveys, is union with Christ in *His death*. The Body and Blood are exhibited by the Bread and Wine in a state of separation from one another. Now the Blood is in Scripture said to be the Life; and accordingly the separation of the Blood from the Body indicates that death has taken place. It is, then, with a dying Christ, and so with an atoning and propitiating Christ, that the Holy Supper, duly received, makes us one. Ah! what an infinite comfort when we consider the number and seriousness of our responsibilities, and the grievous failures of the best of us in meeting them! Christ, we know, expiated all sins upon the Cross. "By His one oblation of Himself once offered" (as our Prayer of Consecration has it) "He hath made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."

Now in this Holy Ordinance the great blessing of union with Christ is offered to our faith,—of union with a dying, bleeding, agonizing Christ. We have the closest intercourse with Him, "in whom," as St. Paul says, "all died." Christ died as representing sinful Humanity, lying under the ban and curse of sin; though personally standing entirely aloof from it, He identified Himself with our guilt, and took upon Him to answer all charges against us. If now we be one Spirit with Him,—if our union with Him be cemented inwardly by faith, outwardly by ordinance,—we too have in Him really and truly died for sin, and by that death in Christ have endured sin's penalty. The Law, the accusing conscience, the accusing spirit, have in that case no more charge against us,—we may go free. Oh, what a strength in dying to the *power* of sin may be gathered from this consideration, that in the dear Saviour, with whom we are so vitally and closely united in this blessed Sacrament, we have already died to its guilt! Oh! shall we not long for that union with Him,—union with His Merits, with His Cross, with His Passion, with His Spirit, which faith indeed avails itself of, but which this Ordinance conveys and seals? For this

union, be it remembered, is the secret not only of all peace and pardon, but of all strength; and the tighter the bonds of it are drawn, the greater will be our power over indwelling corruption, and the more close and happy will be our walk with God.

SECT. 6.

"For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer."—1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

The Body of the Prayer of Consecration consists of two members. First, there is a petition for our participation in the blessings of the Ordinance: "Hear us, O Merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and grant that we, receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood." After this, the history of the Institution is recited; and the very actions employed by Our Lord on the occasion are repeated in the course of this recital, the vessels containing either element being taken into the hands of the Priest, the Bread being broken by him, and, finally, his hand being laid upon the Bread and Cup, as a sign that they are now blessed and hallowed. Both the Prayer and the recital have, from the earliest ages of the Church's history, been considered essential to a valid consecration. The Roman Church in this, as in so many other points, deviates from Primitive Antiquity, maintaining that Consecration is effected by a mere repetition of the words, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." And as it is not unfrequently the case that extremes meet, so we shall find here that sundry Protestant sects, who have gone as far as possible from Rome both in doctrine and discipline, hold the recital of the words of Institution to be the only requisite. The Church of England holds closer both to primitive practice, and to the example of our Lord. She uses a "*Prayer of Consecration*," implying surely by the very title that Prayer is essential; and does not proceed to recite the history or the words of the Institution, until she has addressed to our Heavenly Father a fervent petition for the great blessing of the Ordinance. St. Paul says, in reference to our ordinary reception of food, that "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving;

for it is sanctified by the word of God" (that is, by some passage of Holy Scripture introduced into the Grace before Meat) "and prayer." And our Church holds, as the early Church did, that this Heavenly Food must be sanctified in the same manner, not only by reciting from the Scriptures the very words of Institution, but also by *thanksgiving* for God's tender mercy, and Christ's all-sufficient Sacrifice, and by *prayer*, that this Ordinance, which echoes on the Sacrifice to the end of Time, may be an effectual instrument of communicating the virtue of it to our souls. And a close study of Our Lord's practice in instituting the Holy Supper leads us to the same conclusion. The Evangelists expressly say that He gave thanks, before He used the words, "This is my Body," "This is my Blood of the New Testament,"—addressing Himself to God over the Bread and over the Cup in the first instance, before He gave them to the disciples as His body and Blood.

The sum and substance of what has been said is, that an address to God, in the form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, has from the earliest times been regarded, and justly regarded, as essential to Consecration.

To some, no doubt, the point will seem a very unimportant one, more especially if they are unfamiliar with the history of Liturgical controversy. But under questions which present to an ordinary mind the appearance of being mere subtleties—not worth the raising, and certainly not worth the controverting—there occasionally lie hid great principles, which are at issue; and we believe that it is so in the present instance. The whole history of the Lord's Supper, culminating as it does in the error of Transubstantiation shows a sad tendency in the human mind to localize and materialize the blessing of the Ordinance,—I mean by localizing and materializing the blessing, the placing it entirely in the outward visible sign, the imagining some mysterious charm,—a virtue half-physical, half-spiritual,—to reside in the crumbs of Bread, and in the drops of Wine. The Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation is quite as open to this charge as the bolder and more unreasonable error of the Church of Rome. And there can be no doubt that many members of our own Communion, in the views they take of the subject, attach the blessing far too little to the Ordinance itself, and far too exclusively to the sensible, material vehicle of the Ordinance. The mysterious operation upon the

Bread and Wine, by which they are sanctified for their high significance and office, engrosses in their minds the whole field of view; and the operations of and upon the human spirit, which the Ordinance is designed to call forth and develope, go for nothing in their estimate. The natural superstitiousness of the human heart, (for it is most superstitious,) gathers round the material and local, and the mental and moral are thrown into the background. One can fancy a similar debasement of idea in connexion with the Person of our Blessed Lord. It was, of course, a most exalted privilege to the Apostles, and the source of great blessings to the inhabitants of the Holy Land, among whom he went about doing good, to have Our Lord with them, and in the midst of them. His Sacred Body was the source of natural health to thousands of poor patients who touched it, and His teaching was the source of spiritual health to those who listened to it. But supposing that in those days some of His disciples had attached to the mere Body of Our Lord, independently of any action of mind on the part of those who heard Him and applied to Him, the blessings of His Presence in the world. Supposing they had heeded scarcely at all the gracious words which fell from His lips, and had imagined that the mere fact of His neighbourhood in the body would prove a sort of talisman of health to the whole district in which He sojourned. Would He not have most seriously reproved such notions? Did He not virtually and implicitly reprove them, when He required faith from all patients as the one condition of their cure, that is, an operative persuasion of the mind on their part that He was able and willing to relieve them? In no case does Christ heal without this preliminary condition; wherever persons apply to Him for healing, the application itself of course implies the persuasion on their part; but never is the healing granted as the mere result of material contact with His Person. Faith and Prayer were the conductors, without which the virtue that was in Him could not reach the bodies of the suffering; an awakened mind and a docile heart were the conductors without which the spiritual blessings of His Divine Ministry were not, and could not be realized. Now this illustrates very well the caution we are now attempting to give in reference to the elements in the Supper of the Lord. We need not deny, rather we would clearly and strongly affirm, that they are not mere symbols, but

stand in some real, though mysterious relation to the blessings of the Ordinance. Yet we say that the blessing is not to be materialized, or supposed to reside in the elements, after the manner of a charm. And we find a protest to this effect in the true doctrine of the Consecration of the Elements. The mere recital of the formulary, the mere contact of the hands, is not sufficient by itself,—has never in the best and purest times been held sufficient—to that Consecration. They are sanctified by the Prayer and Thanksgiving which accompanies their Consecration,—the offering of which implies Faith, the only avenue by which any blessing can reach the human soul. When we lift up our hearts to God over a common meal, in acknowledgment of His Bounty in spreading our board with daily food convenient for us, by this action of the mind we sanctify His good gifts to our use. And on a similar principle, when over the oblation of Bread and Wine, destined to become the Symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, we raise up all our thoughts, desires, and affections to God, and implore Him to make us partakers thereby of the benefits of the Great Sacrifice, reciting over them at the same time the history of Christ's Institution,—this is the consecration of the Elements, whereby they are sanctified to that high and holy use which they fulfil towards us. How important, then, at this culminating period of the rite, is a spirit of fervent, earnest, believing Prayer, offered with all our heart, and soul, and strength! And in order to the due maintenance of this spirit, we must not only stir up ourselves to pray, chiding our own hearts for their indifference and insensibility, and, if I may so say, following hard after God, but also must study beforehand the words appointed for our use, so that we may pray with the understanding, as well as with the spirit.

Let us look, then, a little more closely at the terms of this petition. Comparing them with the Consecration Prayer used in the first Protestant Prayer Book of 1549 (the terms of which still exist in the Scotch Episcopal Office), we see at once that the petition before us, while we quite believe that it embraces all that is necessary, is very cautiously worded. Formerly it ran thus: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee; and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, *that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most*

dearly Beloved Son Jesus Christ." Considered abstractedly, and in themselves, these words were good, sound, and primitive. But our Reformers, looking at the state of controversies in their time, had to consider also *whether they were safe*,—whether an alteration of the terms, while the general sense was retained, might not make them less liable to abuse and perversion. Error—very gross and serious error—had warped the religious mind of the country in one direction, and in order to make it quite straight again, it was necessary to bend it slightly in the other, even at the expense of a phraseology which in itself was sound, and had antiquity in its favour. It was necessary to disabuse men's minds utterly of the figment that the bread and wine became in a gross and carnal sense the Body and Blood of Christ, and also of the kindred notion that they were talismans, which would exercise a special virtue, independently of the faith of the recipient. Any allusion therefore to the action of the Holy Spirit and Word upon the elements, or to their becoming the Body and Blood of Christ (however capable of justification both by Scripture and primitive usage), it was thought safe to expunge, and simply to ask God for the blessing of the Ordinance, without prescribing to Him the means by which that Blessing is to be realized to us. Now the blessing is a real and true participation of the Body and Blood of Christ. And accordingly we ask that "we receiving" (in receiving, while receiving) "*these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine*" (observe how clearly it is here recognized that the Bread and Wine after the Consecration remain in their true and natural substances) "may be partakers of His most Blessed Body and Blood." The prayer is, that the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ may accompany our outward reception of the Elements. *How* it is to accompany that reception we leave with God. We do not ask that it may be by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, nor mention any other mode in which He is to communicate to us the virtue of the Sacrament. We ask for the end in the fullest and most explicit terms, and leave the means by which it is to be brought about unnoticed. And indeed, independently of all controversial grounds for thus modifying the terms of the prayer, there is great reverence and reasonableness in framing our petition thus. *The Holy Communion is a deep mystery, as in-*

deed are also the lower means of grace in their degree. How or why Prayer moves the Divine Will, and how the Divine Will, when set in movement, operates upon our hearts or our affairs, who shall say? Much more, then, who shall say how Christ communicates Himself in the sacred Supper to the faithful soul? We are totally in the dark as to these spiritual operations; and therefore, while we heartily desire to be the subjects of them, the less we say upon the method and process of them the better. It is dangerous even in temporal matters to prescribe ways and means to God. We may always ask for relief from danger, distress, and necessity; but it should always be as, and how, and when it pleases Him to bring about the result. And this is a good and sober rule to apply also in our supplications for spiritual blessings. We are no doubt informed by God's Word that these blessings are not to be had without the operation of the Holy Spirit. But it is not always necessary in asking for them to refer to this operation. He who asks for faith, hope, love, patience, or any other grace, does indeed virtually pray for the Holy Spirit, but there is no reason why the Spirit should be expressly referred to. Much more of course is this the case where the precise nature of the spiritual operation is veiled in mystery, as is the case in the Lord's Supper. There it is especially becoming to say nothing as to the mode of operation, to leave altogether to God the answer to the question, "How shall these things be?"

II. But we must now say a word upon the second part of the Consecration, which is admitted on all hands to be essential; and this is the recital of the history of the Institution, comprising our Lord's words and actions on that occasion. The creatures of God (says St. Paul) "are sanctified," and made fit for man's use, "by the Word of God and Prayer,"—not by Prayer only, but by the Word of God and Prayer. I have already intimated that by the Word of God is here meant, in all probability, some appropriate passage of Holy Writ woven into the Grace or Prayer of Thanksgiving, as for example the following; "The eyes of all wait upon Thee, O Lord; and Thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest Thine hand and fillest all things living with plenteousness." Over this Heavenly Food, then, in accordance with the Apostolic precept for the sanctification of our ordinary meals, are recited the words by which Christ first instituted the Supper,—a

fragment this, and a most precious fragment of the true Word of God. Very much as in the Solemnization of Marriage the words are rehearsed by which He engrafted that primitive Ordinance into His new Law; "What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;" so here also the rehearsal of His words of Institution, "This is my Body, which is given for you;" "This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you," accomplish and render perfect the great Solemnity. Thus in the prayer which precedes the recital, we have man's fervent petition for the high blessing of the Sacrament: and in the recital itself, we have the Benediction we sued for,—God's correspondence and answer to the petition of His people. Both together, and not one without the other, complete the idea of Consecration. The faithful sue for God's Word of Blessing. God, by the mouth of His minister, rehearses His Word of Blessing in the ears of the faithful, and the great act is accomplished. The Bread and Wine are sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.

One word remains to be said respecting the actions which are used during the rehearsal of the words of Institution. These also are founded on the example of our Lord, Who took the Bread and Cup into His Hand, and broke the Bread, before giving it to His disciples. It is observable that, in prescribing these actions, our Ritual is more minute and particular than that of the mediæval Church or of the Church of Rome. With regard to the breaking of the Bread, the latter has deviated remarkably from the primitive Institution, and from the Scriptural significance of the action, prescribing only the breaking of a single wafer into three parts, two of which parts are consumed by the priest, and the third dropped into the wine,—none of them given to the people. Now it is to be remembered that the breaking of the bread was, in the time of the Apostles, reckoned so characteristic a feature of this Sacrament, that in the New Testament it goes under the Name of "the breaking of bread;" and that this breaking was for the purpose, not only of signifying the Death of Christ, but also of distribution among the communicants, is abundantly clear from the words of St. Paul; "For we being many are one bread," (one cake or loaf,) "and one body; for we are all partakers of that one loaf." In other words, the sacred Loaf, which represents

and conveys the Body of Christ, is one ; and a portion of it, after it has been broken, passes into each communicant, who thereupon is made one with the Body of Christ or Christian Society.

If the Bread be not really broken and distributed, we lose altogether the significance of our having fellowship one with another in this Sacrament, in the one Body of Christ. See how the trifling with the little details of a Divine Institution may entirely obscure the great spiritual lessons which are to be drawn from it, and obliterate one of its leading features. For that the Lord's Supper is a Sacrament not only of Christ's Death, but of the fellowship which in Him we have one with another, is certainly one of its most interesting and important aspects. One loaf has been broken among all of us,—partaken of by all,—and has been the means, if faithfully partaken of, of incorporating us into the one Body of Christ. What circumstance can teach us more forcibly how utterly out of harmony we are with the spirit of the Ordinance, if there rankle at the bottom of our hearts a single particle of ill-will or hostility towards any of our brethren ? What can teach us more forcibly that a real participation of the Body and Blood of Christ will be attended with an increase of love to our brethren ? What can teach us more forcibly that a real participation of the Body and Blood of Christ will be attended with an increase of love to our brethren, with a greater forbearance towards their infirmities, and a more tender and unselfish consideration for their feelings and prejudices ? And indeed by considering how far we have advanced in brotherly kindness and charity, we may test not only our growth in grace generally, but also the amount of profit which we have derived from this blessed Sacrament. It is a very practical and intelligible test ; and one which gives us perhaps fewer openings than any other to deceive ourselves. We may be quite sure that Divine Love is not really strengthened and matured within us, unless brotherly love has made a corresponding growth. For these are two twins, which have a living ligament passing from the heart of the one to that of the other,—a ligament which gives them a sympathy, so that the health or decline of the one is instantly felt by the other. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen ?"

Apply this test to your own heart faithfully,

before and after communicating ; and you shall ascertain both how far you are a worthy recipient, and how far also you have benefited by this inestimable privilege, and turned it to good account in the Spiritual Life.

There are perhaps those who think meanly of the Sacraments (and such a thought is quite in the spirit of Rationalism) because of the simplicity and homeliness of their exterior, who cannot realise that an inward spiritual grace is indeed conveyed through the medium of actions apparently so trivial and of such little account. Alas ! to what would the parallel line of reasoning have led in the days of Christ's flesh ! The Incarnate God appeared upon earth as a plain and homely man ; One who mixed Himself up altogether with the concerns and associations of daily life ; One who drew His images from nature, from agriculture, from social intercourse ; One who attended weddings and funerals, and who was found in almost every haunt of men. A plain Man in a plain dress, with none of the affected austerity of the recluse, and with no halo of glory (except on one or two remarkable occasions) round His brow. Yet, from beneath this veil of Flesh and Blood there flashed forth ever and anon scintillations of the Godhead which tabernacled there ; so that bad bold men, who came to assault Him, would go back and fall to the ground, quailing before the majesty of His mien ; and officers, sent to apprehend Him, would be irresistibly spellbound by the awful solemnity and sweetness of His words, and come away confessing their own impotence against One who spake as never man spake. The great body of the people rejected Him on account of the plainness of His exterior, supposing that the true Messiah must be characterized by some amount of outward circumstance and pretension. And He hath made His Sacraments the counterpart of Himself, Whom they both represent and convey. What actions more familiar, more homely, than the washing of the body in water, and the reception of food ? But as in Himself there was a hidden virtue, which made itself felt by the simple-minded and docile, and which streamed forth from Him continually, to heal the sick, to comfort the down-hearted penitent, and to enlighten the ignorant, so in His Sacraments also there is, for those who resort to them with the right dispositions of heart, an inward spiritual grace, a divine virtue, a supernatural

effluence of comfort, light, and healing. God loves to work the grandest results by the simplest means, a law of which He gave the highest exemplification, when He sent His Son into the world, to save the world, in the circumstances of a pauper, and in the condition of a mechanic. Let us not then be staggered at the simplicity of those instruments, by which in the Church He ministers to us union with His dear Son, and all those high and priceless blessings which flow from that union—justification, acceptance, sanctification, peace, strength, light, wisdom, comfort, healing. Let us see that we open our hearts more and more to the influences of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Let us seek to approach it with a keener hunger and thirst after righteousness, than we have hitherto experienced, longing more than heretofore for conformity to the image of Christ, and to the

will of God. Let us struggle more desperately to be free from our sins, and from those cords of secular affection, which chain us down to the Earth. The Eucharist is for *aspiring* Christians; not for those who are well content to pace up and down on the same dead level of spiritual attainment, no nearer Heaven this year than they were the last. Let us seek to grow by means of it, in self-abasement, in trust, in energy of resolve. Let there be an effort, in our every reception of it, to forget the things which are behind, and to reach forth unto those things which are before. And surely, though gradually and silently, we *shall* grow; and shall be able to say of ourselves—our consciences also bearing witness to the truth of the assertion—"Of His fulness have we all received, and grace for grace."

APPENDIX.

"UNDER THE FORM OF BREAD AND WINE."

. This mode of expression, as a definition borrowed from the Church of Rome—is now made use of to support the views of those who maintain that there is a real "objective," or Personal Presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, to be *there* adored, irrespective of the Sacramental reception of His crucified Body and Blood, by faith, whereby His true members have the assurance of His Spiritual Presence, dwelling in their hearts. It admits of two meanings, which renders it of doubtful use as a doctrinal statement. First,—in the sense of a rite, token, sign, or covenant; as, for instance, "the *form* and manner of ordering Deacons, &c."—"the outward visible sign or *form* in Baptism" (including the sign, *water*, and the form of words used,)—or, "*under* the hand and seal," as in the case of conveying a title by deed or covenant;—in which sense it is figurative and appropriate, though unauthorized. Second,—more directly meaning "within the *shape* or *compass* of each consecrated piece of bread, and of the cup of wine,"—as when Christ's Presence is said to be "on the Altar," or (if such words can be used without irreverence) "in the hand" (the bread or the wine being implied,) which is

the plain meaning taught by the Church of Rome in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, whilst also affirming that the material elements then remain such only in appearance, &c. In this latter sense the phrase receives no sanction from our formularies, and is as much opposed to the direct teaching of our Church, as it is at variance with the testimony of Holy Scripture. It expresses rather the Lutheran definition, or "co-existent theory," adding the tenet of "Impanation" to the truth of the Incarnation, and except for the additional *negative* dogma of the annihilation of the elements, leaving only the Divine *Substance* in the visible *form*, by which the charge of idolatry is evaded, (if such subtle distinctions are possible even to faith!) it would be virtually the same as the teaching of the Church of Rome. It is but a new mode of stating a heresy long since renounced by our Church, which yet finds some among her members again to advocate it!²

¹ As asserted by the lamentable change of the word "as" for "not" in Keble's verse,—*"In the heart, as in the hand, the Eternal Priest, &c."* Or, more plainly still, in the quotation from an old inscription, chosen by Dr. Pusey for the motto to his treatise on the Real Presence, viz., "Eat, drink; holding in thy hands Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour."

² In his letter to the Bishop of London (1851) Dr. Pusey justifies his use of the phrase on the ground that "they are the words used in the Homilies, 'of the due receiving of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ under the *form* of Bread and Wine.'" He writes, "I have meant them in the same sense in which the Homilies use them, and have used them *because* they were there used." But the truth is that these words are *not* used in any Homily, nor was there ever a Homily bearing the title here alleged. Such a Homily was *promised* in a notice appended to the First Book of Homilies,—a notice for which no better authority than the King's printer can be cited,—but the Homily itself appeared in the Second Book under the title of "The Worthy Receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ;" and by that title alone it is recognized in the Thirty-fifth Article.

THE "SACRAMENTAL PRESENCE." From the Bampton Lecture, by the late Dr. Jelf.

The Cup of Blessing which we Bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we Break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ? For we being many are One Bread and One Body: for we are all partakers of that One Bread.—1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

It is impossible at any time to approach this subject without feelings of the deepest awe. The mystery itself, as understood in our Church, is so transcendental, the grace imparted so divine, that the religious mind shrinks instinctively from contemplation as to its mode, and would gladly accept the truth without examining its foundation, and enjoy the privilege without enquiring too closely into its nature. And would to God we might be entitled to enjoy our spiritual birth-right without strife and debate; to rest satisfied with the sublime, though simple, declarations of our own Church, without being compelled to contrast them with the antagonistic errors on either side! But the circumstances of our times forbid us to be silent. By a natural, if not a pardonable, reaction, the inadequate views on the momentous subject of the Holy Eucharist, which had for some years, more or less, prevailed, are leading the minds of men in the opposite extreme; from whence, it is to be feared, they will again ere long revert to a dangerous degree of depression. It is the office of the Church of England, following in the steps of the ancient Churches, to correct these oscillations in theology; and it is our duty, at whatever cost, and with whatever reluctance, again to make her voice of sobriety to be heard. But if we are compelled to notice errors, let it not be thence inferred, that we notice them in a spirit of controversy. It is much rather in the spirit of peace and fear; such peace as is consistent with truth; such fear as is compatible with boldness and readiness, "with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word."

If we analyze the various theories which have divided theologians on the subject of the Lord's Supper, we shall find that the leading difference lies in this; that on the one side, men have looked only, or principally to the *recipient*,—to the acts, thoughts and motives, which affect his mind, prior to or during the Communion,—so that in their view the Holy Eucharist is an *occasion*, rather than a *means*, of grace, *suggestive* rather of holy thoughts, and pious feelings, and of the memory of our redemption, than *instrumentally effective* of the presence of the Lord of grace in our hearts; while, on the other side, they have dwelt, more or less exclusively, on the *gift in itself*, on its nature and

dignity, independent of its reception, and of the mode of its reception. The worst form of the one extreme is the *bare remembrance* of Christ's passion (in a sense analogous to what might be suggested by a visit to Calvary or to the Holy Sepulchre); and this has been carried by Socinus, and by Zuingli's disciples, to a point nothing short of heresy: of the other, the uncatholic and unscriptural tenet of transubstantiation, which, in its reference to the *thing signified*, annihilates the *sign*, confounds the means and the grace together, and so overthrows the nature of a sacrament. The Church of England appears to combine what is scriptural and true in these opposite theories. It interprets the words of the text [given above] according to their literal import, and as the Church has ever interpreted them.

The words themselves distinguish between the end and the means; the end invisible, the means visible and outward; the end, divine, even the communion of the Body of Him "by whom all things were made;" the means, God's creatures of bread and wine. "The bread" is called "the communion of the Body of Christ;" "the cup of blessing" is called "the communion of the Blood of Christ;" that is, they are the means of communicating His Body and Blood to us. That which by God's appointment imparts the grace, therefore, is the bread and the cup respectively; the bread *consecrated*, as intimated in the clause, "which we break;" the cup *consecrated*, because it is "the cup of blessing which we bless." So then the *consecrated* elements are the means whereby are imparted and received the Body and Blood of Christ; and, consequently, Consecration is, in the view of the Apostle, in order to participation, nor may these two be disjoined. The text cannot mean less than this, neither can it mean more; it cannot mean that the consecrated bread is the very natural Body, or the consecrated cup the Blood; because, if so, then that meaning might be substituted in the terms of the sentence: but, if we attempt this, the result is the following proposition, which is inconsistent with all sound reasoning; "the Body of Christ is the communion of His Body, the Blood of Christ the communion of His Blood;" in other words, the end would be a means to itself.

Following the ancient Church therefore, the Church of England, not daring to explain away what is expressly written, or to substitute human glosses for a mystery literally contained in God's Word, considers what is signified and imparted by the medium of the bread broken, to be (what our Saviour stated, to the letter, in the words of institution) the Body of Christ: and again, what is signified and imparted by "the cup of blessing" to be His Blood. Christ himself, the Word of life and truth, when He had said "Take eat," "Drink ye all of this," said thus, "This is My Body," "this my Blood of the New Testament;"

3 See The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests,

and our Church dares not add to, or take from, the words which import so great a mystery.

The Church of England, again, maintains, as she must do if she would not "overthrow the nature of a Sacrament," that the bread and wine are *signs* of a hidden mystery; that they remain signs up to the moment of reception; *not the grace itself*, which she defines to be the Body and Blood truly received, but *signs* of the grace, symbolical representatives of Christ's crucified Body, and Blood shed: yet not *signs* only, but *means* also, "*effectual signs of grace and of God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him:*" "so that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." She maintains that there is a way (otherwise she would not pray that we may be enabled,) "so to eat the flesh of " God's "dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us."

Now if we consider the full import of these most pregnant sentences, it is difficult to conceive how the full mystery of Christ's Presence in the Holy Communion could be more explicitly held, without presumptuous intrusion into "the secret things" which "belong unto the Lord our God." There is no attempt, on the one hand, at extenuating or abrogating the mystery; there is no thought, on the other, of penetrating its nature, or of the *manner* of Christ's presence and operation within us. There is no concealment no reservation, but the fearless uncompromising assertion of scriptural truth, neither more nor less. The babe in Christ is taught, that the Body and Blood of Christ "are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," and that the "means whereby we receive the same" are "the outward part or sign in the Lord's Supper," "bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received." The highest proficient in divine things can attain to no higher knowledge. He can only fall down and adore, *not the elements* which he sees before him, as if a change had passed upon their material substance, but the Lord Jesus *sitting in Heaven*, who thus condescends to become one with the believers, and by His Spirit to make His tabernacle amongst men.

And surely there are certain truths, which carry in their simple enunciation a body of adorable mystery, which all attempts at explaining them rather diminish than increase. Divine things can hardly be appropriately represented in divinely-appointed

terms. When so appointed, those terms may or may not be intelligible to man, but they are consecrated and set apart to a particular spiritual meaning, and cannot be adequately measured by the common standard of human language. It may be necessary, indeed, for the Church to *define* such a scriptural truth, to "set bounds unto the people round about." lest the profane should "break through" and perish; it may be expedient even to adopt some human word, as embodying the scriptural and primitive faith of the whole Church, a perpetual test against heresy, as we know has been done to preserve the faith "whole and undefiled" respecting the adorable Trinity. But a definition in the mouth of the Church is one thing; rhetorical declamation on the part of an individual writer is another; too often it is a presumptuous violation of the sacred barrier by which the truth is guarded; it lowers the dignity of the very mystery which it is intended to heighten.—What, for instance, can be more ineffable than the expression "the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ?" Who can add to it without presumption? Who can take from it without peril? What explanation can make it clear? What paraphrase can embrace all its Divine meaning? What eloquence is there, which is not struck dumb before it? What reason which does not veil its face?

The use, then, of metaphorical imagery, however innocently and devotionally intended, however consistent with perfect orthodoxy, seems altogether misplaced, when applied to this transcendental doctrine; nay, it disturbs the feelings of awe and reverence, with which the whole mystery, stated but unexplained, fills many a pious heart. The very attempt at amplification in regard to such a mystery is in reality its depreciation; spiritual things are actually carnalized in this endeavour to detect their essence: whether it be Arnoldus, so late as the twelfth century, who, under the honoured name of St. Cyprian, indulges in this metaphorical language, or whether it be some genuine early Father, in an age when the doctrine and name of Transubstantiation had not as yet been invented; the pious mind may well shrink from a manner of treating of the mystery of the glorified Body of our crucified and ascended Saviour, which, however well and piously intended, does, in fact, appear to border upon familiarity, not to say a want of reverential awe. Wisely, then, has our Church pondered those words of our blessed Lord, uttered, as many commentators have judged, in anticipation of this very mystery, and on occasion of the carnal interpretation of the Capernaïtes, the first germ of the Romish error: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." We shall do well to ponder the same words with her, and to imitate the cautious reverence which has led her to state the whole truth, in words

⁴ Art. xxviii.

⁵ The Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion.

borrowed from Scripture, and to leave the "spirit" and "life," which is in these words, to work their full efficacy and meaning upon our hearts and souls.

Valuable as is the interpretation of early writers, as evidence of the truth maintained in their times, we have an infinitely more decisive commentary, even that furnished by one whose Gospel was "not after man," who "neither received it of man, neither was taught it but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ." The same, inspired Apostle who "delivered unto" his Corinthian converts that which also he had "received of the Lord," what "the Lord Jesus" did and said "the same night that he was betrayed," had already written, in the same epistle, the words of the text, which are evidently a key to our Lord's meaning. And so the Apostle's saying "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" is a commentary on our Lord's own words, "Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me." And again, when after supper our Lord took the cup, when He had supped, saying, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, this do ye as often as ye shall drink it in remembrance of Me⁶." We are taught what that cup is by the words, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" . . .

While our Church denies the doctrine of Transubstantiation, she does not seem to maintain that the consecrated elements are in all respects the same as they were before consecration. There are few persons who would not acknowledge that there is a change as to *effect* and *power*. Many of our best divines have held that a sacramental and spiritual conversion, though not a natural and bodily one, is wrought as in a mystery by God's invisible power⁷; and our own Church has evidently determined that the elements, so consecrated, should not be treated as common bread and wine. And, if our Lord has really ordained these elements to a specific end; if consecration is, in all Churches which follow the primitive rule, a means to communion, why should we pause, in

⁶ St. Augustine's paraphrase is as follows:—"Understand spiritually what I have said. It is not this body which ye see that ye will eat; nor that blood which My murderers will shed, that ye will drink. I have delivered to you a certain sacrament. Being spiritually understood, it gives you life. Although it is necessary that it be visibly celebrated, yet it must needs be invisibly understood. (August. in Psalm 98, ed. Bened. tom. iv. p. 1066: partly quoted by Bp Jewel, Replie, art. v. div. 3.) This interpretation is supported by many others of the old Fathers of the Church. (Tertullian, de Resur. carn. c. 37, p. 347. "Durem et intolubilem existimant sermonem ejus; quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam daturus esset." . . . St. Augustine says, "The Lord did not hesitate to say, This is my Body, when he was giving the sign of His Body." (Contra Adimantum Ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 124.) And so Tertullian, "This is My Body; that is, this is a figure of My body. (This, and the last quoted, are taken from Bp Jewel's Replie, art. xii. div. 1, where many more will be found. The Bishop in art. v. div. 1, says, "If I should allege all the rest of the ancient godly Fathers that write the like, I should be over tedious to the reader."

⁷ So Bp. Jewel, Replie, art. xii. div. 8. "Further we may say, that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament itself, understanding it to be there as in a mystery."

the spirit of rationalism, to calculate the exact state of the elements subsequent to consecration and prior to participation, and to consider an over-curious question, beside the Sacred Scriptures, and unknown to the early Fathers, which may lead, and has led to profaneness? Why not content ourselves with believing, that, as some of the ancient Liturgies expressed it, the bread and wine are made to us the Body and Blood of Christ; that there is that in them which is, by Divine appointment, *capable* of working, and, received with faith, does work within us the true Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood.⁸

From "An Enquiry into the Means of Grace," &c. Bampton Lecture, 1844. By the late Rev. Richard Jeff, D.D.

[We conclude this Note with another short extract from Bp. Jeremy Taylor's Treatise.]

The symbols of the blessed Sacrament are called "bread," "the cup," after consecration; that is, in the whole use of them. This is twice affirmed by St. Paul, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion" (so it should be read) "of the Body of Christ?" As if He had said, "This Bread is Christ's Body;" though there be also this mystery in it, "This Bread is the communication of Christ's Body," that is the exhibition and donation of it; not Christ's Body formally, but *virtually* and *effectively*; it makes us communicate with Christ's Body in all the effects and benefits. . . . When the cup is blessed it communicates Christ's Blood, so does the blessed bread, for "to eat the bread in the New Testament is the sacrifice of Christians;"—they are the words of St. Austin. So, St. Paul, "we all partake of this one bread." Hence the argument is plain. That which is broken is the communication of Christ's Body, but that which is broken is bread, therefore bread is the communication of Christ's Body.

Bp. Jeremy Taylor's "Real Presence and Spiritual," &c., Sect. v.—6.

"The Heavenly Altar."

So great is the influence upon the whole Eucharistic doctrine of the *ἀναφορά* or "carrying up" of the whole transaction in spirit into heaven, expressed by the Greek "*ἄνω τὰς καρδίας*," by the Latin "*Sursum corda*," by the English "Lift up your hearts," that it may be useful to collect a few out of the many passages of Divines ancient and modern who have referred to this as the one essential principle for the right understanding of the Holy Communion. The principle of Roman doctrine and of the Corporal Objective Real Presence is, in fact, "*deorsum Corda*," because the doctrine held is "*deorsum Corpus Christi*,"

⁸ That this operation does not take place irrespectively of the spiritual state of the receiver is expressly maintained by our Church. Art. xxix. "The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing."

the Body of Christ comes down into the elements, and to that point, down on the altar, not to heaven above, must all hearts be directed.

The opposite doctrine of a "Sursum corda" has been shown to be taught by the Council of Nicæa. by Chrysostom and others of the Fathers.⁹ To these quotations I may add a reference to the learned work of the late Dean Goode "on the Eucharist," in which, at pp. 316 to 321, vol. i., he shows that "the Fathers exhort us to raise our thoughts above that which is on the table to that which is in heaven." To the instances there given, I will add a passage from Origen, which exactly harmonizes with the whole line of thought of these sermons. That Father says, "We ought to understand that they who are occupied with feasting and earthly cares *do not ascend into that Upper Chamber*, nor see its quietness, nor consider how it is furnished and adorned. Wherefore neither do they celebrate the Passover with Jesus, nor receive the bread of benediction *from Him*, nor the cup of the New Testament."

From "The Eucharist Illustrated, &c.," by the Rev. William Milton.

"Our Praise and Adoration to Christ, in partaking the Holy Communion."

[We are indebted to an interesting book by Dr. Monsell, named "Our New Vicar," for a carefully worded and valuable statement, in a tone of deep devotional feeling, on Eucharistic doctrine, including the question of Adoration, which we here give at length in support of the position maintained in the foregoing treatise, on the subject of Christ's Presence in His Sacrament, and of our highest act of worship and adoration, in communion and union with Him therein.]

To celebrate the Holy Eucharist is the highest act of spiritual worship and adoration which man can render to God. It is not a sacrifice in itself, but it is the pleading of THE SACRIFICE. It is the Church's utterance in act of that which she had said before in word, "I believe in Jesus Christ our Lord." It is the Church's highest adoration of that Lord, that God-man present in the Sacrament,² before whom we bow, as bowed the Jews of old, when the cloud rested on the Ark. He is in a cloud still, we cannot see, or handle, or perceive *where*. But His Presence is with us in that mystery, and we adore, *not* the Sacrament, but the Lord of the Sacrament, as, by His own covenant, nearer to us than than on any other occasion. *The two or three met together in His Name feel that He is in the midst.*

Such is the Holy Eucharist in its God-ward aspect.

⁹ See Part VI., Sect. 8, of this Series. 2nd edition.

¹ "The Sacramental Presence."

[² By the word "Sacrament" is here meant the whole Ordinance, not the outward sign or symbol only, as clearly shown by the context.—ED.]

In its man-ward blessings it is no less awful and mysterious. It offers food—"the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." What the nature of that food is, it is not for us to say. We know no more of it than that it is called in Scripture His flesh and blood—and that it is the means He has ordained, by which to impart to us Himself, and daily renew in us the Life Divine.

This only we know, that without it we cannot live:—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." It is soul-food, and the only soul-food of which we read in Scripture:—"My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed." And the partaking of it is the mysterious union and communion of us with Christ, and Christ with us:—"He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him."

This mystic food is *there*, at that great feast, out *where* no human eye can see, or thought imagine, or tongue or pen define. It is offered to all, but received only by the faithful—for being not a carnal, but a spiritual food, it can only be received by that power which apprehends and receives spiritual things. Faith is our spiritual sense, and it alone perceives and partakes of spiritual things. Thus the soul which can discern the Lord's Body, so discerns by faith. And they, to whom those awful words,—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you,"—have a meaning, find what they desire, by faith, in the banquet of that most heavenly food.

This we must feel assured of—that its *spirituality* does not lessen its *reality*; that as the soul is as real as the body, so the food of the soul is as real as a real thing requires to sustain it: with this difference, that the body is mortal, and lives by mortal food, and dies;—the soul is immortal, is fed with immortal food, and lives for ever.

In fact, all our life below is but the shadow of the life which is above, and the true realities are in the eternal things themselves, and not in the shadows which they cast.

This thought will remind us that reality does not necessarily imply materiality. That very materiality which we deem so essential to everything, and down to the level of which we would reduce some of heaven's highest mysteries, belongs, so far as we know, only to this present imperfect and limited life. It is the coil which we shall put off when, out of the chrysalis of our mortality, we wing our way into the empyreal air. Our bodies are but shadows of our souls; the bread of which they partake, but a shadow of the Bread Divine; our lips but shadows of the faith which perceives and feeds on heavenly food; and all the outward visible show but a shadow of the processes in our inward spiritual life.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART IV.—(*Second Division.*)

THE MATERIALISTIC THEORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST TESTED BY THE WORD OF GOD.

Mighty Father! from the springs
Of Thy life, all living things
Thy eternal purpose brings.
Blessed Son! Incarnate Word!
Thou by death hast life restored,
Life, else forfeit to the Lord.
Holy Spirit! Thou hast moved
O'er Thy people's hearts, and proved
The delight of being loved.

Into mystery deeper, higher,
Thou dost awfully retire,
Lowlier reverence to inspire;
And what seemed so near our eyes
Thou dost lift into the skies,
Farther than our sense can rise:
That, within the golden door,
Sense and sight must wait before
Faith may enter and adore.

Till our ignorance doth prove,
Handmaid help to Faith and Love,
While they lift the soul above;
And admonish us that more
Than our reason must adore,
When we bow our GOD before!

Mystery! 'tis all around!
Mystery! but "Holy ground,"
Where Thy mercy may be found.
Reason proud may turn to Thee,
Ask to understand and see,
Whisper, "How can these things be?"
Awful and mysterious GOD!
Have we then so near Thee trod
With shoes of worldly wisdom shod?

Winds around us soft are blowing,
All can feel, but who are knowing
Whence they come, and whither going?
Every hour on earth we find
Things, familiar as the wind,
Yet beyond the human mind:—
All such deep heart-teachings must
Humble to the very dust
Human pride and vain self-trust:—

—Dr. Monsell's "*Spiritual Songs*."

THE MATERIALISTIC THEORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST
TESTED BY THE WORD OF GOD; BEING A CONSIDERA-
TION OF THE TENDENCY OF THE TEACHING ON THAT
SUBJECT, RECENTLY PUT FORTH BY INFLUENTIAL
WRITERS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.¹

By a necessity, which has its root deep in the
inviolable holiness of the Eternal God, every
deviation from His law and purpose must entail

as its inevitable consequence a deterioration,
progressively tending to, and eventually result-
ing in, corruption; and that, corruption the
more offensive in proportion to the excellence
of that which is so deteriorated. This law,
pithily summed up in the words, "*Corruptio
optimi pessima*," pervades all existence outside

¹ *On Eucharistical Adoration*. With Considerations suggested by a late Pastoral Letter (1858) on the Doctrine of the Most Holy Eucharist. By the late Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursey. Fourth edition. Oxford and London: James Parker and Co. 1867.—(1st ed. 1859.)

The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist drawn from Holy Scripture and the Records of the Church. A Letter to his Parishioners. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Rector of Clewer. Second edition. London: Masters; Windsor: Provost and Roberts. 1867.

The Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances of the Church; being a plain exposition of their History, Meaning, and Effects. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A.,

Author of "The Principles and Practice of Pastoral Work," "Household Theology," &c., &c. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Brighton: Wakeling. 1867.

Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Rector of Clewer. Second edition, London: Masters. 1871.

This is My Body. A Sermon preached before the University at St. Mary's, on the Fifth Sunday after Easter, 1871. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church. James Parker and Co., Oxford and London; Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1871.

of the Creator Himself ; whom, in the nature of things, it cannot touch. It extends to all His works and designs, His actings and appointments, in the spiritual, no less than in the material world. By its operation the highest archangel becomes the chief of devils ; man, the noblest of earth's creatures, the lowest of brutes ; things sacred are turned into things profane ; the most life-giving truth into the deadliest error ; the highest act of worship into the most debasing superstition. If this be so,—and no observant and reflecting mind that has noted the outward manifestations, and entered into the inner springs, of existence and of life, can doubt it,—with what holy reverence, with what profound awe, does it behove us to approach, to handle, to contemplate, to think, and to speak of, anything that God has made or ordained ; above all, the things of God, that is, those wherein God and man are brought into contact or relationship. Foremost among these ranks the Holy Eucharist, that sacred and Blessed Mystery set forth by the Godman as the means and the pledge of our dwelling in Him, and His dwelling in us.

Most grievous, therefore, and most perilous to men's souls, must be any perversion of that Holy Mystery ; —to guard and to warn against it, an imperative, and withal most responsible, duty. In entering upon its performance, urged thereto by a sense of the imminence, as well as the guilt, of the danger which at this time threatens the Church of Christ amongst us, both in a body and in its members, we need scarcely assure our readers that we do so in no light or controversial spirit ; and that nothing is further from our thoughts than either to utter a word in derogation of the Mystery itself, or to impugn the motives of men whose profound piety we respect, while we cannot but deplore their yet profounder errors. Giving them credit for a sincere desire to promote what they conceive to be conducive to the benefit of men's souls and to the Glory of God, we are willing to make allowance for, though by no means to palliate, the misapprehensions on which their teaching, not less mischievous than erroneous, is based. As those misapprehensions appear to us to arise in no small measure from uncleanness of thought, it may be right, both as an act of charity towards them, and as a suitable preliminary to the remarks we shall have occasion to offer, that we should call attention to some few points on which the language of modern theology is often inaccurate, vague, and confused.

Much misconception and misconstruction, on both sides of the Eucharistic controversy which is so sadly troubling the Church and hindering the progress of true religion, is attributable to the sense attached to the word "substance." On the one hand the very common notion that "substance" is synonymous with "matter," has not unfrequently caused unfounded suspicions to be cast upon statements in themselves, and, when rightly understood, not only innocuous, but perfectly sound. On the other hand, an ambiguous use of the term "substance" has served to veil the unsoundness of questionable propositions and fanciful conceits. It may not, therefore, be superfluous to remind our readers that there is spiritual as well as material "substance ;" as in the Nicene Creed we confess the Son to be "of One Substance" with the Father ;" as in her first Article the Church affirms the existence "in the Unity of the Godhead" of "Three Persons of One Substance ;" or as, in the Athanasian Creed, we protest against any confusion in the One Christ, of the "Substance of the Father" with the "Substance of His Mother ;" the former being spiritual ; the latter, as regards His "reasonable soul," likewise spiritual, but as touching His "Human Flesh" material. And, furthermore, while the Flesh of His Humanity was material, as He took it from His Mother's womb, it ought not to be, though too often it is, forgotten that by His Resurrection and Ascension that Body which was once material has become "spiritual ;" and that, therefore, when we speak of the Body and Blood of Christ, Who is the New Man, the Second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, Whose Body is spiritual,² we speak not of "material" but of "spiritual" substances. Whereupon it follows that to speak of spiritual substances as if they were subject to the conditions of matter, is inadmissible ; even as it is plainly inadmissible to speak of the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist (which, albeit they serve as the veils of "spiritual" substances, are, and continue to be, "material") as if they were themselves "spiritual" substances.

A kindred source of misapprehension, and of, probably often unconscious, ambiguity is the word "real." In the minds of many persons "real" is opposed to "ideal ;" the latter term designating that which has no actual existence in itself, but only a fictitious existence in the

² 1 Cor. xv. 44—47.

mind of him who conceives, and in some sense creates it; a mere phantom existence thrown up by the imagination; the former that which has an existence of its own, independent of the fact of its being apprehended or ignored by a mind external to itself.

Another and cognate source of confusion and mutual misunderstanding is the antithesis, so commonly met with, between "real" and "spiritual;" the latter term being used in the sense of "ideal," as above defined; whereby it comes to be overlooked that that which is "spiritual" may at the same time be most "real;" its "real" existence belonging to the category of things "spiritual." It is thus that we may speak of a "real spiritual substance;" and the existence of such a "real spiritual substance" is conceivable without, and to the exclusion of, all idea of materiality, which to many minds is synonymous with reality.

A most infelicitous attempt has of late years been made to avoid, while, in fact, it has served greatly to aggravate, the confusion thence arising, by the importation into theology of the metaphysical terms "objective" and "subjective;"³ applying the former to that which is real, in the sense of having an actual existence, independently of the question of its being apprehended or ignored; while by "subjective" it is intended to express that which is only "ideal," having no existence except in the mind which conceives it. In this sense a fallacious distinction is drawn between an "objective" and a "subjective" Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; the truth being that the Presence, in its nature "spiritual," is, in fact, most "real" in itself, and therefore, if such a term must be used, clearly "objective;" while, at the same time, to the mind which apprehends it, it is as clearly "subjective;" whence it follows that "objective" and "subjective" are not, as they are commonly understood to be, opposed to each other, but, on the contrary, the "subjective" Presence is nothing else than the "objective" Presence subjectively apprehended.

Asking our readers to bear in mind the above distinctions and definitions, we may now proceed to invite their attention to the consideration of the two great questions raised by the writers against whose theory of the Holy Eucharist we feel ourselves constrained to protest on the ground of its being "materialistic," and to point out its idolatrous character. Those

two questions most deeply affect the nature of the revelation which God has vouchsafed to us of Himself and of His purpose in and through Christ Jesus the Godman, and the nature of the worship to be paid to Him by us; which worship is not only the tribute of homage due from us to His Eternal Majesty, but at the same time the process of spiritual exercise through which we are to be made conformable to His gracious purpose in our Creation and Redemption,—the attainment of Godlikeness.⁴ In the nature of things these two questions are so intimately interwoven with each other, that to disconnect them in argument, if not absolutely impossible, would be highly inconvenient, as leading inevitably to needless repetition. For as, on the one hand, the knowledge of God, that is, the correct understanding of His revelation of Himself, is unattainable without that worship which constitutes our approach to, and intercourse with, Him, so on the other hand the nature of the worship which He requires, and is willing to accept, at our hands, must necessarily be determined by what He Himself is, and what in His Holy Word He has declared on the subject. In neither of these questions is there any room for speculation or conjecture. As we cannot "by searching find out God,"⁵ so neither can we be the judges of what is the proper mode of worshipping Him. It is from inattention to these two very simple and undeniable propositions that all error in religion springs; and it does so, as we shall presently see, in the case before us.

What is revealed unto us, and was the belief of Universal Christendom from the beginning, is, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself,"⁶ that for this end God the Son took human nature upon Himself, becoming incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary;—that He gave Himself upon the Cross a propitiatory Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world;—that He rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, where He is enthroned at the Right Hand of the Father, and whence He shall come again in the final consummation, to judge the quick and the dead, to make all things new, and to reign in Glory over a new and glorious Creation, in which His Saints—those who by the Sacrifice made by Himself and of Himself have entered into the New Covenant, and, laying hold of the New Life imparted to

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 48, 49; 1 John iii. 2, 3; Phil. iii. 20, 21.

⁵ Job. xi. 7.

⁶ 2 Cor. v. 19.

³ See Note A.

them by Him, have become partakers of the Divine Nature, and been transformed into His likeness, the likeness of the Heavenly Adam,—shall reign with Him in Glory for ever and ever ;—that to accomplish this process in as many as shall receive Him, He has provided two precious Gifts, the Gift of Himself, of His own glorified Nature imparted in a Mystery ordained by Him, the Mystery of His Body and Blood ; and the Gift of the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of Life, by Whom, as He Himself was incarnated in the Virgin's womb, so those that receive Him are by a process of regeneration and constant renewal to be fitted for the Glory that shall be revealed in them at His Coming.

Upon this simple doctrine the Materialisers of the Holy Eucharist, ordained by Him as the Mystery of Union of Life with Himself, have engrafted a new and monstrous doctrine, propounded by them under the name of an "extension of the Incarnation,"⁷—according to which Christ is perpetually descending upon and incorporating Himself with the material elements appointed by Him as the symbols, the vehicles and veils, of the spiritual substance of His own Body and Blood, imparted by Him to His Own, the members of His Body Mystical, in the Holy Mystery of the New Covenant. By this act of perpetual re-incorporation of His spiritual Humanity, they teach that Christ has brought, and evermore is bringing, Himself back to earth, into subjection to the laws of matter, with all its conditions and limitations ; and on the basis of such teaching they have invented two acts of worship, consonant, indeed, with their theory, but utterly repugnant to the Word of God—the act of Sacrificing, and the act of Adoring, Christ so incorporated in the material substances of Bread and Wine.

This seems, and in truth it is, a grave charge, which, if substantiated, will prove those against whom it is made, clearly guilty of idolatry ; and that, idolatry of the very worst kind, turning

⁷ "In respect of the Incarnation itself it was not only the immensity of the Gift, but its inconceivably near approach also to the Receiver, which she was taught of the Holy Ghost adoringly to acknowledge. Why or how should it be otherwise in respect of that which divines have truly called '*the extension of the Incarnation*,'—the participation of the Incarnate One by His true members, in and through the spiritual eating and drinking of His present Body and Blood?"—*Keble on Eucharistical Adoration*, I 8, p. 7 ; see also II 35, p. 62. The same phrase as characteristic of their distinctive doctrine is of constant recurrence in the writings of the new Eucharistic School. "The Holy Eucharist," says Mr. Carter, "is the extension of the Incarnation to us."—*Carter, Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, p. 17.

Christ Himself into an idol. How far it is capable of being substantiated, will appear on examining the language of the originators and promoters of this new doctrine and worship.

In the Holy Scriptures we have the doctrine of God manifest in the Flesh ;⁸ in their writings the doctrine of God manifest in Bread and Wine. This false notion, which underlies and pervades the whole of their teaching, and is presented in almost every page of their writings, is put forward, in a train of reasoning more than ordinarily distressing, by Mr. Keble :—

"If we may reverently say it (using an illustration which is applied by the Church to a subject, *if possible, still more awful than this*,) '*as the reasonable soul and flesh is one Man*,' and as '*God and man is one Christ*,' so the consecrated Bread and Wine, and the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, are *one Sacrament*. And as we know the soul of a man, which we cannot see, to be present by the presence of his living body, which we can see, so the presence of that Bread and Wine is to us a sure token of the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood. We are not more certain of the one by our reliance on God's ordinary providence, than we are of the other by our faith in Christ's own word."—*Keble on Eucharistical Adoration*, II., 36 pp. 64-65.

The Church teaches that in the Sacrament there are *two parts*—"an outward visible sign," and an "*inward spiritual grace*,"—the former being "ordained by Christ Himself as a *means* whereby we *receive* the same, and a *pledge* to assure us thereof." Mr. Keble teaches that the "outward visible sign," and the "*inward spiritual grace*," are *not two*, but *One*, even as "*God and Man is one Christ*." Can anything, in the shape of a statement of religious doctrine, be more truly "*awful*?"⁹

This false notion of the complete Oneness and perfect identity of Christ with the Bread and Wine, of the spiritual Substance of His Body and Blood with the material elements which constitute the other "part" of the Sacrament, naturally branches out in the two directions of Sacrifice and Adoration. As regards the former, the views of the Materialistic School are thus summarised by Mr. Blunt :—

"The Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the elements of the Holy Eucharist is effected with reference to the *purposes* for which that Sacrament was instituted. *The first of these purposes is sacrifice*: an aspect of the rite so prominently kept in view by the primitive Church, that it was

⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

⁹ See Note B.

habitually spoken of by them under such names as Oblation, Sacrifice, Eucharist, Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, Sacrifice of Praise, Reasonable and Unbloody Sacrifice, Sacrifice of our Mediator, Sacrifice of the Altar, Sacrifice of our Ransom, Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. . . In the first place, the supernatural substance of the Sacrament—the *inward part of which has been added to the outward part by the consecration of the latter*—is the Body and Blood of a slain Victim, that of Him who offered Himself up as the Lamb of God upon the altar of the Cross. The presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist being, therefore, *the presence of His Body and Blood upon our altars*, constitutes at once a Sacrifice more true than any of the sacrifices of the old Law. . . The Eucharistic Sacrifice consists of the Body and Blood of that Victim who was slain to take away the sins of the world; and the offering is *not a type, but a re-presentation* of the one great Sacrifice. . . . And as a sacrificial substance forms *the spiritual part of the consecrated elements*, so also the object for which the Eucharist was originally ordained, and is perpetually celebrated, constitutes it a *Sacrifice in the highest degree*. . . When lambs or oxen were sacrificed, under the old dispensation, they showed forth the Lord's death, indeed, as types, yet without any association between the substance of the sacrifice and the substance of the Lamb of God. But in the Holy Eucharist, the Lord's death is shown by means of a Sacrifice in which *the substance of the Lord who died is that which is offered*—the sacrifice, therefore, not of a type, but of the Antitype, the Body and Blood of Christ.”—*Blunt, The Sacraments, &c., III., 3, pp. 125–128.*

To the same effect Mr. Carter :—

“As the High Priest went up on the Day of Atonement to offer and sprinkle the Blood of the Victim in the Holiest Place before the Mercy Seat, so our Lord went up to Heaven to offer Himself before the Father. St. John saw our Lord thus offering Himself, and the worship of heaven going on around Him. . . . Our Lord ordained that this same Offering, with this same worship, should continue to be celebrated in a Sacrament on earth, *even as it is visibly within the Courts of Heaven*. For His ministers to do as He did, in commemoration of Him, means that they were to make *at the altars of His Church on earth the same oblation of His Death and Passion* under the symbolic forms of the broken Bread, and poured out Wine—a memorial of His own broken Body and His shed Blood, once sacrificed, now perpetually pleaded, and by such continual commemoration effectually applying the propitiation which He made for the sins of the world upon the Cross. . . . Because our Lord is supernaturally present in the Sacrament, therefore, when we make this Memorial, *He is Himself mystically presented* and pleaded before the Father, with all the merits purchased for us by His Death. . . .

God the Son has been pleased moreover to devise a way by which in some great Mystery unknown to, and inconceivable by us, He can, though corporally present in the substance of our Flesh in Heaven with His Father, be still *really and truly present with us on earth* where the appointed conditions of the Sacrament are fulfilled; and thus give Himself to us. By the same means also *He has enabled His Priests on earth to offer and plead, under visible signs, the Atoning Sacrifice of His Death*, in a mysterious union with His Own Offering of Himself in Heaven, thus continually applying all the benefits of His Passion.”—*Carter, Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, pp. 14-16.*

In all this there is a painful confusion of ideas, representing in a local position on earth,—“upon our altars,”—and subjecting to a material process, that of breaking and pouring out, that Body and Blood of Christ, the Second Adam, which, being of their nature spiritual, are not, and cannot be, subject to material handling by earthly priests. However really present, agreeably to Christ's Word and promise, they belong to the spiritual sphere; to drag them down into the sphere of material existence is, clearly, to lower, to degrade them. The text of St. Paul, “We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle,”¹ relied on for the erroneous doctrine of an *actual sacrifice*—a *repetition*, that is to say, not a memorial only, of the true and all-sufficient Sacrifice made once for all and finished upon the Cross—in nowise supports this notion. What is *laid on the altar*, and *eaten off the altar*, is the outward element, which—conjoined, indeed, but not united or identified, with the spiritual Substance of Christ's Body and Blood—is, and remains, a *material substance*; ² that which it represents, and by its association, *not its identification* with it, constitutes the Sacrament, is a spiritual substance, not capable of being handled by an earthly priest or laid and presented upon an earthly altar. The presentation of the spiritual substance before God takes place in heaven, not on earth, and is the act, the *eternal and enduring*, not *momentary and perpetually to be repeated*, act, not of an earthly priest upon an earthly altar, but of the Eternal High Priest Himself, on the heavenly altar, which is God's Throne, and of which the earthly altar in the Tabernacle was,³ and the altar of the Christian Church, whether termed “altar” or “table,” is, no more than a figure.

¹ Hebrews xiii. 10.

² See Note C.

³ Exodus xxv. 40; xxvi. 30. Hebrews viii. 5.

Neither is this notion of an actual sacrifice sustained by the favourite argument of a peculiar hierurgical sense to be given to the word *ποιεῖτε*. Granting that it does sometimes, when used in a particular context, bear such a meaning, the question obviously remains, whether the institution of the Holy Eucharist was an occasion on which it should, or even properly may, be so construed. If we assume that the Saviour intended to command an act of sacrifice to be performed by His disciples, or, looking beyond them, by a peculiar order of ministers thereafter to be appointed for its performance, then, indeed, such an interpretation of the word *ποιεῖτε* is not only legitimate, but obligatory: but this is no more than an assumption, and that, one clearly contrary to the plain teaching of Holy Scripture on this very subject. To make the sense given to the word *ποιεῖτε* on the strength of this assumption an argument to prove the correctness of the assumption, is no better than a clever trick of philological legerdemain, to throw dust into the eyes of the unlearned. It is, in fact, though hardly done in simplicity, a simple begging of the question.

That the Lord Jesus Christ, in breaking the Bread with words of thanksgiving and blessing, performed a typical act, having a direct reference to the sacrifice He was about to make upon the Cross, cannot, indeed, be doubted; and that the same act which, as done by Him, was *prefigurative*, was enjoined by Him in the words of institution, is equally evident. And not less evident it is that the same act, so done in obedience to His injunction, when it loses its *prefigurative* or *foreshadowing* character, because the sacrifice which it figured has been finished by Himself upon the Cross, may indeed be figurative still, in a retrospective, as formerly it was in a prospective sense. To argue that when so done it ceases to be figurative in any sense, but becomes a perpetual continuation or repetition by the hands of others of the very act itself which He alone could perform, and has performed once for all, is manifestly as contrary to the nature of things as it is repugnant to the whole teaching of Scripture.

Such a perversion of His command "Do this," is the more inadmissible, we must add, we fear, disingenuous, because He expressly added that it was to be done in *remembrance*, in *memory*, as a *memorial*⁴ of Him, of His Sacrifice in giving

His Body to be broken, His Blood to be shed for us. Those very expressions "remembrance," "memory," "memorial," whichever may be adopted as the proper rendering of *ὑπόμνησις*, are distinctly *retrospective*, and to take them in a prospective or concurrent sense,—as they do who use them as a preliminary or adjunct to a pretended act of actual sacrifice performed by the priest's hands—is as contrary to the meaning of language as it is to the nature of things, to common sense, and to the character and intent of Christ's institution.

While the character of the Eucharistic Service is thus perverted into a performance which has no warrant whatever in Christ's Word and Ordinance, the theory on which it is based is in glaring contradiction to the teaching of Holy Scripture concerning the nature of Christ's work of Redemption by His propitiatory Sacrifice of Himself. Christ, we are taught, in language the most emphatic and explicit, has Himself *finished* that work,⁵ and all that remains to be done is to apply the fruits, the "benefits" of it, to the souls of men, to their sanctification, their transformation into the likeness of the Heavenly Adam, and thereby the edification of that spiritual building, the Church of Christ whereof they are living stones,⁶ to the glory of God the Father. So far as Christ and His propitiatory Sacrifice is concerned, the work is finished and complete, once for all and for ever. As such it is presented in heaven by Him Who is at once the Everlasting High Priest and the Eternal Lamb.⁷ In that twofold character He has "entered into heaven to appear in the presence of God for us."⁸ Once so offered and presented in heaven once for all, as a perfect

made, once for all, perfect and all-sufficient; in other words, of a commemorative Sacrifice. Not one of them implies that which again, is the logical sequence of the materialistic doctrine on the subject, that Christ, incorporated, made one, with the material elements, undergoes again and again, in each celebration, the process of being slain—His Body broken and His Blood shed—and offered up to God as a propitiatory Sacrifice.

⁵ St. John xvii. 4; xix. 30.

⁶ Eph. ii. 20—22. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

⁷ Rev. vii. 17; xii. 1. The Lamb thus continually presented in Heaven, is described as sharing God's Throne, *standing* (Rev. v. 6; Acts vii. 55, 56), or *sitting* (Rev. iii. 21; v. 13), not *laid upon* the altar, and being sacrificed. He is the *ἀρνίον ἑσταγμένον*, not *σφαζόμενον*, which would be required by the Sacrificial theory of the Materialistic School, according to which the Sacrifice continues to be constantly offered in Heaven, the Eucharistic "Sacrifice" being its earthly imitation and counterpart.

⁸ Heb. ix. 24, 25.

⁴ Not one of these expressions, it will be observed, goes beyond the notion of commemoration of a Sacrifice already

offering, He is *not* to "offer Himself often"⁹ "in holy places made with hands."¹¹

The new School teaches, no less explicitly and emphatically, the very reverse of all this. According to its teaching Christ has perpetually to renew and to reiterate His work on earth, "in holy places made with hands," on earthly altars; on which, giving Himself up into the hands of earthly ministers, in the form of Bread and Wine, His Body is to be broken, His Blood shed, over and over again, a fresh sacrifice at each celebration—a sacrifice which is never complete, but has to be made and offered, by way of atonement and reconciliation, as long as there are sinners upon earth to be reconciled to God by this sacrificial performance and service. It is impossible to conceive a more direct contrast than this, between the two views of Christ's work in the past, and of His present position. The same false theory which lowers Christ by presenting Him to the mind of the worshipper as identified with the Bread for external adoration, lowers Him by exhibiting Him as an unfinished sacrifice needing perpetual iteration.²

Thus much for the Sacrificial aspect of the Materialistic Theory of the Holy Eucharist. Not less important, as an evident perversion of the truth of Christ's Ordinance, and far more pernicious in its practical effects, is the notion of Adoration to be paid to the Eucharistic elements, on the ground of their alleged substantial and personal Oneness with Christ, and His alleged incorporation with them. Mr. Keble, who on this part of the subject is in a more especial manner the expositor of the views of the Materialistic School, tells us that—

"No plain and devout reader of Holy Scripture and disciple of the Church would, of his own accord, find a difficulty in *adoring the thing signified, apart from the outward sign or form.*—*Keble on Eucharistical Adoration.* II., p. 65.

But how "apart"? Is not the very point of his whole argument that the Bread and Wine is *not* a mere "outward sign or form," but that "the thing signified,"—i.e., the Body and Blood of Christ, is so incorporated and united with the Bread and Wine as to constitute a Oneness analogous to that which constitutes "God and Man One Christ"? Wherein does the construction put upon the words, "This is my Body," by the Materialistic School, differ from the

language of Aaron, when, presenting to the Israelites the golden calf, he said: "These be thy gods," or, more correctly translated, "This is thy God, O Israel"? Might not Aaron have argued that the worship of the Israelites was addressed, not to the "golden calf," the "outward and visible sign," but to the God of Israel, who, as he reminded them, had brought them up out of the land of Egypt;³ that it was Him they worshipped "apart" from the idol made to represent Him? It may be said that the cases are not parallel, forasmuch as in that case the visible representation of the invisible God-head was a thing devised by man, and not, as the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist, ordained by God. But this fact, when duly considered, renders the idolatry—for such it is,—of what is termed "Eucharistical Adoration" all the more sinful and grievous;—more sinful, because in it a thing ordained by God is abused to a purpose contrary to God's purpose in so ordaining it;—more grievous, because the use, or rather abuse, of a thing ordained by God gives a colouring to the idolatrous act, by which pious souls may unwittingly be ensnared.

By Mr. Keble and his followers of the Materialistic School we are plainly taught, and forcibly urged, to seek God and His Christ, not in Heaven, whither, after He had "finished" His work on earth, "He reascended, that He might draw all men after Him,"⁴ but on earth, to which, according to the fanciful conceit of an "extension of the Incarnation," He has descended, and continues to descend, afresh. Mr. Blunt puts this in the plainest possible way by reminding us that—

"The Eucharistic Sacrifice carries up on its wings to the Throne of Grace all other prayers of the Church, as well as those that are being spoken at the moment; so that the comprehensive supplications of the Litany, or those of Mattins and Evensong, look towards it as their central point, and seek to reach the Intercessor above through His Presence on the altar below.—*Blunt, Sacraments, &c.*, III, 5, p. 145.

Mr. Carter enlarges on the same theme in a style so characteristic in various ways of the peculiarities of the School, and of the extravagant lines of thought into which it diverges, that we must make room for a somewhat lengthy extract:—

"The adoration we pay Him now in *His presence on*

⁹ Heb. ix. 25.

¹¹ Ibid. v. 24.

² See Note D.

³ Exod. xxxii. 4, 8.

⁴ St. John xii. 32, 26; xiv. 2, 3; xvii. 24; Eph. i. 3; ii. 6. See also the Collect for Ascension Day.

the Altar, is a reparation for all the insults, and the marring, and the shame, which He was contented once all silently to bear. It is the offering which the grateful Church perpetually offers to Him, where around Him all is pure love, all peace, all undimmed beauty, all saving virtue. We adore Him there revealed to faith with a calm and restful gratitude, remembering His past sorrows, and rejoicing in His present ineffable, inconceivable joy. *Our adoration is to Him the satisfaction of His soul*, the offering up of a sweet savour well pleasing in His sight, as the best recompense of contrite Humanity sorrowing over the storm of rage and malignity, which once rose and beat upon Him on earth, now changed into the calm light of the splendour of His Holiness in which He reigns for ever. We recognise Him here only under this aspect of miraculous power to heal, of ceaseless outpourings of Divine grace, of the blessedness of the Divine perfections manifested in the flesh.

"Most marvellous, how in such a Presence of Power and Holiness our Lord can *adapt Himself* to what He finds in us! We could not dare to draw near as often as we do to worship Him, to receive Him into us, were it not for this mysterious *adaptation and condescension which tempers the full radiance of His Glory in His veiled Presence*. He is present in His whole Person, undivided, indivisible, His Divinity, His Humanity, with all the treasures of His grace, all the virtues of His Sacred Passion, all the might of His infinite Godhead—all are *before us*. *Where the one portion of His Being and His Attributes is, there the others must needs be*; for *He cannot be divided*. He Himself is One, and He, in the entirety of His Glory and Power, is there hidden, yet most truly *there*. The Mystery which we believe is this—that without losing aught of His own separate Glory, He *adapts that which is boundless to that which He finds within us*, however contracted, that which is perfect to that which is miserable and feeble, *accommodates Himself to whatever he finds within us*. We could not receive Him and live, if it were not so. We could not bear the burden of His greatness, unless He so condescended to our incapacity and weakness. So secret is His Presence, that *He withdraws from our consciousness all that He really is*, even while we receive Him in His fulness, lest we should be overwhelmed. It is a great and signal part of His mercy *to hide His Majesty, in which He passes into us*. So wonderful is His tenderness and condescension, even to the least and unworthiest, that *He can wait till we are prepared*, and has so ordered His gift of Himself that, in proportion to what we are, *He gives out from Himself what He enables us to receive and no more*. Whatever, according to our measure, of spirituality we can *digest and assimilate*—what will turn to our health, and not to our hurt, He imparts. He restrains Himself till there is a

capacity to receive Him; and then gives in proportion to our capacity. He holds back from our view what we are incapable of apprehending; and as we come again and again with enlarged desires for His grace, He also enlarges the outpouring of His gift to transform and sanctify us."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* ii., pp. 12, 14.

This alleged self-humiliation of the Godman in "extending" His "Incarnation" to a further manifestation in the Bread and Wine, assumed by the Godman in like manner as the Son of God took upon Him human nature—by a process of Impanation and Invination—is a favourite topic with Mr. Keble. Among the "most undeniable and irresistible reasons" which he gives for the Adoration of the Elements, he adduces "the deep condescension and *humiliation*"⁵ on the part of Christ in thus manifesting Himself, in the Bread now, as before in the Flesh. In a tone still more inconsistent with a right conception of, and reverence for, the Person of Christ, Mr. Carter permits himself to talk of "the *Sacramental Life of Jesus in the sacred elements*," and of "His influence upon their outward forms, as though a *mechanical transformation of their inanimate substances took place*;"⁶ and makes bold thus to address the Lord Jesus Himself: "Thou didst become incarnate, and continually comest to manifest Thyself on our altars."⁷

In reading such effusions as these, the most charitable view we can take of them is that the writers, "having turned aside unto vain jangling," and "desiring to be teachers," "understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm."⁸ But while giving them the benefit of this supposition, it is impossible for us to shut our eyes to the injurious effect which such wild speculations and crude conceptions must produce upon the minds of their followers; the major part of whom are weak-minded and excitable women, in fulfilment of the Scripture which represents heretical teachers as "leading captive silly women laden with sins."⁹

The most flagrantly sinful, and to a mind imbued with true reverence for Christ the Godman the most offensive, feature of this strange theory, is undoubtedly the lowering of the Majesty of "the Lord from Heaven,"¹⁰ of "Him

⁵ Keble, *Eucharistical Adoration*, i. 3 p. 2; ii. 1 p. 12.

⁶ Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xvii. p. 179.

⁷ Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* iv. p. 37.

⁸ 1 Tim. i. 6, 7.

⁹ 2 Tim. iii. 6.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. xv. 47.

that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore,"² not to the likeness merely of "inanimate substances," but to *personal union* and *incorporated coexistence* with them, and thereby to all the conditions of material existence. Is it not clear as the sun at noonday, that the whole purpose of God in the work of Incarnation is thus inverted: that the whole tendency of this novel faith is not upwards, but downwards; not to spiritualise man, but to materialise God? There is "humiliation" indeed involved in the Mystery of the Incarnation; but that humiliation, self-imposed by the love of God for the glorious purpose of man's redemption and exaltation to Glory, sinks into insignificance by the side of the fabled humiliation imposed upon God by the carnal conceit of these false teachers striving to "bring Christ down from above."³ Very low, truly, did God condescend when in the Person of the Eternal Son He laid by the Glory which as the Eternal Son He "had with the Father before the world was,"⁴ and took upon Him the nature of man, His own creature, fashioned in the Virgin's womb; but how much lower, if there were truth in the allegation that laying by the Glory into which as Godman He has entered through suffering, He takes upon Him the nature of Bread, kneaded by the hand of man, and perfected in the oven! What is this but rank blasphemy in the guise of piety?

This horrible debasement of the conception of the nature and Person of the Godman Himself entails, as an inevitable consequence, a debasement also of the religious life, which consists in man's converse with, and assimilation to, "God manifest in the Flesh." The worship to be offered to the ascended Christ, and through Him to the Father, in the Holy Mystery ordained by Him for that purpose, is transferred to the creaturely, the material elements with which He is identified in the mind of the worshipper. Localised in them, laid upon the altar, and lifted up on high, by human hands; gazed upon as He lies there, as He is held up before men's eyes; taken up and eaten, or not, as the worshipper may feel disposed—He becomes an object of external, of idolatrous worship. The *sursum corda* of the worship ordained by Christ is turned into the *deorsum corda* of a Eucharistic idolatry devised by man, the duty-worship of faith into the will-worship of fancy.

How baneful the effect is which this localising

and materialising of Christ's Presence produces upon the mind, becomes most strikingly apparent in the total inversion which it produces of the Divine plan of man's education for a spiritual life. Whereas the Lord Jesus Himself informed His disciples that the object of the withdrawal from them of His visible personal Presence was to place them under the inward spiritual teaching and guidance of the Comforter,—to which that outward Presence would prove a hindrance by detaining their thoughts in the world of sense,—this withdrawal is spoken of as though it were an unaccountable necessity, as though, if we may without irreverence so put it, Christ were compelled to absent Himself, when He would rather have continued with His disciples here on earth; and whereas He taught them to look upon the Holy Spirit, whom they should receive as the substitute for the outward Presence so withdrawn from them, Christ is represented as having recourse to another form of visible Presence, for the purpose of preventing the cessation of intercourse between Himself and His elect. The blessedness of the soul's Union with Christ is lowered into a kind of pious sentimentality which finds vent in the most undignified and, as they might almost be termed, mawkish, expressions. More especially does this feature of the system develop itself when, avoiding or omitting the act of Communion, which by Christ's Word and Institution is of the essence of the Sacrament, the worship due to Christ enthroned in Heaven, but transferred to earthly elements, is turned into Non-communicant Adoration. On this point we cannot have a better witness than Mr. Carter:—

"We have" he says, "hitherto dwelt chiefly on this Mystery with reference to those who communicate, and seen their inestimable gain, their mysterious joy, and how it is to be secured. But *is there then no benefit for those who are present without communicating?* Are we to limit the blessedness of the Sacrament to those who partake, and is there no inward joy or special work of love between themselves and their Lord in those who, though ordinarily partakers of Him, yet, whether from not venturing to approach so often, or from passing hindrance, desire to draw near to Him without actual reception of the awful Gift Itself.

"Surely when we call to mind the words of love from our Lord's Own Heart, that His desire is to be 'among the sons of men,' and to 'dwell in the habitable parts of the earth;' and hear him saying to all, 'I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you,'—thus speaking evidently of the companionship

² Rev. i. 18.

³ Rom. x. 6.

⁴ St. John xvii. 5.

which, though withdrawn from sight, He longs to be evermore continued with His Elect; and moreover consider what it cost Him to separate Himself—the wrench, if the expression may be allowed, it evidently was to Him, as the terms of the Holy Scripture testify, when He was constrained to leave the disciples at the hour of His Ascension,⁵—we may, pondering such expressions, gather from them that one part of the Divine Institution, beside that great purpose of communicating Himself to be our inward hidden Life, was the continuance of that felt nearness of intercourse, that sweet consciousness of companionship, which otherwise would have been lost and for which the human heart ever yearns towards those we love, a consciousness independent of any act such as Communion implies. Such a purpose would be accomplished by the appointment of a visible form notifying His Presence, even though Himself could not be seen. Actual sight is not essential to the feeling of the nearness of those we love, whose treasured memories are borne fondly in our hearts. It is not merely when we actually see them that our souls are filled with delight in the sense of our being with them and they with us—the least accustomed sign of their presence is enough to awaken the whole train of loving, restful, delighted thoughts, in which we live with them. We enter the house where one whom we love dwells, and at once the look of everything within assures us of him, that he is near, and the heart is at rest. All objects speak of his presence—the chair, the open book, the implements of daily familiar use, tell at once the whole story, bring at once before the mind all the precious associations that gather round the thought of the loved person: he lives before us in vivid substantial reality, through the power of association. And the feeling that at any moment he may appear only adds to the pleasurable sense of close fellowship which we experience from the unmistakeable signs of his nearness.

"This same universal law of our nature necessarily rules our consciousness also in the case of the Blessed Sacrament, for our Lord laid hold of this instinct, a law of His own implanting, in order to fulfil His promise of continued companionship, when it became no longer possible for the outward eye of man to behold Him. He would still be near to the soul He loves, and satisfy its cravings by the fullest possible enjoyment of that fellowship. And He effects it by means of

the actual sight, not of Himself, which could not yet be and ourselves live, but of the signs and symbols which His Word has sealed to be the means of recognising His Presence, assuring us that where they are, there He is, there we can hold sure converse with Him.

"When we behold those outward signs, Himself is proved to be there. We are at once entranced and filled with this consciousness, and the mind is satisfied and absorbed as at no other time; and this may be independently of the Communion which follows. He is there, and the assurance of the visible symbols is enough; it is the certain pledge of our sacramental relation to Him. Communion is necessary for the actual felt embrace of Himself within one's own self but without this we may have the satisfaction of the feeling of our being near to Him, and His being near to us. At any moment He might suddenly appear. If He willed He might instantly break through the veil which screens Him from mortal eyes, and in bodily substance His Form, His Face stand out to view, where the covenanted signs of His Presence are.

"During the time that we are wrapt in love before these outward symbols our assurance is the same as if we actually beheld Him with our bodily eyes. Our consciousness of what He is to us, is as unquestioned, yea, rather far more, than what THEY saw or felt who beheld Him under the veil of that Body of His humiliation, which hid His inner life."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xiv., p. 146—149.

How thoroughly, by such effusions as this, is the mind dragged down from Heaven, whither we are to be drawn up by the mystical spiritual Communion of His Body and Blood, to the sphere of things material, to earthly thoughts and feelings, to the world of sense and of sight! Taught by the Holy Ghost that we have "boldness to enter into the Holiest"—that is, "into Heaven itself"⁶—"by the Blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which He has consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His Flesh,"⁷—we are instructed by Mr. Carter to seek the companionship of Jesus here on earth, by gazing upon, and prostrating ourselves before, those creaturely elements of which He has commanded us to partake as tokens and pledges of His making us partakers of the Divine Nature,⁸ of His coming to "dwell in" us, and making us to "dwell in Him,"⁹ and to "sit down together with Him in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."¹

⁵ Scholars need not be reminded that the expression *δέσση*, quoted by Mr. Carter in a note, as "signifying a separation, as if by force," gives no colour to the idea of an involuntary separation. Even the term *ἀνεφίετο* does not necessarily convey the idea of being carried up against His will; a notion which not only is thoroughly absurd in itself, as applied to the entrance of Christ into His glory, but which, as implying on the part of Christ a preference for the earthly companionship of His disciples over the fellowship of His Father's Glory, is irreverent to the last degree.

⁶ Heb. ix. 24.

⁷ Heb. x. 19, 20.

⁸ 2 Pet. i. 4.

⁹ St. John vi. 56.

¹ Eph. ii. 6.

One more passage of this so-called "spiritual instruction" we cannot, reluctant though we be to reproduce language so exceedingly painful and dishonouring to Christ, withhold from our readers. Arguing, consistently enough on his assumption, that non-communicant attendance is the best preparation ² for Communion, Mr. Carter thus proceeds :—

"To be *breathing the atmosphere which His Sacramental Presence breathes*; to cheer and gladden the soul with the brightness that surrounds the shrine of *His abode*; to be drinking in fresh resolves, quickened desires, purer aspirations and more vivid faith, where *Angels and Archangels are folding their wings to adore Him in His earthly sanctuary, leaving even Heaven for awhile* to do Him honour*—this cannot but be to catch at least something of the grace shed abroad from *His Person*, and to gain a deepened love making the soul more worthy when the time of actual reception is come.

"There is for all in such attendance the opportunity of *adoring our Lord*, in itself the profoundest peace, and an elevation of soul which *transforms earth to Heaven*. To unite oneself with the multitudinous host of the Blessed who are adoring Him on the visible Throne of His Presence above, recognising the *Unity of His Person* and the Reality of His Substance, the *oneness* of the veiled and the unveiled glory of the Incarnate God, *as He adapts His earthly manifestation to our present state*, while yet He leaves not His abode of ineffable Light where the Heavenly Hierarchies ceaselessly worship Him—*this is even now to be in Heaven*. It is to honour Him for His own dear sake, without the benefit to ourselves which Communion gives. And it may be all the more pleasing to Him, because of the many profanations and irreverences of those who discern Him not, and pass Him by, or knowing Him to be there, turn their backs upon Him, or because of the lack of devotion in those who do discern Him and yet fail to pay Him that homage of praise which is His due. Love, if it were possible, would ever seek to repair the dishonour of the loved one. The very fact that He is disowned by others, quickens the desire to surround him with additional marks of loving reverence. Our acts, indeed, can add nothing to God; nor can one creature compensate for, any more than he can redeem, another. We cannot repair a wrong done to Him, as though one's own offering of love could be accepted in another's stead, to supply the loss, or do away the wrong, or set another free. But love is generous, and the heart's desires have, because of love, a value which is not their own, when heart meets heart in mutual sympathy. And when again and again our LORD—as of old in visible Presence, so now in sacra-

mental verity—comes, and His own receive Him not, *He must needs turn with satisfaction to those who count it joy even to be near Him, though they then seek no more, or draw not nearer, because they wait till their more perfect preparation has made them less unworthy*. They come and tell Him what that interval of Communion has been to them, beyond all other times; how the longing for the Gift of Himself has grown with the growth of that Reception, how the increasing frequency of that wondrous Gift fills their heart with thanksgiving. *They come and tell Him all this in His very Presence, and certainly it must be an act very pleasing to Him*. To own our Lord when He mercifully comes to us, though we do no more, while the world proudly passes by, or canvasses with sceptical questioning the awful Mystery, as a mere controversy of the day, on which men may choose their sides, while He withdraws not *His dishonoured Presence*, in His longing to bless even those that turn away from Him—*this is surely an act of love all the more precious because there is so much to disappoint and grieve*."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xiv. pp. 151-153.

That the artificial excitement and exaggeration of feeling which so materialistic, and, as it may well be termed, *sensuous*, a view of Eucharistic Communion with Christ is calculated to induce cannot be sustained, is no more than might be expected, and is confessed by Mr. Carter himself. His explanation of the alternations of state, resulting from the feeling of *unreality* inseparable from the attempt to realise that communion in a sense different from Christ's teaching and intention, and therefore from the *true reality*, is as deeply instructive as the feeling itself cannot fail to be distressing and perplexing to the soul :—

"Our Lord's imparting Himself to us does not imply that we are *always* to be in the *very* state in which we are when we *actually* receive Him. This would be *inconsistent with our earthly condition*; it would be Heaven itself before its time, an entrance completed into that fulness of joy which is reserved as the promised beatitude of a blissful eternity, when our transformed and glorified nature will become capable of an unchanging, abiding unity of Life in God. It would be inconsistent, as with our earthly state, so with our earthly discipline, with the law of gradual advancement. The Eucharistic Presence is intended to be a foretaste of Heaven, a *coming in, from time to time, of a most blessed accession of Divine Strength*, an antepast of the Eternal Communion which will hereafter be ever full, yet ever-increasing. It is indeed, *for the time*, a fulness of possession, a peaceful absorbedness in the Divine Life, overshadowing and possessing our whole nature;

² See Note E.

* See Note S.

but it is not intended that this should continue the same on our return to our habitual converse with the outer world, its claims of duty and of fellowship, its cares and its conflicts, its trials and endurances.

"In every renewed reception, indeed, we receive an increase of grace, as the result of *another act* of complete union; but afterwards *we return to our more ordinary state*, ever advancing, indeed, according to the degree of our co-operation with our Lord, yet *still ever*, with the advance, *retiring to the habitual level*, even while conscious of His Presence. Not that the influence, the power of His Presence is withdrawn, but that, according to the law of our gradual growth, *we subside into what we are ourselves by grace enabled to be*; we return from that high converse which has, *while it lasts*, a consciousness of entire possession, a completeness and fulness of union, into *a sense of needed effort*, the exercise of our own power and energies, which, though secretly sustained by Him, are yet *our own*. Not that we are not still in Him, not that we have not still all the assurance of the oneness of which the Eucharist is the Divine Seal and Pledge, but that there is *a withdrawal from the soul* of that conscious flood-tide of grace which, *pausing for a while at its height*, ebbs, *often quickly*, drawn back into its own depths, not indeed ever far from us, *not gone out from us, but hidden*, its effects remaining to be worked into and out of us through active practical correspondence of our being with His, our mission in the world with His mission in us."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* vii. pp. 64, 65.

Looking on the one hand to the clearly idolatrous character of Eucharistic Adoration, and on the other hand to the debasing effect which it has on the minds of its votaries, as regards both their conception of the Divine Nature and purpose, and especially of the Person of the Godman, and the character of their worship, the question naturally occurs, how it comes to pass that such a theory as that whereon it is based could ever have found acceptance with men of undoubted piety, such as the leaders and teachers of the Materialistic School confessedly are. The answer to this question is supplied by one, and that not the least distinguished, among themselves. It is, Mr. Keble tells us, "*what natural piety would suggest*"³—"there is very much in *man's natural heart* to bespeak our favourable acceptance" of it.⁴ It is the *natural predisposition of the human heart to idolatry*, that is, to the external worship of an external visible object, that has led to this perversion of Christ's life-giving Sacrament, even

as it led in ancient times to the worship of the brazen serpent which was a type of Christ.⁵ In curious contrast with this unsuspecting reliance on "*the promptings of natural piety*,"⁶ or, as he elsewhere more guardedly expresses it, "*the promptings of renewed nature*,"⁷ is the faltering tone of Mr. Keble's appeal to God's Word. "*What Holy Scripture may appear to sanction*,"⁸ is his expression there. Here we have the key to the whole matter. The *natural heart* takes the initiative, and for what it *suggests* the sanction of Holy Scripture is *sought*, and, though it be but an *apparent* sanction, is gladly accepted:—

"If the *general presumption* from Scripture and from *Natural Piety be in favour* of Eucharistical Adoration, then *doubtful passages in Scripture*, in Fathers and Liturgies, and in our own Formularies, *should be construed in that sense*. But such presumption does exist, unquestionably, to a *very great amount*. Therefore such should be our rule of interpretation."—Keble, *Euchar. Ador.*, Preface p. vi.

On such a basis, and with such a canon of interpretation of Holy Scripture, where it speaks "*doubtfully*," it is hard to say to what excess of error the mind may not be carried. One fundamental fallacy, once well established, will suffice, especially when supported by the authority of some great names, to bear an immense superstructure of false doctrine. So it has happened in this case. Mr. Keble who so *naïvely* points out to us "*natural piety*" as the source from which the whole theory springs, acquaints us, likewise, with the authority on which he relies to make good its foundation. After affirming—what, if it were true, would go far to settle the question—that "*the whole Christian world had, with one voice, been declaring its faith in such a Presence as no man could believe without adoring*," he adds, "*This I do not profess to demonstrate, but accept it as demonstrated by Dr. Pusey and others*."⁹ To this "*demonstration*," then, let us turn, and see what it amounts to. We have it most opportunely before us in a sermon published quite recently, for the confirmation, as it would appear, of wavering disciples, which contains the "*last word*" of the great master whose name is generally deemed sufficient by his disciples to

³ Numb. xxi. 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; St. John iii. 14.

⁶ Keble, *Euchar. Ador.*, i. Title p. 1.

⁷ Ibid., i. 10 p. 8.

⁸ Ibid., i. p. 1.

⁹ Keble, *Euchar. Ador.*, Preface pp. vi., vii.

³ Keble, *Euchar. Ador.*, i. p. 1.

⁴ Ibid., Preface, p. vii.

establish the truth of anything asserted and vouched for by him.

The sermon opens with an imposing claim for absolute submission of the mind on the part of the hearer or reader.

"Once within the shrine of revelation, one only question is there, 'What hath God said?' And herein, though with a seeming modesty, it has the same presumption to say, on *a priori* grounds, 'God must have meant this,' as to say, 'This, God cannot have meant.' For in either case alike we make ourselves judges of what it most befits His infinite wisdom to do or to declare. In more modest forms of speech we should, in fact, say, 'So should I do, if I were God.' . . . This is our one question, not 'what should we expect God to say,' but 'what has God said?'"—*Pusey's Sermon*, pp. 5—7.

The cogency of this principle we fully admit, and we are prepared to accept all the consequences that may flow from it, when honestly applied. But the question remains behind, whether this has been done in this very sermon. The Text prefixed to it is this :

St. Matt. xxvi. 26.—"Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat ; This is My Body."

Of this text, however, the *last words* only are taken into consideration by the preacher, and prefixed to the sermon as its title. Now it does not seem an unreasonable suggestion that the same reverence for what "God hath said" which bars the "presumption" of saying, "God must have meant this" or "This God cannot have meant," should *a fortiori* bar the "presumption" of dis-severing and mutilating what "God hath said," taking up a portion only of what He has said, and ignoring the rest. This is precisely what, in this sermon, Dr. Pusey has "*presumed*" to do. The Words of the Lord Jesus are: "*Take, eat, this is My Body.*" Dr. Pusey, omitting the former, rests his whole argument on the words, "*This is My Body.*" To understand the nature and extent of this presumptuous mutilation of Christ's words, we should endeavour to realise what Christ must have done or said, to justify the notions and practices inculcated in the writings of the School represented by this sermon of its master. If our Lord, after breaking the Bread and blessing it with thanksgiving, had laid it on the table and said to His disciples, "Look on this ; this is My Body," then, indeed, there would have been no room for doubt ; we should all be

bound to believe that on the rehearsal of His Words by His minister, in obedience to His command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," Christ, first incarnate, and since impanate, was laid on the altar, and that, lying there, or being held up by the minister, or enclosed in a monstrance, or carried forth to be gazed upon, was the manifested God to whom adoration is due.¹ Christ, however, did and said no such thing ; and to argue and to act as if He had said or done it, is evidently a most "presumptuous," and, by necessary consequence, a most sinful proceeding.²

But it is not this presumption only, of thus making the Word of Christ, dis-severed and mutilated, the basis of a doctrinal statement at variance with Christ's meaning and intention, that we have to complain of. There is superadded to it by Mr. Keble an insidious gloss. Taking the meaning of Christ's Words in the sense which, when dis-severed and mutilated, they admit of, he goes on to assert, not only that Christ declared Himself present, but that He "declared Himself *especially* present"³ in the Bread ; the "especial presence" so alleged being that very materialistic incorporation and identification of the Body of Christ with the Bread, which, if it were a fact and not a figment, would unquestionably warrant the adoration of the Sacramental Elements so earnestly contended for as a Christian duty, and on the assumption of which the whole of Mr. Keble's essay turns. Unfortunately for his argument it is simply untrue that Christ "declared himself *especially* present," and equally untrue that He declared Himself present at all, in the sense put upon His Words "This is My Body."

Utterly repudiating, as we are constrained to do, those erroneous and unworthy notions of Christ and of His Presence in the Holy Eucharist, we may be challenged to state in what sense, if at all, we admit that Presence. Our answer to that challenge—since our object is not merely to criticise the views of those who misconceive that great Mystery, but to vindicate and establish the truth of the Holy Eucharist—is both ready and easy. That the words of institution, uttered by the lips of Him who is the Truth and the Life, convey, and must be re-

¹ See Note F.

² See Note G.

³ Keble, *Eucharistic Adoration*, i. 2 p. L

ceived as conveying, the assertion of a *reality*—in other words, that the Lord Jesus *meant* what he said, when He said “This is My Body,” “This is My Blood,”—we hold to be beyond doubt or dispute, except on the part of unbelievers. To all attempts to explain away their *real* meaning we are no less opposed than to the falsification of their meaning by the Materialistic School.

What, then, is, what must we acknowledge to be, the true and *real* meaning of His Words? That without a supernatural, miraculous operation on the part of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, no *reality* can correspond to the Words “*This is My Body*,” “*This is My Blood*,” is self-evident; and equally evident it is that by those very words of institution, and by the command to “*do this in remembrance of Him*,” Christ stands pledged to that supernatural, miraculous operation, in every celebration of the Holy Eucharist by those on whom the Apostolic Commission to “*do this*” has descended. But, on the other hand, it is equally evident that this pledge of Christ to effect that supernatural, miraculous operation, and by consequence our belief in its *reality*, must be determined and limited by the conditions under which, and the purpose for which, Christ so pledged Himself. The meaning of the word “*This*,” therefore, when Christ said “*This is My Body*,” is necessarily determined by the precedent words: “*Take and eat*.” As if He had said “*This which I give you to eat, is My Body* ;” not “*this which I give you to do with what you think fit*.” By the connexion of the words “*Take and eat*” with the words “*This is My Body*,” every other use of “*this*” so given, and therewith every other sense attached to the word “*This*” is excluded. It is not “*this*” in the abstract, but “*this to be taken and eaten*.”⁴ This view of the construction to be put upon the word “*this*” is strengthened and made obligatory by the very order in which the words were spoken. Even if our Lord had said: “*This is My Body; take and eat it*,” the determining and limiting force of the latter clause must, upon every fair principle of interpretation, have been taken to have a retrospective bearing upon the preceding word “*This* ;” though in that case it might have been open to subtle minds to argue for a wider and more absolute sense to be attributed to the word “*This*.” Such a latitude of construction,

however, is barred by the fact that the use of the thing given, and with it the sense of “*this*,” is pointed out expressly in the words accompanying, or rather prefacing, the act of giving. Thus it is evident and undeniable that the sense put upon “*this*” in the sermon “*This is my Body*,” and by the School whose views that sermon represents, is an addition, unwarranted, and therefore unlawful, to the Word of Christ, and to the Ordinance instituted by that Word.

What is thus demonstrable on grammatical, is not less so on theological grounds. Let us endeavour, reverently, not in “*presumption*” but in “*faith*,” not by way of plausible conjecture “*suggested by natural piety*,” but by way of firm assurance “*sanctioned by Holy Scripture*,” to follow, and, as far as the limits of the human mind may permit, to trace, the course of Christ’s supernatural operation in that Holy Mystery.

Here, however, a preliminary difficulty presents itself to many minds in the fact that on the occasion of His instituting the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, the Lord Jesus sat in the midst of His disciples, before their eyes, in visible presence, in the verity of His natural Body. What, it is asked, could His disciples have understood Him to mean when He said, “*Take, eat, this is My Body*”; “*Drink ye all of this, this is My Blood*.” They must surely, so reasons the natural intellect, have considered His words to bear not a real, but a figurative meaning. But the act of eating and drinking which He commanded them to perform was not a *figurative*, but a *real* act; nor could they have forgotten the earnestness and the emphatic repetition of His statement that He was the Bread of Life; that to eat His Flesh and drink His Blood was the way, and the only way, to obtain Life Eternal; that His Flesh was meat indeed, *real* meat, and His Blood, drink indeed, *real* drink.⁵ They had been fully instructed, moreover, that the time of His passion was close at hand, when He would actually, in very reality, give His Body and Blood for the life of the world. However much, therefore, they might be, and doubtless were, perplexed by the declaration that *this* Bread, which He gave them to eat, was His Body, *this* Wine which He gave them to drink His Blood, they could not possibly take them, and the act of eating and drinking them, to be mere figures; they could not

⁴ See Note H.

⁵ See Note I.

doubt that, by doing as He bade them, they would, in reality, be made partakers of His Body and of His Blood. They must have felt that in all this they were the subjects of a supernatural, a mysterious operation; and thus obedience to His command was, on their part, a simple *act of faith*. Their case, therefore, did not materially differ from the case of those who should, in after ages, and until His coming again, —even as they themselves did after His Resurrection and Ascension—receive, eat and drink, His Body and Blood in a Mystery.

Nor was this strong demand upon the faith of the disciples made without ample preparation. During His three years' ministry there had been many incidents, and in His discourses with them many intimations, which would induce in their minds the conviction that He that dwelt among them as a man, though they saw Him with their eyes, and handled Him with their hands, was not an ordinary man, but a Supernatural Being; that His relations even to the world of matter were supernatural, and His Word omnipotent. Some of them had been eyewitnesses of His Transfiguration; all had heard Him declare, while He was standing before them on this earth, that He, the Son of Man, was, *even then*, in Heaven.⁶ This memorable declaration of our Lord at once furnishes the key to the whole Mystery of Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist. In the hour of its institution there was, by virtue of the simultaneous existence of the Godman both in Heaven and on earth, an anticipation of that which is now, and for ever will be, the standing miracle of His Church, the communication of His then humbled, now glorified, and, whether humbled or glorified, ever *true* and always the *same*, God-inhabited, God united Humanity. The miracle was the same then, as it is now. It is from that God-inhabited, God-united Humanity, now exalted to glory, that the Body and Blood, once offered upon the Cross as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and, by the Resurrection and Ascension, transformed from the *natural* to the *spiritual* state and sphere, is supernaturally imparted to all those who, in the "obedience of faith" fulfil His command, "*Take, eat, this is My Body.*" "*Drink ye all of this, this is my Blood.*"

His earthly ministers to whom, and through them to all that should believe in Him through

their word,⁷ He addressed this command, in performing the acts which He performed, and speaking the words which He spake, do so in reliance on His promise, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."⁸ The main point to which our attention has to be directed is that which is involved in, pledged by, this promise—viz., the perpetual, invisible, but real and effectual Presence of Christ with those who are assembled in His Name and for the carrying out of His command. If any man ask, "*Where is that Presence,*" we answer:—Doubtless it is in Heaven, whither He has ascended, where He sitteth at the right hand of God. But is it confined to heaven? Assuredly not. Christ is God: God is Omnipresent; therefore Christ is Omnipresent. He needeth not to leave His Throne in Heaven, to make good to His disciples His promise of perpetual Presence with them here on earth; nor is this Divine attribute of Omnipresence confined to His Godhead. Through the intimate personal union of Godhead and Manhood in Christ, this attribute passes to the Godmanhood in its glorified state, the Body of Christ being no longer a "natural" but a "spiritual" Body,⁹ which is not subject to the limitations of time or space. But this Omnipresent Godmanhood is not at all times and in all places manifested. By His own appointment it is ordinarily veiled from the dwellers upon earth. It may be invoked by them at all times, and His gracious response to those that call upon Him in truth, is Its manifestation. If invoked by them on a special occasion, for a special purpose,—that purpose being consonant with His will,—a special manifestation of It for that special purpose is vouchsafed;—and thus we arrive at the idea of a special Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. It is an outflowing of the Omnipresence of Christ, the Godman in His glorified Manhood enthroned in Heaven, to those that seek Him, *in the way appointed by Himself*, here on earth. The purpose of this particular appointment, so made by Him, is plainly declared by Himself. "I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven: if any man eat of this Bread, he shall live for ever; and the Bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you,

⁷ St. John xvii. 20.

⁸ See Note J.

⁹ See Note K.

⁶ St. John iii. 13.

Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, hath Eternal Life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed; he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him."¹ It is for the purpose of enabling those who, believing in Him, should seek for Eternal Life through Him, to eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, that "He took Bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it and said, 'Take, eat, this is My Body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me;' and 'after the same manner also He took the Cup, saying, 'This Cup is the New Testament in My Blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.'"² The devout communicant, therefore,—who comes to "do this in remembrance," not of his *Crucified* Saviour only, once for all offered upon the Cross, but of his *Glorified* Saviour, Omnipresent and Everpresent in Heaven; always, albeit invisibly, present likewise on earth, and specially manifesting His Presence to those that seek Him and obey His Command in His own Ordinance,—has the fullest warrant for believing that when he comes in such "obedience of faith" to do what Christ has bidden him to do, this Bread and this Cup is "verily and indeed" the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ,³ whereof he is "verily and indeed" made a partaker by Christ Himself, then and there specially, and for a special purpose, manifesting His Presence and giving His Flesh to be eaten and His Blood to be drunk in a mystery,—after a heavenly and spiritual manner of His Presence, surpassing the comprehension of the finite intellect reasoning about things spiritual in a materialistic fashion. He has, to use the phraseology of the schools, a "*real*," not an "*ideal*," a "*spiritual*," not a "*material*," and a "*subjective*," as well as "*objective*" Presence of Christ's Body and Blood. All this he has; in all this he finds, even as he seeks, Life,—Life Eternal—now, while he continues to dwell here on earth, as well as the pledge of Life Eternal hereafter, in the Paradise of God, in

the presence of Christ in Heaven, when his soul shall have been freed from the body of this death; to be followed, after the resurrection of the last day, by Eternal Life in the New Creation. Is not this enough? What more, what else, can he want or desire?

Is it becoming, is it consistent with the reverence due to Christ so manifested to him, that he should ask curious and impertinent questions concerning this Heavenly Mystery? In a mind and heart filled to overflowing with the sense of that Mysterious, Life-giving Presence, can there be room, or leisure, for such questions? ⁴ Shall he indulge in fanciful speculations and importune the Holy Ghost for affirmative or negative answers as to the truth of such speculations, founded on no warrant of God's Word, but only on the vague suggestions of "natural piety," and the presumptuous inferences of a hard materialistic logic? Is not the very fact of such questions obtruding themselves upon the mind a proof of the injurious effect produced by the vain efforts of the human intellect to grasp the Infinite, to localise on earth things in their nature heavenly, and to materialise things spiritual, which cannot be otherwise than spiritually discerned? What other result can be looked for from such unhallowed intrusion into "the deep things of God," than that the light beaming forth from the glorious cloud of Divine Mystery should be obscured by mists of human fancy, and the clear vision of faith offuscated and perplexed by vain phantoms of superstition? The state of spiritual blindness thus engendered does indeed, as it alone can, account for the upgrowth of the strange devices and imaginings of those novel Eucharistic theories which are rife at this time in the field of theology, and in the "high places" of ritualistic will-worship, and by which the peace of the Church is sadly broken and pious souls are miserably disquieted. Truly marvellous it is that, in the face of the simple command and promise of Christ, which forms the basis of true Eucharistic worship, any should have the temerity to claim the benefit of the latter, while of deliberate purpose dispensing with obedience to the former, as is done in non-communicant attendance on the Holy Eucharist.

¹ St. John vi. 51, 53-56.

² See Note L.

³ 1 Cor. x. 16.

⁴ See Note M.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART IV.—(*Second Division and Appendix.*)

THE MATERIALISTIC THEORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST TESTED BY THE WORD OF GOD.

It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Keble, at least, is not responsible for this fruit of his own doctrine,⁶ of which, however, it was no more than a natural result. In defence of it, Mr. Carter, speaking of the "propitiatory" character of the Sacrament, observes:—

"For this end as well as for the life-giving Communion of Himself, our Lord ordained the perpetuation of His sacramental act. We are to 'show forth our Lord's Death till He come,' and in this Memorial Offering *all who are present may unite, even though they communicate not.* In the case of the Priest communion is of necessity, or there would not be a true sacrifice. *The Priest must eat of the Sacrifice which he offers, for the consumption is the completeness of the surrender of the sacrifice. But this same necessity does not lie in the same way on others who are present. They only need to unite themselves with him, the celebrating priest,* and in joining with him they make his offering their own, sharing with him in its blessedness."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* x. pp. 99, 100.

The coolness with which our Lord's Words, "Drink ye all of this," are superseded by Mr. Carter's *ipse dixit*, "they may unite, even though they communicate not," is astounding. The abuse of the Sacrament which it is attempted thus to justify, and which, we regret to say, is coming more and more into vogue as a substitute for the Holy Communion, is one of the evil fruits of the materialistic doctrine by which, if there were no other proof, it would stand condemned, on the principle that the "tree is known by its fruit."⁶ This new "devotion," as it is called, or, as in truth it is, this new fashion of will-worship, aggravates manifest disobedience to Christ's Word by a pretended act of homage. In a matter of this kind, which

touches, so to speak, the Person of Christ Himself, this is truly awful. To do with Christ Himself,—according to the daring hypothesis of the materialistic theory,—as we list;—to take and eat, which He has commanded, or else, leaving His Gift of Himself untasted;—to gaze and adore, which He has *not* commanded, and which is plainly contrary to His Holy Word;—to treat Him, in fact, as if He were—the Godman indeed, but the Godman reduced to the condition of a *Thing*, to be done with as His creatures may think proper, according to the promptings of their own minds, which under the name of "Natural Piety," are made their rule of belief and action—in such a matter as this, we say, deliberately to do under colour of professed homage to Christ an unauthorised act, while leaving His positive command unfulfilled, cannot be other than a grievous, a deadly sin. It is, in fact, the identical sin for which Saul was rejected from being king over Israel; the sin which drew from the inspired lips of the prophet the withering rebuke: "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to *obey is better than sacrifice*, and to *hearken* than the fat of rams. For *rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness as iniquity and idolatry.*"⁷

Are they who deal thus in wilfulness with the Lord Jesus Christ Himself actually Present—though not in the carnal manner pretended by them—in the Holy Eucharist, not afraid of the awful punishment of the sin they are committing and encouraging, yea, urging others to commit? Have they no misgiving of being visited with that most terrible of God's judgments, spiritual blindness? Is not the state of

⁶ See Note N.

⁶ St. Matt. xli. 33.

⁷ 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23

perplexity, of uncertainty, of wavering in the faith, in which they confessedly are,—some to such an extent as to have led them to open apostasy from the Truth and the Church of Christ,—to the embracing of the lie of Rome, while preaching the truth of the Gospel;—is not the obliquity of mind, the transparent sophistry to which they are forced to have recourse in order to defend their position—are not all these fearful symptoms of their spiritual peril, of the “blindness in part”⁸ which appears to have happened unto them as it did to Israel of old,—of *judicial* blindness, the judgment of God who “is a Spirit,” and who will be “worshipped in Spirit and in Truth”⁹—if not actually executed upon them, at least hanging over their heads? Is there not a cause for warning them and their benighted followers?

It is surely not a little remarkable that in the mind of Mr. Keble himself there seemed to linger a lurking suspicion that after all Transubstantiation may not be the deadly error which his Church has solemnly pronounced it to be. In speaking of it his trumpet gives a sadly uncertain sound. There is, he says, “nothing in it that seems *immediately profane and shocking* to a religious mind,” but, on the contrary, he thinks it is “fully consistent with the very highest contemplations and devourest breathings of saintly love.”¹ When calling it an “error” he apologises for doing so, on the ground of his being “an English Churchman,” adding withal the saving clause “*if it be an error*.”² While confessing that a “kind of idolatry” is “involved in the very notion of Transubstantiation,” he again adds the saving clause, “*supposing that notion to be untrue*.”³ Still more curious is what follows:—

“To worship the outward part of the Sacrament must, of course (to use a school distinction), be *material* idolatry in their eyes who have learned and believe that it is true Bread and Wine; although in those whose faith teaches them that there is really no outward part, that the holy Body and Blood are alone present, such worship can hardly be *formal* idolatry, nor in any degree (we may hope) incur the guilt thereof. No wonder, however, if the mind, haunted by this idea, *shrink more or less* from the thought of any worship in the Eucharist. And yet, when we reflect on it in earnest, *how can the heart help wor-*

shipping? The remedy must be, to place yourself, *i. e.* God’s help, with courageous faith, in the same posture of mind with the ancient undivided Church before these theories were invented; simply to adore, from simple conviction of Christ’s presence.”—*Keble, Euch. Ador.*, iv. 4 pp. 139, 140.

The concluding advice is good, no doubt, if the meaning is that the mind should divest itself—supposing that to be possible, when once perverted by speculative error—of all notions as to the manner of His presence; but it is not altogether free from suspicion, when it occurs in the midst of elaborate arguments to show that Christ’s incorporation with the material elements is the only conceivable mode. Mr. Carter, also, seems to give similar advice:—

“Although in the Blessed Communion we most *closely touch* our LORD, and *are touched* by Him, *feel his contact*, and *taste* of His fulness; yet we are but perplexed if we therefore endeavour to trace more clearly His Footsteps, or think to *comprehend the manner of His Presence*. He is in this wonderful nearness as inscrutable as ever. It is rather as if the nearer He came, the more He imparted Himself to us in our present state, the more impervious the veil that is drawn between Him and us, as though the very excess of light rendered the vision more impalpable; the more impossible it becomes to penetrate the screen within which He conceals Himself, if we are not content to receive Him in pure unquestioning faith. Therefore it is an axiom of Truth, that while *we know as a fact the reality of the Divine Presence, yet the mode in which it is fulfilled we know not*. We are at best but as children listening to some strange music, or looking upon mysterious visions, awakening deepest raptures of feeling, while they lisp solemn words, incapable of apprehending the meaning.”—*Carter, Spiritual Instruction* xi. 107, 108.

And again, in another place, he says:—

“While the Presence of God is thus acknowledged and felt, Its hiddenness is preserved with the utmost jealousy, so that to seek to approach too near is to *run the risk of losing what we have embraced*, if not to *suffer from the too daring attempt*. Its law is hiddenness and mystery, only making Itself known to the inward senses, not to the outward, revealing Itself only to the souls of those who can “discern” Him. The creature must *reverence the concealment* of Him ‘Whose Name is secret.’ If we attempt to define too accurately, to examine too curiously, *the mind becomes confused*. The cloud is drawn around the mount. The very vision which faith had apprehended floats before the sight, vanishing from the grasp. It is an equal mystery in either case. *God avenges His Secrecy*, the sanctity of His veiled abode, while He penetrates the inmost sense with an inde-

⁸ Romans xi. 25.

⁹ St. John iv. 24.

¹ Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, iv. 2 p. 135.

² Keble, *Ibid.*

³ Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, iv. 4, p. 139.

finable awe."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xv. pp. 162, 163.

Wherefore, then, should we run such tremendous risks? Wherefore should we insist on scrutinising what is confessedly inscrutable? Why entangle ourselves in vain attempts to dogmatise, and to draw upon our fallible reason for what may seem to it suitable or allowable modes of approaching Christ, when all that is required of us is simple, childlike, unquestioning "obedience of faith" to His appointment and injunction? Why might not Mr. Keble himself have adopted the remedy he recommends, "courageous faith" which asks no idle questions? Had he done so, he would have spared himself and his numerous followers and admirers those hesitating thoughts so well expressed by himself:—

"You fear to surrender yourself to this impulse; you fear to adore before you eat,"
—observe how near he comes here to the critical point where lawful adoration turns to idolatry. How different to adore *while eating* because it is said "*This is my Body*," and to adore *before eating*, because of "*this*," unless it be eaten, seeing it is given to be eaten, it is not so said, nor intended by Christ—

"... lest you should be unawares committing yourself to a kind of idolatry in worshipping Bread and Wine, or to a gross material conceit."—Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, iv. 4 p. 139.

More than this, he might have spared himself, —what certainly does not redound to his credit, and must have been a source of great discomfort to so tender a conscience as his was when not warped by an erroneous theory,⁴ —that half-conscious antagonism to the Church of which he was an ordained minister and a distinguished ornament, the reproach of which he labours in vain to avert from himself by arguments the weakness and fallacy of which could hardly have escaped so acute a mind. Conscious of his inability to adduce any word of Holy Scripture enjoining, or even countenancing or warranting, the Adoration of the sacramental elements, he turns upon those who object to such idolatry with a challenge to produce an *express prohibition* of the practice, and in the absence of it he asks, in a tone of triumph, "why we should do violence to so many *instincts of our nature*."⁵ He declares it to be—

"imperative upon the prohibitors to produce some irresistible authority from Holy Scripture, or express Church law, if they would bring their prohibition

home to a Christian man's conscience."—Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, ii. 17 p. 30.

To the challenge here thrown out, most men would consider a sufficient response was made by the Church to whose Articles Mr. Keble had given and solemnly averred his "unfeigned assent," in the statement that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was *not*, by *Christ's Ordinance*, reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped,"⁶ a statement of which Mr. Keble disposes in manner following:—

"This being the *only* place in the Articles, where Eucharistical Adoration is mentioned, it seems *natural* to look to it for an *explanation* of the sentence. Yet many, perhaps, may feel hesitation in doing so; the premiss will appear to them so palpably unable to support the conclusion, that they will cast about in their mind for some other ground on which the judges must have proceeded. For what, after all, does this proposition amount to, "The Sacrament was not by Christ's ordinance worshipped"? Take it in its logical form; it is *not so much as a censure* on the practice. It *need not mean more* than that the outward adoration was *no necessary* part of our Lord's institution."—Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, iv. 16 p. 164.

According to Mr. Keble, all the Church means—at least we *need not understand her to mean any more*!—is, that the acts there enumerated, and the "outward Adoration" connected with them, are *not necessary* to be done!! The logic and the honesty of this argument are pretty much on a par. It is a fine specimen, indeed, of the art of understanding language in a "non-natural" sense—that is, in a sense the very reverse of that which it is intended to convey. Lamentable as are such departures from plain truth and common rectitude, they are at the same time most instructive; they may well serve as a warning against the spiritual dangers involved in dealing with so deep and sacred a Mystery of God's own Nature, and of His purpose of love to make man a partaker of that Nature, on a basis of "presumption" under the guise of "piety"—"piety" not inwrought by the Spirit of the Living God, but the spontaneous growth of *man's own spirit*, termed "*natural piety*." In Mr. Keble's own mind, as we have seen, the result was not confined to the adoption of a system of dishonest sophistry; there was a painful wavering, an irresistible oscillation of thought towards error, a deplorable unsteadiness of faith.⁷ That similar effects should be ex-

⁶ Art. xxviii.

⁷ Witness the well-known and most distressing substitution of "hand" for "heart" in the "Christian Year."

⁴ See Note O.

⁵ Keble, *Euch. Ador.*, ii. 1, p. 12.

perienced by those who are placed under such pernicious teaching, is no more than might be expected. It is the very nature of a faith and worship thus debased that its fruits should, even when it is carried out to actual reception, too often prove evanescent. Mr. Carter himself confesses as much :—

“There needs a *clinging* recollection of that Blessed Presence which has entered in to possess us. One great cause of failure is, that *we so soon forget it*. Often even *as we leave the altar, as our step passes beyond the sanctuary, the consciousness is gone*. So changeable and fickle are our hearts, we forget Him on Whom our souls had just been feeding as our very life. One brief moment, and *all has passed from us*. So variable is our nature. One thought succeeds another rapidly. A passing impulse is stirred, and *the whole soul is changed*, and that Communion in which we had been so wrapped, so absorbed, is now *afar off, is as though it had never been*. Something has intervened between Him and our *consciousness of His Presence*. There has come a cloud, though it be of the thinnest film, but it has extinguished the sacred light, and robbed the soul of *the unearthly vision*.”—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* iii. p. 26.

Such failures, such experiences of obliviousness, are not, indeed, confined to Eucharistic worship on the “materialistic” theory. The most spiritually-minded Communicant is liable to sad variations of his state. But it is at once evident that they must be more common as well as more distressing, and more hurtful to the soul, in the case of those whose approach to Christ is not an ascent of the soul by faith to Him enthroned in Heaven, but a groping after Him here on earth, whither He is supposed to have re-descended for the worshipper’s “accommodation,” as God manifest in the Bread, and so subject to all the conditions and limitations of time and space by which the worshipper himself is circumscribed and tied down, and above which to lift him is the very object for which Christ instituted the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood. May not the evanescent character of the effect produced, as described above, be attributable to this very cause, that the Mystery is lowered down to the sphere of outward things, in which the mere emotions of sensitive and excitable natures are mistaken for spiritual impressions? May not such an inference be legitimately drawn, when we are told that “for the *moment*⁸ of reception, at least, we are translated into *Paradise*, filled

with Heaven, with God;” that “whether we be more ourselves, or more our Lord in us, we cannot tell.”⁹

In saying this we do not mean to call in question the possibility of happier results, such as, in language exquisitely beautiful, Mr. Carter elsewhere describes :—

“If our course be true, our life, ever fed by our Lord within us, will be lost in God. Our whole nature forced from its old instincts, its active zeal raised to a higher level, will reach to a diviner thought, a holier charity, a bearing and forbearing, a perfectness of patience, in which converse with the outer world becomes already an anticipation of the communion of the saints above. Even as when the sunshine comes down in full power upon the sea, the line which marks the horizon melts into a yet brighter ray, and heaven and earth as they meet kiss each other, blending undistinguishably in perfect harmony—so our lives, in which the eternal light is shining, will be suffused with a supernatural glory, and, as we keep our destined course, our earthly state will assume the semblance of the heavenly, Christ transformed in us, and we all but deified in Him; our lives will be midway between heaven and earth, touching earth with our feet, while our spirits are in Heaven.”—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* iii. p. 28.

That many pious souls, living in the full and constant enjoyment of their Eucharistic privileges, may, theoretical errors notwithstanding, attain such blessed fruits of their devotion, not only we dare not doubt, but we may gladly hope and believe; even as we may cherish the like hope and belief for many devout Romanists, whose sacramental Union with Christ is effected under the cloud of Transubstantiation and imperfect reception, as well as for many members of our Church, and even of separatist communions, whose hearts are longing after Union with Christ, and are seeking it in the way appointed by Himself, while their doctrinal views are exceedingly dim, and possibly defective. Christ, we know, is merciful, willing to accept even an imperfect service; and errors of the head, even while the intellect retains them, may be unconsciously corrected in the heart by the Holy Ghost Who “helpeth our infirmities,” and, “whereas we knew not what we should pray for, as we ought,” “Himself intercedeth for us with unutterable groanings.”¹ But this furnishes no excuse or palliation for unsound teaching, whether in the way of shortcoming or of excess. The most glowing

⁹ Carter, *Spir. Instr.* iv. p. 31.

¹ Rom. viii. 26.

⁸ See Note P.

description of the fruits expected—and, through the infinitude of the Divine Mercy, not impossibly attained—cannot be admitted as evidence of the soundness of the doctrine under the influence of which—not *through* which, but, it may be, *in spite of* which—they have grown to ripeness. The truth or falsehood of any given line of doctrine is not affected thereby; nor is the responsibility of those in any degree lessened, who, not “trusting in the Lord with all their heart,” but “leaning to their own understanding”² and the promptings of “natural piety,” wrest the Word of God from its true sense, and embellish God’s Truth with a varnish of human error. Who shall tell while some happily escape the baneful effect of unsound doctrine—how many are misled and corrupted by it? Who shall tell how large a share the spread of these notions has in producing those morbid states of mind which, under the name of religious insanity, are withdrawn from public observation; in fostering, according to the predisposition of the natural temperament, the sickly religious sentimentality, or, more repulsive still, the habit of frivolous trifling with religion and its observances,—and, concurrent with both, the general lowering and enervation of the moral tone by which the healthful religious temper of a more thoughtful and less sensational age has been supplanted—to say nothing of the base superstitions, the fanciful practices, the vile abuses, the fanatical excesses, culminating in profanations too horrible to be named,³ which history records? Last, not least, who shall tell how many are, as is too often the case, by the reaction which religious error and folly is so apt to provoke, turned and driven away from the Truth altogether into the dark and deadly paths of unbelief! Of the souls whose salvation is thus hindered and imperilled—aye, and of the souls finally lost—who shall give account?

But even where the mischief done by the false teaching in question stops short of open and gross manifestations of its pernicious character, it is fraught with a twofold snare of perilous self-deception. On the one hand there is the conceit of spiritual superiority which, Mr. Carter’s teaching more especially, is directly calculated to foster. According to him there are two kinds of Christians, both making pro-

fession of the Name of Christ, and both, it would appear, entitled to look for salvation through Christ; the one inferior—the common herd, so to speak, of believers—the other vastly superior, the *élite*, who enjoy the privilege of such “spiritual instructions” as are contained in his volume. Lest we should be supposed to do him an injustice, we shall give this “remarkable classification” of Christians in his own words:—

“One main distinction runs throughout the kingdom of grace, separating more or less markedly those who are yet one in the possession of a common faith, the votaries of the natural and the supernatural life. By the natural life is meant that, while believing and resting on the atonement of Jesus Christ as the only hope, practically the life is regulated in moral harmony with the circumstances of the social state in which the lot is cast. The supernatural life is that in which there is an apprehension of the highest truth as a moving principle underlying all outward circumstances, and raising them, the soul itself developing its spiritual capacities through such an apprehension to the highest possible standard. A sacramental life is the completest and highest form of this higher life, it is the Divine Presence of our Lord impressing Himself on earthly things, and is carried out by His own working in us, Himself overshadowing, pervading, informing, directing us, and ourselves lovingly accepting, intelligently apprehending, sweetly yielding the will, the affections, to endure and fulfil what is impressed upon the soul by the inner Divine Presence. *There may be a like belief in the atonement, in the Presence and operations of our Incarnate Lord through the Spirit, in the grace imparted through sacraments creating and sustaining that life. There may be also more or less of a common belief in the objective Presence of our Lord under the external forms of the Blessed Sacrament. And yet the results of such faith greatly vary in the two cases.*”

“The difference appears in the practical hold which the mind gains of the reality and personal influence of the Divine Presence. A sacramental life is the proper result of a true belief in the sacramental Presence of God. But there may be a want of apprehending the Divine Presence as a living, life-giving reality; or it may be regarded as a communication of grace without the consciousness of personal union; or as an object of adoration without the approximating and assimilating faculty which connects the Gift with the Giver, or the soul’s active life with the Indwelling Presence. There may be the want either of that vivid clearness of faith which is ‘the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence (the practical realisation) of things not seen,’ or there may lack a true

² Prov. iii. 5.

³ To those acquainted with the annals of religious crime, the word *Pistoia* will suffice to justify the strong terms here employed.

appreciation of the proper effects of the Divine Communion."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xvii. pp. 176, 177.

It is hard to say on whose behalf the practical results of such teaching are most to be deprecated, whether on behalf of the "votaries of the natural," or of those "of the supernatural life." The conclusion which the former are likely to draw is that they will rest content with that minimum of religious life which, while dispensing with what is called "spirituality," and avoiding the inconveniences, very grave to a worldly mind, which are incident thereto, will, nevertheless, by virtue of some sort of belief in Christ, and reliance on the atonement, insure their salvation in the end. The latter, on the contrary, are in imminent danger of relying on their own assumed spirituality, looking down, with a painful lack of both humility and charity, upon those who are not, and do not pretend to be, "votaries of the spiritual life." Nor is this their only, or their greatest danger. Sad experience proves that minds imbued with a strong sense of their own religious superiority are not only more than ordinarily liable to the sins of pride and uncharitableness, but that, through a sense of false security and trust in themselves, they are apt to be overtaken by grievous falls, in the absence of that self-vigilance which a more sober view of their spiritual condition would make them feel the need of, and lead them to maintain. Of the excess to which such soul-destroying self-delusion may be carried, the history of mysticism and fanaticism furnishes ample proof; and Mr. Carter's own words bear conclusive witness on the subject. Endeavouring to reconcile with the highflown language held by him, not only occasional falls and backslidings among the "votaries of the supernatural life," but, which is far worse, a deadness of soul, an indifference and false security, in the face of symptoms which would alarm minds less blinded by spiritual self-conceit, he thus salves the consciences of his followers:—

"Nor does it detract from the reality because the service is imperfect. It may be defective, and yet it will be most real, if the whole bent and effort of the soul be true. Nor need the operations of this inward life be always consciously perceived. By the law of nature, whatever grows to be a habit, becomes from that very circumstance no longer an object of consciousness, as it was before; the several acts of which the habit is composed become undiscerned, unfelt. Nor even though we fail continually, and fall from

a truthful co operation with this great grace, does it follow that the reality of our union with God in this sacramental life is lost, however seriously it may be impaired. There will necessarily be involuntary weaknesses, failings from unavoidable helplessness or defect, temporary sinkings under the power of temptation, and even graver falls, over which the soul deeply mourns. Yet the very truth of a sacramental Presence of God implies an infinite condescension, a merciful accommodation of Himself to circumstances of infirmity and humiliations of our fallen state. It is a pledge of his bearing with us in our imperfections, of His forbearance towards our lingering faultiness, of His not leaving us even if we sin against Him, so long as we ever return to Him and repent."—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xvii. p. 180.

Whereas the Holy Eucharist was ordained by Christ as a means of raising us from our natural condition of sin and infirmity, and supplying us with spiritual strength to overcome them, according to this view, there is on His part an "accommodation" of Himself to that condition. The sinner may take comfort in the thought that, so long as he has the consecrated Bread to gaze upon, he may assure himself that he really is in the enjoyment of "the supernatural life" of which he is a "votary," whatever may be—from habit—his want of consciousness that it is so, whatever the witness which the commission of actual sin seems to bear to the contrary. Is not this very like "continuance in sin, that grace may abound?"⁴ But worse remains behind. To give the sinner full assurance of the compatibility of his state,—to which he is taught to believe that Christ is in the Holy Eucharist "accommodating" Himself, with the continuance in him of the spiritual life, he is told that these infirmities of his fallen state are no more than Christ Himself experienced; the absence of any consciousness of Christ's Presence within the soul, provided the consecrated Bread be within sight and reach, is, with a profaneness at which it is impossible to help shuddering, likened to that awful moment of the Saviour's Passion, when, under the crushing sense of the world's sin which He had taken on Himself, He exclaimed, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"⁵

"Our Lord," Mr. Carter continues, "was himself subject to the infirmities of our fallen state"—the important reservation "yet without sin,"⁶ which destroys the analogy, is omitted. "He tasted the

⁴ Rom. vi. 1.

⁵ S. Mat. xxvii. 46.

⁶ Heb. iv. 15.

struggle with temptation. He was even *oppressed by the loss of the consciousness of His true Life in the Father, under the desolation of the powers of darkness.* But it was only a passing trial, a hiding of the Light of His Godhead, *not a loss of Its Presence, nor any breach of the perfectness of union* which enfolded his Manhood in His Divine Personality. Sin He could not know. But *all of human weakness, of man's close contact with sin, all of the loathsome spirit's horror, of defilement, of dismay, of rebellion, He for us learned by obedience to the sufferings of our fallen state.* But all the while the inward Fulness of Godhead, even when the consciousness was clouded, was as complete in Him, as when It shone forth in the Transfiguration, or revealed Itself more actively in the Resurrection. And *even so, though actual sin affects us as it could not affect Him,* yet His 'mercy rejoices against judgment,' and sin is not imputed where the precious Blood is ever sought and ever applied, according to our need, and death is ever swallowed up of life. Beneath the clouds that pass across the Heaven of our life the same Light ever steadily shines, advancing to its meridian glory. The same love that reconciled us to Himself, 'when we were yet sinners,' *will not forsake us if we stumble even to falling, while to love we still cling; or if He forsake us it will be but in seeming, it will be to our consciousness only, to test our faith in the darkness. or to reprove us in the fear of the judgment, or to make the "silver lining" of the cloud shine out all the more brightly and more blessedly because of the transient eclipse.*"—Carter, *Spiritual Instruction* xvii. pp. 180, 181.

What horrible perversion of the sufferings of Christ, thus to convey false comfort to the deluded soul, to make the "votary of the supernatural life" fancy himself, when overclouded, overwhelmed by the darkness of sin, in the same case as his suffering Saviour, and assure himself of His uninterrupted Presence and Union with him, *even as the Presence of the Godhead was in the hour of His deepest agony through the withdrawal of the sense of the Divine*

Presence from the human consciousness, still complete in Christ! "*Even so,*" says Mr. Carter, "notwithstanding the transient eclipse!"

At this rate no one need despair, or even feel doubt or alarm, provided he holds fast by the persuasion that he is "a votary of the supernatural life." Comfortable doctrine! But is it sound? Is it safe? Is it not rather like that snare of the devil cast into the sinner's way, against which our Church warns us as against "a most dangerous downfall"? ⁷

We have, not without profound pain, especially in the concluding portions of it, performed the task we had undertaken—that of examining the true character and the evident tendency of a system of Eucharistic doctrine and practice which, by reason of its intrinsic unsoundness, and, not less so, of its plausible appearance of profound piety, threatens to do i calculable mischief to the Church as a body, and to individual souls, in this superficial, unthinking, novelty-hunting age of ours. Never was there greater need of real and sober piety to counteract the world's giddiness and folly. Never was there greater need of vigilance to preserve intact to the Church the good deposit of the Faith, and the purity and simplicity of Worship in Spirit and in Truth. May the warnings penned in these pages not prove in vain; and may fuller and deeper meditation on the Holy Mystery of which they treat, awaken in many souls a livelier sense of its blessedness, and a more fervent and more constant devotion in that Eucharistic Worship by which alone we can hope to realise Union of soul *with* Christ, and the Unity of the Church *in* Christ, in fulfilment of His Prayer—"That they all may be One; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us." ⁸

⁷ Art. xvii.

⁸ St. John xvii. 21.

What mean those cravings of the inner mind,
Those ceaseless searchings of uneasy thought,
Which e'en in Christ, indwelling, and inwrought,
Sweet rest and satisfaction fail to find?
What want can there, what void, be left behind
In human soul, by Godman's life-blood bought,
And by the Spirit's quick'ning power brought
From death to life,—made one of God's own kind?

Hush! hush! my heart! beyond His Word to soar,
His gifts receiv'd, yet to be wanting more,
What is it, but the subtle tempter's spare,
Who, coil'd up in thy very inmost core,
When Christ has heal'd thee, still would keep thee sore,
And rob thee of the treasure thou hast there?

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—PAGE 279.

History of the Terms "Objective and Subjective."

WE are indebted to the Rev. Canon Trevor for the following instructive remarks on the history of the terms "objective," and "subjective":—

"A sufficient proof of the absolute novelty of this doctrine is that its distinguishing epithets have only recently acquired their present meaning, and were formerly used in exactly the opposite signification. The philosophers of the middle ages adhered to Aristotle's doctrine of an inner essence (*ὑποκείμενον*, *subjectum*) underlying the visible form, and constituting the real entity of the thing. The *objectum* was the appearance presented to the observer, and consequently the idea of it existing in his apprehension. Hence the language of Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas.

"The *subjectum* of the Eucharist was the Body of Christ. An 'Objective Presence' would have signified to them the idea present to the thoughts of the worshippers as distinguished from the Real *Subjective* Presence in or under the consecrated elements.

"It is in this sense that the word 'objective' occurs in our own divines. Mede writes of the Eucharistic Sacrifice that Christ is in this Sacrifice no otherwise offered than by way of commemoration only of his Sacrifice once offered on the Cross; as a learned prole of ours hath lately written—*objective* but not *subjective*—that is, not as really contained in, or under, the consecrated elements, but as an object of contemplation to the Divine Being.

"In like manner Bishop Pearson, in proving the pre-existence of the Word from John i. 1, argues that in the opening sentence 'In the beginning was the Word,' *was* must signify an actual existence, and if so, why in the next sentence 'the Word was with God,' shall the same verb signify an *objective* being only? "i.e. (as he proceeds to explain), an existence in the foreknowledge of God, but not yet in act.¹ Further on in the same Article the Bishop undertakes to show that 'the name of God taken *subjectively* is to be understood of Christ' where this adverb is equivalent to the previous expression, 'taken absolutely as the subject of a proposition.' In grammar the *subject* of a verb or proposition is still that which is logically contained under the term or terms; the *objective* case denotes another person or thing on whom the action is exerted.

"The Cartesian philosophy follows the same use, and down to the end of last century Bailey's Dictionary gives the word 'objectively' as meaning 'considered as an object of the mind.'

"It was Kant and Fichte who inverted this signification by discarding Aristotle's doctrine of subjective realities and placing the standpoint of speculation in the mind of the observer. All external existence was by them termed 'objective;' 'subjective' was applied

to the conception or idea of the thinker. Hence with those who hold the abstract existence of matter, 'objective' has come to mean *real*, and 'subjective' *ideal*.

NOTE B.—PAGE 280.

The Unworthy Receiver.

The revolting notion that the unworthy receiver as truly and really receives Christ, and that Christ is thus subjected to the indignity of having His Sacred Person profaned and insulted as often as an unworthy recipient chooses to approach and "take" Him, is the logical consequence of this materialistic theory.—"It is evident that in the Sacrament there is an unseen Reality with Which *all communicants alike* come into close contact, Which *all alike in some real truth* receive, some spiritually to their great and endless benefit, some only externally to their unspeakable loss. . . . Our Lord is *there*,—the consequences of the approach depend on the condition of the communicant."² Notwithstanding the gross irreverence towards the Lord Jesus Christ which this logical deduction involves, it is accepted by those who profess, and no doubt feel, the deepest reverence for Him. Such is the blinding effect of error, and so fatal the blindness when the error is a deadly one!

NOTE C.—PAGE 281

Questions connected with the Administration of the Holy Eucharist—Midday Communion—Early and "Fasting" Communion—Consecrated Elements Unconsumed—Iteration of Communion on the same Day.

This distinction between the two parts of the Sacrament, the "outward visible sign," which is, and remains, "material," and the "inward spiritual grace," which is not, and cannot be, subject to the conditions of "material" existence,—while it is of the highest importance as regards a right apprehension of the nature and reality of Christ's Presence, and consequently, of the true doctrine of that Presence, in the Holy Eucharist, at the same time furnishes a satisfactory solution of certain subordinate questions on points of practice connected with its administration and reception, which have been, and continue to be, hotly debated, but which could scarcely have arisen, if that distinction had been properly kept in view. Although they lie beyond the main scope of our inquiry, which is, to establish the truth of the Eucharistic doctrine itself, and to clear it from the accretions of error which have gathered around it, and by which it has become, so to speak, incrustated, yet, forasmuch as they are germane to our argument, being in the nature, not, indeed, of proofs to establish the true doctrine, but rather of deductions from it, in opposition to the views combated in these pages, an examination of them may not be unprofitable, nor unacceptable to our readers.

They relate, respectively,—

¹ Pearson on the Creed, Art. II.

² Carter, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, pp. 11, 12.

1. To the condition of the recipients of the Holy Communion;

2. To the disposal of the consecrated elements remaining unconsumed after Communion;

3. To the iteration of reception by the celebrant in successive ministrations on the same day.

As regards the first of these points, the revival in our Church of the practice of more frequent, and in many churches weekly, Communion has led to the adoption of exceptional services, over and above those provided for by the Prayer-Book, by way of supplement to the ordinary midday Communion, which is very generally limited to one particular Sunday in each month; and that, in two opposite directions, viz., early Communion and evening Communion; the former of which, moreover, have given occasion for the introduction of the practice termed "Fasting Communion."

That the structure of our Prayer-Book contemplates the midday service, or principal service on the Lord's Day,—that for which, to use the language of the rubric prefixed to the Baptismal Office, 'the most number of the people come together,'—as the service at which the Holy Communion should be celebrated, properly on all Sundays and Holy Days, will be generally admitted; and if that order had been uniformly adhered to, exceptional Communion at unusually early or late hours would probably never have been heard of. The departure from this, which may be termed the normal arrangement,³ is attributable to a combination of two causes,—spiritual coldness, which fails to apprehend the importance and to appreciate the blessing, of Eucharistic worship, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the inconvenient length of a service in which Morning Prayer and the Office of the Holy Communion are crowded into one—that again the result of undevout, indolent, self-indulgent habits.

Undoubtedly it would be most desirable—if the habits of our people could be brought to fall in with it—to revert to the evident intention of the Prayer Book, which provides for Morning and Evening Service to begin and end the day with, leaving the Communion Service as the chief service of the day, to intervene between them in the middle of the day. At all events, however, it is clear that *the Midday Communion should in no case be omitted*; and that, if additional opportunities of Communion be afforded to meet the wants of the increasing populations of our large parishes—in the necessity of which we most fully concur—they can only be regarded in the light of *additions to*, and should never be permitted to become *substitutes for*, the *regular Communion of the Midday Service*. On the manifest inexpediency, to use no stronger term, of Evening Communion, we deem it needless to dwell, seeing that the considerations suggested by the abuses rebuked in 1 Cor. xi. seem more than sufficient to guide our judgment on that point.

One observation, however, we would venture to offer, which is, that no Christian congregation, no individual member of the Church, should be left under the impression, so common at the present day, that to assist at or to join in the repetition of certain forms of prayer, and to hear sermons, is *Christian worship* in the true sense of the word. Let it be clearly understood, that to such worship as God requires to be offered to Him through Christ,—to such worship as looks for, and has the promise of, the mercy of God, and the attainment of Godlikeness, through Christ,—the commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ in the way ordained by Himself, our High Priest and Mediator, is indispensable. And as a corollary thereto, we make bold to affirm that no Clergyman having cure of souls should allow any one Lord's Day, or any one Great Festival, to pass by without securing for himself, and affording to his flock, the opportunity of so worshipping God through Christ in accordance with His own appointment.

And further, in reference to early Communion and the practice of "Fasting Communion," we would throw out the suggestion that whereas there is confessedly no rule of the Gospel, or law of the Church, to enjoin such a practice, it seems questionable whether any Clergyman, on his own private authority, is justified even in recommending it; seeing that it is scarcely consonant with the declaration of our Lord that the time for His disciples to fast, is *not* when the Bridegroom is with them;⁴ and that our Church has appointed weekly and special *Fasts* and *Vigils*, in preparation for her hebdomadal and occasional *Feast* days.

Those who would urge by way of "counsels of perfection" that to receive the Holy Communion fasting, is more conducive to the soul's health, and better calculated to promote the spiritual effects to be expected from that act of closest personal communion with Christ, we would venture to remind that, in the absence of any warrant but that of their own private and personal opinion, it would be more consistent with the rule alike of wisdom and of charity to leave every man free to act upon his personal experience of what is most conducive to edification in his own case. On no account, however, should the suggestion of "Fasting Communion" be based, as it is to be feared it often is, upon any alleged or supposed profanation by admixture of the Sacrament with common food, in however small a quantity partaken of; a notion which savours strongly of materialistic conceptions of the nature of the Sacrament, and cannot be pursued without associating that which is spiritual and holy with ideas, we hesitate not to say, grossly offensive, irreverent and truly profane.

We are happy to be able to adduce in support of this view some observations of Mr. Keble, in a letter addressed by him to the *Literary Churchman* in October, 1865, strongly reprehending "the invidious

³ See Note Q.

⁴ St. Matthew, ix. 15.

comparisons and scornful criticisms" in which the more advanced among "those who have at heart the work of regaining the old paths," were in the habit of "indulging themselves" at the expense of "such among their brethren as did not yet see their way to it." "I allude particularly," he says, "to the disparaging tone sometimes used in speaking of mid day Communions, with small consideration, as it seems to me, for the aged and infirm, and others who cannot come early." And further on, "in regard of Communion after a meal, and of encouraging the presence of non-Communicants, and the like," his counsel is "to follow the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences, whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word to the same."

Passing on to the second of the three points before enumerated, the disposal of the consecrated elements remaining unconsumed after Communion, there is reason to fear that, in connection with it, the important distinction between the "outward visible sign" and the "inward spiritual grace" is not unfrequently lost sight of. Bearing in mind that distinction, it is clear that there is a wide difference between the act of reverently consuming the remaining elements of Bread and Wine, and the act of receiving the Body and Blood of Christ. The latter is a spiritual act, to be performed by faith, lifting up itself, or rather being lifted up by the Holy Ghost, to Christ enthroned in heaven,—the former a material act performed by the bodily organs upon material substances. In the former act the attitude of the recipient is that of *sursum corda*. As one of those who "have boldness,"—"courageous faith," according to Mr. Keble's felicitous expression—"for that entrance into the holy places"—i. e., "into heaven itself"⁴—"by the Blood of Jesus, which He has consecrated for us as a new and living way, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh, and having a Great Priest over the House of God,"⁵—he is "drawing near with a true heart and full assurance of faith,"⁶ to receive, at the hands of the Great High Priest in heaven, in spiritual verity, those spiritual substances of the Body and Blood of the Second Adam, the veils, the signs or symbols, and the pledges of which he is simultaneously receiving here on earth at the hands of the earthly minister. In the latter act, that of reverently disposing of the unconsumed elements which remain after that heavenly feast has been *concluded*, he is, returning to the sphere of things material and visible, obeying a disciplinary regulation of the Church, which has for its object to prevent any desecration or profanation of those material substances which have been consecrated for so high and spiritual a purpose, and have thus acquired a character of holiness, in the sense

of separation from all common and profane uses. It may not be unworthy of consideration whether, to prevent confusion in the consciousness of those engaged in this function of securing the elements from profanation, as well as in the minds of the bystanders, and to mark the distinctive character of the two actions,—Communion, and consumption of the remaining elements,—a difference of attitude, kneeling in the former, standing in the latter, is not preferable to the common practice of kneeling down afresh for the second action, as if it were a kind of repetition or continuance of the former.

This last consideration should commend itself more especially to the minds of those who object,—without sufficient reason as far as we can see,—to a second reception by the minister on the same day, whether in public or private ministration. Taking the highest view, that indicated above, of the act of Communion, there is surely no reason whatever why one and the same minister, when he happens to minister to two different congregations, early in the morning, and at midday, or, after the public celebration, privately to a sick person and those come to communicate with him, should not on each occasion become a fellow communicant with those to whom he ministers, and so preserve in its integrity the act of *communion*, that is, union with Christ, and with one another in Christ.⁸ And this seems to be the mind of our Church, in that she does not permit the elements to be "reserved" or "carried about," but requires a fresh consecration for every fresh act of Communion, whether public or private. The prohibition of iterated reception by the consecrator is, it may be observed, peculiarly inconsistent with the notions of the Materialistic School. The *reductio ad absurdum* is not the kind of argument one would wish to employ on such a subject; yet it is forced upon us when those who, while in consuming the remaining elements they necessarily, according to their own theory, eat the Body and drink the Blood of Christ incorporated with them a second time after they have communicated, and by their attitude show that they conceive themselves to do so, nevertheless object to an iteration of the same act for the purpose of joining with another company of their fellow members of Christ in that mystic union which is the common life and bond of His Body Mystical.

All these inconsistencies and incongruities spring by logical consequence from the one fundamental error which, through a carnal apprehension of things in their nature spiritual, materialises both Christ Himself and those gifts of His love whereby, through the partaking of His Flesh and Blood, God Incarnate makes His Redeemed partakers of His Divine Nature.⁹

⁴ Heb. ix. 8-12.

⁶ Heb. x. 19-26, literally rendered.

⁷ Heb. x. 22.

⁸ 1 Cor. x. 17.

⁹ See Note B.

NOTE D.—PAGE 283.

Prayers for the Dead.

In dilating on the idea of Sacrifice, in the sense of a fresh propitiatory Offering, Mr. Carter presses into his service the commemoration of the faithful departed in the ancient Liturgies, and thus raises, in connection with his theory of the Eucharist, the question of prayers for the dead. Without entering at length into this weighty and deeply interesting question, which would lead us away from our main argument, it may be sufficient here to observe that there is the widest possible difference between the notion of a reiterated sacrifice supposed to have a propitiatory effect upon the condition of souls which have departed this life, and the pious commemoration of "spirits of the just, made perfect"¹ living in the Church in "Paradise,"² which have no further need of propitiation. To exclude from our commemoration of the latter the remembrance of their need of sustentation by the "Hidden Manna,"³ which is to them what the Holy Eucharist is to souls dwelling in the flesh, is simply impossible for those who through diligent study of the Scriptures⁴ have, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, learned to realise the heavenly Paradise and the condition of the souls awaiting in it their own "perfect consummation and bliss." Instead of being condemned as unlawful, it may rather be deemed commendable as an act of piety, thus to extend our vision and our sympathies to the dwellers in the unseen world. To include those our fellow members of the Church Universal, partly militant in earth and partly expectant in Heaven, in our supplications for the completion and consummation in bliss of that Church is, in fact, to translate the prayer "Give us day by day our daily bread" into the language of Paradise, and has nothing in common with the corrupt doctrine and practice of "Masses for the Dead." Thus to comprehend in our devotions, as they were lovingly comprehended in those of the Early Christians, all "God's servants departed this life in His faith and fear,"—of whom as being comprehended with us in the One Communion of Saints, none who realise that Communion can possibly lose sight—is one thing; to presume to influence the fate of those who have passed out of the state of probation into that of retribution, by means of a sacrificial offering to God on their behalf, quite another thing. The former is consistent with Catholic Truth and the Word of God, the latter is a manifest perversion and corrupt abuse of the sense of fellowship and sympathy between the Church militant in earth, and the Church expectant in heaven, utterly repugnant to both God's Word and

¹ Heb. xii. 23.

² Rev. ii. 7.

³ Rev. ii. 17.

⁴ The Holy Scriptures contain on this subject much more, and more definite information than meets the eye of the common reader who peruses them under the influence of preconceived notions, and of ideas borrowed from our present state, and to whom, for this very reason, many portions of Holy Writ are wholly unintelligible.

Catholic tradition, and cannot be too severely reprobated. While the latter receives no countenance whatever from the language of the ancient Liturgies, the former is, though not specifically expressed, yet by implication, to some extent (too feebly, it may be) recognised in the concluding clause of our own Prayer for the Church Militant.

NOTE E.—PAGE 287.

Non-Communicant Attendance.

Mr. Carter actually recommends non-communicant attendance, that is to say, attendance which leaves Christ's command unfulfilled, and mutilates the Holy Service appointed by Him, as the most suitable preparation for actual Communion—present disobedience as a preparation for future obedience! "There too," he says, "being near to our Lord, even though we do not actually receive Him"⁵ "we may *meetly prepare* ourselves for the reception of our Lord, if unable at the time to receive Him."⁶ Mr. Carter seems to be strangely ignorant, as most of the theorists of this school are, of the primitive Order of the Church, according to which non-communicant attendance was absolutely prohibited, save in the exceptional case of persons under Church censure, as a preliminary to their readmission to Communion; their non-communicant attendance being in the nature, not of a privilege, but of a penance and disciplinary restraint from the full privilege of Church membership. Compare also Note N. This important subject will be found fully treated in Pt. VII. of this Series.

NOTE F.—PAGE 289.

Manifestations of the Ascended Christ.

It is not a little remarkable, as a proof of the blinding effect of the materialistic, localising view on which this whole theory of Christ's Presence is based, that Dr. Pusey seems unable to understand that a Presence of the ascended Christ may be discerned and apprehended here on earth, without a local descent of Christ from Heaven. Thus he confounds our Lord's appearances to His disciples in the interval between His Resurrection and Ascension, with the manifestations of His Presence after His Ascension. "When He appeared to Saul and said, 'I am Jesus, Whom thou persecutest,' we hesitate not to believe, that, although ever sitting at the Right Hand of God, He was present there where He declared Himself to be, where St. Paul says, 'He was seen of me.' 'He was seen,' St. Paul says, 'of Cephas, then of the Twelve; afterwards He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; afterwards He was seen of James; afterwards of all the Apostles; and last of all, He was seen of me also.' All alike were witnesses of His Resurrection; of all alike St. Paul uses the self-same word, 'He was seen of; seen in the Body by the bodily eyes, so that they could be eye-witnesses of what their

⁵ Carter, *Spirit. Instr.* xiv. p. 149.

⁶ Carter, *Spirit. Instr.* xiv. p. 150.

eyes had seen, His risen Body alive from the dead.⁶ A very small amount of attention to the historical account of St. Paul's conversion is surely sufficient to show that it was *not on earth, but from heaven*, whence the light and the voice came, that Christ appeared to St. Paul.⁷ When, subsequently, our Lord appeared to St. Paul in the temple at Jerusalem, he expressly states that he was "in a trance,"⁸ and from St. Paul's statement as to the "visions and revelations of the Lord" which he had in Paradise,⁹ the inference is clear that the revelations vouchsafed to St. Paul¹ were revelations from heaven, and some of them actually in heaven. To the same effect is the language of St. John throughout the Apocalypse, and the statement concerning St. Stephen beholding the Lord in the hour of his martyrdom:—"He, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up *steadfastly into heaven and saw the Glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God*, and said, '*Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.*'"²

NOTE G.—PAGE 289.

Patristic Quotations.

Having by this very disingenuous, as well as "presumptuous" process, this "deceitful handling"³ of the Word of God, made good his fallacy, Dr. Pusey strengthens his case by a mighty array of expressions culled from the writings of the Fathers—those of acknowledged authority, and those of no weight whatever, indiscriminately. But what does all this testimony amount to? Many of the expressions quoted are quite compatible with the *true* doctrine of the Eucharist, though, of course, susceptible also, under Mr. Keble's canon of interpretation, of an unsound construction. Others, which are incompatible with sound teaching, will be found to be taken from questionable sources, or tinged with an exaggeration of language quite intelligible on such a subject, more especially when it is considered that the expressions were thus unguardedly used *before* the materialistic theory was invented or even thought of. There is something exceedingly crafty in this mode of arguing, not uncommon with the writers of the *non-natural interpretation* School,—first, establishing an erroneous proposition on insufficient or falsified premises, and then, supporting it by a mass of quotations, mostly phrases taken out of the context, and thereby imposing upon the unlearned by a prodigious display of learning.

NOTE H.—PAGE 290.

The Force of "τοῦτο."

This is in fact what, omitting the injunction to eat, Dr. Pusey alleges the Saviour to have done. "In our Blessed Lord's words of Institution,

'This is My Body,' there is no mention of any symbol. He does *not* say, '*This Bread is My Body*,' but '*This thing τοῦτο, which I give you, is My Body.*'" The stress here laid upon the omission of the word "Bread," which the whole context, and the action itself of handing the Bread to His disciples, clearly supplies, is not less significant than the deliberate omission of the words "Take, eat," which Dr. Pusey wholly ignores. This is consistent enough, indeed, with what he elsewhere states concerning the "miracle through which Jesus by His Word *makes His Body really present* under those bodily forms,"⁴ and concerning the "one uniform simple consentient truth, that what is consecrated upon the Altars for us to receive, is the Body and Blood of Christ."⁵ Wherein does this language, we would respectfully ask, differ from the doctrine of transubstantiation? No wonder that the disciple who took everything as "demonstrated by Dr. Pusey," found it difficult to distinguish between the teaching of his master and the Romish doctrine towards which his own mind too evidently oscillated.

The inference which Dr. Pusey draws from the omission of the word "Bread," and the designation of it by the word *τοῦτο*, "*this thing*," has been supposed to derive additional force from the difference of gender between the substantive *ἄρτος* and the pronoun *τοῦτο*. It is almost needless to point out the fact, familiar to scholars, that the demonstrative pronoun in its neuter form, *τοῦτο*, is of constant occurrence in this absolute sense, as designating anything and everything to which the context shews that it has reference, even though the name of the thing referred to may be of a different gender. Thus, for example, St. Paul, in counselling the ship's company after their long abstinence to partake of *food*, *τροφῆς*, (feminine), says *τοῦτο, ἡτοῦτο, i.e.*, the food which I counsel you to partake of, "is for your health."⁶ Similarly, "*This is the will of God, even your sanctification*,"⁷ where *ἀγιασμός* is masculine. The concord of the pronoun in this case is with *θέλημα*, even as in the words of Institution it is with *σῶμα* and *αἷμα*. The notion that the word *τοῦτο* in the words of Institution covers some mystical meaning, not plain bread, but bread transubstantiated, or consubstantial with Christ, is one of those far-fetched arguments the employment of which shews the weakness of the position it is intended to support, and scarcely deserves the notice we have taken of it.

But while no such mystical force is lurking under the neuter *τοῦτο*, the word, as made use of by our Blessed Lord, possesses, from the circumstances under which it was uttered, a peculiar force which has escaped those who lay so much stress upon its gender. To appreciate the full force with which it must have fallen upon the ears of the disciples, we must take

⁶ Pusey, Sermon, pp. 14, 15.⁷ Acts ix, 3—7, compare Acts xxii. 6—9, and xxvi. 13—16.⁸ Acts xxii. 17—21. ⁹ 2 Cor. xii. 1—5.¹ Gal. i. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 23. ² Acts vii, 55, 56.³ 2 Cor. iv. 2.⁴ Pusey, Sermon, p. 20.⁵ Pusey, Sermon, p. 14.⁶ Acts xvii. 34.⁷ Pusey, Sermon, pp. 27, 28.⁸ 1 Thess. iv. 3.

into account the state of wonderment in which their minds must have been ever since they had heard from His lips the mysterious declaration: "I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven; if any man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever, and the Bread that I will give is *My Flesh*, which I will give for the life of the world."⁹ The question asked by the Jews through sneering unbelief, "How can this man give us His Flesh to eat?"¹ could not but present itself to the minds of the disciples likewise; though in their minds it would assume the form of reverent wonder and perplexity, intensified by the subsequent reaffirmation of the statement, with the emphatic addition, "Verily, verily."² Three years had gone by since they had heard this statement, and its emphatic reaffirmation, and still the question remained unresolved. It was one, and not the least, among the many riddles which the discourses of their Divine Master had left upon their minds, and the solution of which they were looking forward to. And now, on the eve of His passion, so plainly foretold them as impending that very night, that long looked for solution came. There was, indeed, a mystery still; how, in what manner, He was to impart unto them His Body and Blood; but the mystery was removed to this extent—that now they *knew*, what they had never known before, *what they were to do, how they were to "eat His Flesh," and "drink His Blood."* How forcibly, in the state of mind they had been in respecting this matter, must the word *roûro* have struck upon their ears, enlightening their minds thus far, as with a flash of lightning from a dark cloud!

NOTE I.—PAGE 290.

Ἀληθὴς and ἀληθῶς.

The argument is not affected in the least by the various reading ἀληθὴς or ἀληθῶς. Whichever reading be preferred, the meaning of the Lord Jesus is clear, and much stronger than appears in the English translation. "My Flesh is *true, real Meat*," or "My Flesh is *truly, really Meat*"; "My Blood is *true, real Drink*," or "My Blood is *truly, really Drink*," expresses the *verity*, the *reality* of participation of the Body and Blood of Christ with a force and emphasis not to be got rid of by any evasion or pretence of "figurative language." The only consistent way of escaping from the inevitable conclusion of a *Real Presence*, is the contention of those who deny that the discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John has any reference whatever to the Holy Eucharist. But this is so monstrously, so very transparently dishonest, as to be undeserving of serious refutation. All the more, however, is it to be regretted that dishonesty of argument in the opposite direction has given so powerful a handle to scoffers and unbelievers.

⁹ St. John, vi. 51.

¹ St. John, vi. 52.

² St. John, vi. 53—58.

NOTE J.—PAGE 291.

Promise of Christ's Presence.

The promise itself³ is of a general character, applying to all the Ministerial Acts to be done by them and their successors in the ministry of reconciliation⁴ to the end of time. It includes, as a necessary consequence, His Presence in the Holy Eucharist. In each ministration it promises and pledges that for which the ministration was appointed by Himself personally, or vicariously by the Holy Ghost His Vicegerent; that is, in Holy Baptism the Gift of Regeneration; in the Holy Eucharist the Gift of Sustentation of the New Life so given by His own most Blessed Body and Blood; in Confirmation the abiding Gift of the Holy Ghost's Personal Indwelling; in Ordination the Gifts bestowed for "the work of the Ministry" in its several Orders and Degrees. As regards the Holy Eucharist, it is meet that special attention should be paid to the memorable declaration which precedes this promise: "*All power is given unto Me in Heaven and in earth.*"⁵ The connexion in this statement between Heaven and earth, gathering up both, as it were, into the focus of Christ's Omnipotent and Omnipresent Power, bears with special force upon the supernatural operation of Christ in the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist. It disposes completely of the "materialistic" allegation that, to give reality to His Word, "This is My Body," Christ Himself must undergo the process of an "extension of the Incarnation," in the shape of Impanation, becoming One with the Bread, even as He is One with the Flesh of His Humanity. Further, observe the deduction which the Lord Himself draws from the fact of His possessing "all Power in Heaven and in earth," "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of (μαθητεύσατε) all nations . . . teaching (διδάσκοντες) them to "*observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you,*"⁶—not, whatsoever your "*natural piety*" may prompt, but *whatsoever I have commanded you, i.e., "Take and eat;"* Do this, the taking and eating, in remembrance of ME." Because all Power is His in Heaven and earth, therefore He can give His Body and Blood without re-descending on the earth and materialising Himself in Bread and Wine; and, therefore, we are to "take and eat," and to "drink," not to leave the eating and drinking unperformed, and to do something else instead.

NOTE K.—PAGE 291

Spirit and Form; Transmutation of Christ's Body to the Spiritual State.

The Translation of the Godman from earth to heaven, and the Transmutation of His Flesh from the state of the "natural" to that of the "spiritual" body⁷ is one of those facts involved and com-

³ St. Matthew xxviii. 20.

⁴ 2 Cor. v. 18.

⁵ St. Matthew xxviii. 18.

⁶ St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 20.

⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 44.

prehended in the "incontrovertibly great mystery of Godliness,"^a which it is utterly vain for the human intellect to attempt to grasp or to understand, while at the same time the recognition of them as facts, and the acceptance of them by faith, is indispensable to a correct knowledge of, and an intelligent belief in, that great mystery of our Redemption. We cannot do without them, and we know not how to handle them. They are among those "deep things of God" which are known to "none but the all-searching Spirit of God," by whom they are "revealed,"^b not to our intellect but to our faith; wholly unintelligible,—even "foolishness"—to the carnal intellect of the "natural man," but to be "spiritually discerned,"^c that is, apprehended, only by the spiritual faculty of the spiritual man.

On such a topic we would, under ordinary circumstances, prefer to preserve a reverential silence, to meditate rather than to speak. But "there is a time to keep silence and a time to speak,"^d and the "time to speak" seems to us to be when grave errors, touching the most vital points of Divine Truth and the appointed way of man's Salvation, are committed through inattention to, or misapprehension of, those mysterious facts which lie at the very root of the life of Humanity regenerated and renovated in and through Christ Jesus. For what, under the pressure of this consideration, we desire to indicate rather than to state, to suggest rather than to assert, we entreat, and we trust we shall not entreat in vain, a charitable and indulgent hearing. We ask our readers to remember that all we can venture, and all we profess, to do, in the following remarks, is, not to hazard any speculations, or propound any theory, of our own, but simply to place before them, in classified order, certain statements of fact gathered out of Holy Scripture, as aids for holy, and, as we trust and pray, profitable meditation.

That the idea of spirit, and spiritual existence, does not exclude the idea of form, and of visible appearance in a form, is a truth which,—however foreign it may be to inductive science, and incompatible with the commonly received ideas of the relations of matter to form, and form to matter,—can scarcely fail to be noted by an attentive reader of Holy Scripture.

Of God the Father, indeed, we read that He "dwelleth in light unapproachable," that "no man hath seen, or can see Him;"^e that "no one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever He will reveal Him."^f

But of God the Son, of "the Word," who "in the beginning was with God, and was God, by whom all things were made,"^g we read that He is "the Outshining," ἀπαύλασμα (A.V. the brightness) "of His,"

—the Father's,—"glory, the visible representation," χαρακτήρ (A.V. express image) "of His Being," ὑποστάσιως (A.V. Person),^h "the image," ἑκὼν, "of the invisible God."ⁱ Of this Divine Person, the Eternal Son, "Very God of Very God," "by Whom all things were created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers, all created by Him and for Him,"^j we read that He made man "in His own image," *zelem*, literally shadow representing the form which casts it, as in an outline—"after His own likeness," *demuth*, similitude, resemblance, as in a photograph;^k that He *spoke* to the man whom He had so created, laying His command upon him,^l that He *brought* unto him the inferior creatures for him to name them;^m that He *walked* in the garden, and through fear of the sound of His *voice* caused man, after he had sinned, to hide himself from His *Presence*; that He *questioned* man, *pronounced sentence* upon him, and *drove* him out from the garden.ⁿ

Of the same Person, Jehovah God, we read that He *warned* Noah of the coming deluge, *instructed* him how to build the ark, and *shut* him in; that after the flood had passed off, he *spoke* to Noah, *made a covenant* with him, and *blessed* him.^o

Again, we read of Him that He *came down* to visit the city and tower of Babel, *confounded* the language of its builders, and scattered them.^p

On reading and endeavouring to realise all this history of His dealings with man, the question naturally occurs, in what manner did all these communications between Him and man take place? Were they communications from an invisible Being or from a visible Being, even Him who, being "the image of the invisible God," manifested Himself to His creatures in visible form, the very form in the "image" and "likeness" of which He had created man?

Let us pursue the history further, and see whether it suggests an answer to that question.

The whole race of mankind without exception^q has sunk into a state of idolatry; that is, of external worship of visible objects substituted by them in the place of Him whom they "had not retained in their knowledge."^r The first step towards the restoration among mankind of the knowledge of God utterly lost by them, is thus recorded:—"Jehovah,"—the name given throughout the history to the Being whose dealings with man are narrated,—"*spake* unto Abram, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that *I will show* thee, and *I will make* of thee a great nation, and *I will bless* thee, and make thy name

^a 1 Tim. iii. 16.

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

³ 1 Tim. vi. 16.

⁶ St. John i. 3.

⁹ 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

² Eccl. iii. 7.

⁴ St. Matt. x. 27.

⁶ Hebrews i. 3.

⁸ Col. i. 16.

¹ Gen. ii. 16, 17.

³ Gen. iii. 8-24.

⁵ Gen. xi. 5-8.

⁷ Rom. i. 23.

⁷ Col. i. 15.

⁹ Gen. i. 26, 27.

² Gen. ii. 19.

⁴ Gen. vi.—ix.

⁶ Josh. xxiv. 9.

great, and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.' So Abram departed as Jehovah had *spoken* unto him."⁸

Whence this ready obedience, not of Abram alone, but of his father Terah also, and of Lot his brother's son; all members, up to this time, of a family of idolaters? The answer is supplied by St. Stephen: "*The God of glory*,"—(see above, the ἀπαύγασμα, the "outshining of the Father's Glory," "the visible representation," "the image of the invisible God")—"appeared unto" ὡφθῇ—literally, *was seen by, visibly showed Himself*—"unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, 'Get thee of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee.'"⁹

Next after, on Abram's arrival in the land so shown to him, we read that "*Jehovah appeared*,"—*vajjêrâ* LXX, again ὡφθῇ, literally *was seen by, visibly showed Himself*—"unto Abram, and said, 'Unto thy seed will I give this land.'" Whereupon follows the commencement of true worship of the true God; for "there Abram builded an altar unto Jehovah who *appeared* unto him,"—*hannireek*, τῷ ὡφθέντι, literally *that had been seen by him; had shown Himself visibly* unto him.¹ This same expression, implying a visible personal manifestation, occurs repeatedly in the sequel of Abraham's history.² In like terms it is stated that Jehovah "*appeared unto*," was "*seen by*," Isaac³ and Jacob.⁴

But there are, in addition to the manifestations or appearances referred to in these general terms, others marked by special circumstances, to which, and to the first of them more particularly, being the most remarkable of all, we desire to call attention.

Abram—for such was still his name—having, for the sake of peace, separated from his nephew Lot, giving him the choice of the country which he thought most eligible for pasturage, finds himself called upon to rescue Lot from captivity, into which, through the wars of the kings of the country, he had fallen. Abram delivers his relative, having achieved a signal victory; and then, in a manner which might be termed abrupt, there comes upon the stage a Mysterious Personage. The position he occupies is a place which has two names, one secular "Jebus," or "Jebusi," by which it is commonly known among the people of the land, and another, of sacred import, *Salem*, which signifies "peace," at a later date extended into "*Jerusalem*," i.e. "the abode of peace,"—pointing evidently with prophetic significance to the promise, "In this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts."⁵ The Mysterious Personage Himself is

introduced under the name of "*Melchizedek*," which signifies "King of Righteousness." The facts on record concerning him in Abram's history are exceedingly few and concisely told. He is described as "Priest of the Most High God." In His priestly character, He meets Abraham. Though a priest, He offers no sacrifice, but He "*brings forth bread and wine*." He "*blesses Abram*," saying, 'Blessed be'—or, '*is*'—Abram of the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, and blessed be'—or, '*is*'—the Most High God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand.' And he, i.e. Abram, gave Him, i.e., to Melchizedek, tithes of all."⁷ Thus ends the historical notice of this Mysterious Personage. We hear no more of Him until about nine centuries later we find the Royal minstrel of Israel, in a psalm prophetic of the advent of the Messiah, bursting forth into the prophetic exclamation, "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."⁸ Thus far the account given in the Old Testament of this Mysterious Personage. Looking at His significant names, "King of Righteousness," and "King of Peace;" looking at His priestly character, and at His act of "*bringing forth bread and wine*;" looking, moreover, at the homage paid to Him by Abram, and at the prophetic identification of Him by the Psalmist, as the founder of a new order of priesthood, the priesthood of the Messiah,—everything seems to point to identity of person between Him and Christ.

What is thus so extremely probable as to suggest itself irresistibly to the mind, receives singular, and, it would appear, irrefragable confirmation from the language of St. Paul, whose explanation, rightly interpreted, clears up the whole mystery. After stating, as the ground of our heavenly hope, that "the forerunner is for us entered within the veil," i.e., into heaven itself, "even Jesus, made an High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,"⁹ the apostle proceeds: "For this Melchizedek, King of Salem, Priest of the Most High God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him; to whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; first being by interpretation King of Righteousness, and after that also King of Salem, which is, King of Peace; without father, without mother, without descent" (ἀγενεαλόγητος)—all which modern interpreters take to mean simply and tautologically, that there is no record of his genealogy,—"*having neither beginning of days nor end of life*,"—to whom except the Divine being Himself, i.e., the Eternal Son, can these words be applicable?—"but being in the likeness of the Son of God," i.e., of the Incarnate Son, Christ Jesus, acknowledged and designated as the Son of God when St. Paul thus wrote of Him,—"*abideth a Priest in perpetuity*."¹ The plain inference from all this is confirmed by the sequel of the

⁸ Gen. xii. 1-4.

⁹ Acts vii. 2, 3.

¹ Gen. xii. 7.

² See Gen. xvii. 1, xviii. 1.

³ Gen. xxvi. 2, 24.

⁴ Gen. xxxv. 1; xlviii. 3. Compare also Exod. vi. 3.

⁵ Hag. ii. 9.

⁶ See Note T.

⁷ Gen. xiv. 18-20.

⁸ Ps. cx. 4.

⁹ Heb. vi. 19, 20.

¹ Heb. vii. 1-3.

argument touching the dignity of Him to whom "Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils," and its concluding statement: "Here men that die receive tithes; but there He receiveth them, of whom it is witnessed that He liveth."¹ With this language of St. Paul it seems impossible to reconcile the supposition, adopted probably through fear of an early heresy connected with the name of Melchizedek, that this Mysterious Personage, whoever or whatever He might have been, was *other than* the Eternal Son, appearing, as it is evident he was wont to do, to Abram in a visible form, similar to the human form, because the form in the likeness of which man was created.

There are on record, besides this, some other visible manifestations of the Son of God to Abraham, which call for special notice. To these, however, after the length to which our remarks on the identity of Melchizedek with the Eternal Son have unavoidably extended, we must content ourselves with referring very briefly. We read² that "the Word of Jehovah came unto Abraham in a vision," when "a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and a horror of great darkness fell upon him." On another occasion we find Jehovah,—this time attended by two angels employed afterwards to deliver Lot in the midst of the overthrow of the doomed cities of the plain,³—visiting Abram, by whom He is at once recognised, accepting his hospitality, *eating* the viands set before him, and *communing* with him in a lengthened conversation, in the course of which Abram makes bold to deprecate God's righteous judgment against Sodom and Gomorrah.⁴ Again, we read that Jehovah, or as He is there, as well as in many other places, designated, *Maleach-Jehovah*, (rendered in the A.V. the Angel of the Lord,—but signifying properly "Jehovah the Sent") "called to Abraham out of Heaven."⁵

Further on in the development of God's purpose, we read of other appearances or visible personal manifestations of Jehovah,—as to Moses, who was admitted to His presence in the Mount,⁶ with whom he conversed "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend,"⁷ before whom He caused His glory to pass, covering him with His hand, to save him alive;⁸ to Joshua;⁹ to Gideon;¹ to Manoah and his wife.²

From all these instances it results as an undeniable fact, that God the Son, oftentimes before His Incarnation, manifested Himself to men in a form similar to the human form. And that this fact was not only familiar to God's own people, but that the knowledge of it had transpired beyond them, is clear from the

expression made use of by Nebuchadnezzar, who, at the sight of a fourth person in the fiery furnace besides the three cast into it by his orders, exclaimed: "Lo, I see four men loose, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God."³

Nor are these instances of Divine manifestations in a visible form limited to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. The Scripture informs us of the Third Person, the Holy Ghost, at one time descending in a bodily shape like a dove,⁴ at another time manifesting His presence by "a sound as of a mighty rushing wind," and by "cloven tongues like as of fire."⁵

It were superfluous to dwell on the forms attributed to created spiritual beings; as to the Angels, who, as ministering spirits,⁶ frequently appear in sacred history, and to the Living Creatures attendant on the throne of God.⁷ Sufficient evidence has been adduced to establish the existence of spiritual forms like unto bodily shapes in the heavenly world of spiritual beings, beyond the ordinary ken of human sight, and made visible in this world, the world of matter, only through special and exceptional manifestations.

A clear apprehension of this fact will help in no small measure to remove the difficulties experienced by minds imbued with notions derived from the world of matter, in the endeavour to realise the existence of God Incarnate after the transmutation of His Body into the spiritual state, and His action in the spiritual sphere.

His transition from the earthly to the heavenly state, from mortality to immortality, from humiliation to glory, properly commences with the resurrection; the transfiguration,⁸ which preceded it, being apparently a kind of anticipation, for a short interval, of the glory that should afterwards be revealed in Him. And here, before entering on this new and still more mysterious part of the subject, we desire to reiterate our disclaimer of all intention to dogmatise or to theorise on it. All we propose to ourselves is to place the facts, as recorded in Holy Scripture, before our readers, calling attention to points of special importance that arise out of them.

On comparing the several manifestations of the Risen Christ, we cannot fail to be struck with what at first sight appears a remarkable inconsistency. His first manifestation was to Mary in the Garden. Having come to the sepulchre early, with the other women, with the intention of embalming the Body of Jesus, and been apprised by the angels of His resurrection, she still lingered weeping near the spot, while the others went back to Jerusalem to announce the event to the disciples. When Jesus appeared unto her, and the

¹ Heb. vii. 8.² Gen. xv. 1—18.³ Gen. xviii. 22, compared with xix. 1.⁴ Gen. xlviii.⁵ Gen. xxii. 11—18.⁶ Exodus xxiv. 12—15, xxxiv. 2—29.⁷ Exodus xxxiii. 11.⁸ Exodus xxxiii. 18—23.⁹ Joshua v. 13—15.¹ Judges vi. 12—24.² Judges xiii. 2—22.³ Dan. iii. 25.⁴ St. Matthew iii. 16; St. Luke iii. 22; St. John i. 32.⁵ Acts ii. 2, 3.⁶ Heb. i. 14.⁷ Ezek. i. 5—14; Rev. iv. 6—8.⁸ St. Matthew xvi. 2; St. Mark ix. 2; St. Luke ix. 29.

tone in which He pronounced her name had led her to recognise Him, which at first she had failed to do, He would not suffer her to touch Him.⁹ The other women, on the contrary, who at the bidding of the angels had gone to bring the disciples word of what had happened, were met on their way by Jesus, who suffered them to embrace His feet, worshipping Him.¹ Had, in the interval between these two occurrences, anything taken place to alter the condition of His Resurrection Body, so that it might be touched, which at first was not allowable, by mortal hands? And do the words of Jesus Himself in forbidding Mary to touch Him,—“Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father; but go to My brethren and say unto them: I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God,” throw any light upon this apparent change in the condition of His Resurrection Body, which afterwards He allowed His disciples freely to handle, bidding the doubting apostle to examine the nail prints with his fingers, and to thrust his hand into His pierced side,² and convincing them by sight and touch that it was not a spirit, but a body having “flesh and bones” that stood before them?³

Other mysteries are cropping up as we follow the intercourse of the Risen Christ with His disciples. Although the identity of His Body is preserved and capable of being verified by ocular demonstration and personal manipulation, in its spiritualised state, yet His personal presence is not, as it would be in its former natural state, invariably followed by recognition, even on the part of those most intimately acquainted with Him; as in the case of Mary,⁴ of the two disciples, on the way to Emmaus, and while continuing for a time in their company, where the non-recognition is attributed by one Evangelist to His having appeared “in another form,”⁵ and by another to “their eyes being holden;”⁶—and of these seven disciples at the sea of Tiberias, when the miraculous draught of fishes first excited their suspicion that it was He, but even when their suspicion had grown into certainty, they were still afraid to ask Him.⁷

We find Him not only associating and conversing with His disciples, but eating with them; on one occasion, by way of convincing them of the reality of His Body,⁸ at another time, where it is not stated whether He Himself partook of it, imparting to them meat miraculously provided,⁹ and at Emmaus, making the act of blessing the Bread, breaking and

giving it to them, apparently with a sacramental intent, the means of making Himself known to them.¹

Again, the very manner of His coming² among them sometimes partakes of the miraculous,—as when He suddenly appeared among the disciples listening with wonder to the report of the transaction at Emmaus,³ and on both the occasions when He appeared to the Apostles assembled with *closed doors*, which latter fact is specially noted by the Evangelist.⁴ And as He appeared, so He disappeared, miraculously, suddenly vanishing—*ἄφαντος ἐγένετο*, became invisible—out of sight,⁵ which, though not expressly stated, seems generally to have been the mode of withdrawing His presence.

Lastly, when He took His departure from them, the same exemption from the ordinary conditions of locomotion is to be noted. He was “received up into heaven” (*ἀνελήφθη*) says one account, “and sat on the right hand of God.”⁶ “He was parted (*διέστη*) from them, and carried up (*ἀνέφερετο*) into heaven,” says another; and the most circumstantial of all the accounts, containing His last words of command and promise, describes Him as being before their eyes, “as they beheld,” “lifted up” (A.V. taken up) *ἐπήρθη*, when “a cloud received (*ὑπέλαβεν*) Him”—took Him up—“out of their sight,” they beholding Him, gazing after Him, as “He went up” (*πορευομένου αὐτοῦ*).⁷

Thus ended His mysterious Presence upon earth in a Body transmuted from the natural into the spiritual state. And to the wondering, gazing disciples this promise was left: “This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come: *in like manner* as ye have seen Him go up into heaven.”⁸ Very differently would that word of promise have run, if the materialistic theory were founded on fact; if His intention had been to reincorporate Himself in earthly elements, to continue with His disciples on earth, to be re-sacrificed, and worshipped with an outward adoration, upon thousands of altars, throughout the successive ages of the world.

Having thus collected from Holy Scripture the indications therein given touching the nature and character of the Body of Christ transmuted into the spiritual state, we return to the statement with which we set out, that it is a mystery unfathomable by man, to be accepted in faith, and to be apprehended only by those who in the “*obedience of faith*,” and through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, whose office it is to “take the things of Christ and shew them unto us,”⁹

⁹ St. John xx. 11—17.

² St. John xx. 25—27.

⁴ St. John xx. 14, 15.

⁶ St. Luke xxiv. 16.

⁸ St. Luke xxiv. 41—43.

¹ St. Matthew xxviii. 9.

³ St. Luke xxiv. 37—40.

⁵ St. Mark xvi. 12.

⁷ St. John xxi. 4—12.

⁹ St. John xxi. 9—13.

¹ St. Luke xxiv. 30, 31.

³ St. John xx. 19, 20.

⁵ St. Mark xvi. 19.

⁷ Acts i. 8—10.

⁹ St. John xvi. 14.

² St. Luke xxiv. 33, 37.

⁴ St. Luke xxiv. 31.

⁶ St. Luke xxiv. 51.

⁸ Acts i. 11.

lay hold upon the unspeakably blessed privilege of "dwelling in Christ and Christ in them," and of "sitting in Him and with Him in those heavenly places" to which He has ascended to "prepare a place for us, that where He is, there we may be also."²

This, then, is the sum of the whole matter—that the object of our Blessed Lord's Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, and of the Holy Mystery ordained by Him as the living bond between Him and us of a common nature,—not of the human nature only, which He took from us, but of the Divine nature which He imparts unto us—is not that *He* should *descend* to be with us where *we* are, but that *we* should, in heart and mind, *ascend* to be with Him where *He* is, and there "with Him continually to dwell."

One word, in conclusion, as to the bearing of this digression upon our main argument. Does not all that has been adduced on the testimony of God's Word, clearly prove that of the nature of Christ's Spiritual Body, and consequently of the mode of Its communication to us,—as of a great mystery,—we are profoundly ignorant; that to dogmatise upon it is utter presumption, fraught with imminent danger of running into profaneness; and that, therefore, our wisdom is, with Archbishop Laud, "while the world *disputes to believe*," and, believing, to obey?

NOTE L.—PAGE 292.

The Four Accounts of the Institution.

To this account of the institution our Church, in the Prayer of Consecration, has given the preference over the accounts of the three Evangelists. In substance all the accounts agree: the various differences of statement arising from the fact that St. Matthew relates what he himself had witnessed and remembered; St. Mark and St. Luke what they had ascertained by inquiry; all these human recollections being controlled and modified by the Holy Spirit;³ whereas St. Paul sets forth what he had by revelation received from the Lord Jesus Christ Himself after His Ascension.⁴ Hence the reason of the preference given to St. Paul's account is obvious. Detached from the narrative of incidents connected with the Institution, and having Christ's own direct authority, it is evidently the one best suited for its liturgical record.

* NOTE M.—PAGE 292.

Increasing Clearness of Spiritual Perception.

What is said above in discouragement of curious questions and speculations on the nature of that Holy Mystery, is perfectly compatible with a constant advance, and with the earnest desire for such advance, in the spiritual apprehension of It. By the very fact

of Its being a Life, and that a Divine Life, It carries with It a revelation of the nature of that Life. To the devout communicant that Mysterious Life reveals Itself in greater and greater clearness of spiritual perception. "With open face beholding as in a glass,"—the mirror of our own consciousness which displays the image of the Lord in greater and greater clearness and brightness, the nearer our inner man, through the very operation of the Life of the indwelling Christ, approaches to His likeness,—*"the Glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image from Glory to Glory,* even as by the Spirit of the Lord."⁵ Thus the progress of the spiritual understanding of the Mystery keeps pace with the progress of the spiritual Life Itself, which through the Mystery is imparted unto, and increased in, the soul advancing towards Godlikeness, through the fellowship and the consequent likeness of Christ the God-man. Such is the blessed fruit of constant, not desultory,—of spiritual, not materialising,—communion with Christ in the Holy Eucharist. It is almost needless to add that this blessed fruit is not vouchsafed to the curious questioner, the speculative intruder into the Mysteries of God; it is not to be reached by scholastic arguments and "profitless wranglings about words to the subverting of the hearers."⁶ It is the reward reserved to obedient faith, according to our Lord's promise, "If any man will do His will he shall know of the doctrine."⁷

NOTE N.—PAGE 293, and 223.

Mr. Keble on Non-Communicant Attendance.

We are enabled to quote, and we do so with great satisfaction, both in justice to Mr. Keble, and as a testimony doubly valuable as coming from him, the following extract from his "Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance":—

"I cannot deny that I have a strong feeling against the foreign custom of encouraging *all sorts of persons* to "assist" at the Holy Eucharist, without communicating. It seems to me open to two grave objections; it cannot be without danger of profaneness and irreverence to very many, and of consequent dishonour to the Holy Sacrament; and it has brought in and encouraged, or both, (at least so I greatly suspect), a notion of quasi-sacramental virtue in such attendance, which I take to be great part of the error stigmatized in our XXXIst Article. Even in such a good book as the *Imitatio Christi*, and still more in the *Paradisus Animæ*, one finds participating in Missa vel Communione, spoken of as if one brought a spiritual benefit of the same order as the other.' This I believe to be utterly unauthorized by Scripture and Antiquity, and I can imagine it of very dangerous consequence. But whatever one thought of this, the

¹ Eph. ii. 6.

² St. John xiv. 2, 3.

³ St. John xiv. 26.

⁴ Gal. i. 12, 1 Cor. xi. 23.

⁵ 2 Cor. iii. 18.

⁶ 2 Tim. ii. 14.

⁷ St. John vii. 17.

former objection would still stand, and it would not do to answer that the early Church allowed, or even encouraged, the practice; because even if that were granted (I very much doubt it, to say the least), the existence of discipline at that time entirely alters the case. I used to argue in this way with poor R. W., but I could never get him to mind me.⁸

And in the letter addressed by Mr. Keble to the *Literary Churchman*, before referred to,⁹ he says:—

"I cannot but doubt the wisdom of urging all men indiscriminately to be present at the Holy Mysteries—a matter left open, as far as I can see, by the Prayer Book; and in ordering of which it may seem most natural to abide by the spirit of the Ancient Constitutions; which did not willingly permit even the presence of any but communicants, or others of whom the clergy had reason to believe that they were in a way to become such; the rather, in that there appears to be some danger of the idea gaining ground, which meets one so often in Roman Catholic books of devotion, of some special quasi-sacramental grace connected with simply assisting devoutly at Mass, over and above that promised to all faithful prayer." That the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Keble of the danger of non-communicant attendance were well founded is already proved by experience. We have the testimony of an eye witness, himself an habitual worshipper at a Ritualistic church, that being present at a high celebration in one of the principal Ritualistic churches in London, which was densely crowded, out of the whole number of worshippers there were only three or four aged persons that "went up to receive;" the rest being satisfied with the "benefit" of non-communicant attendance. It is, in fact, the same process over again by which, in Romish times, through solitary sacerdotal celebrations, the Holy Communion fell into general disuse and neglect.

NOTE O.—PAGE 295.

Mr. Keble and Rome.

How deeply rooted this antagonism was, and how keenly it affected Mr. Keble's sensitive mind, may be collected from some passages of letters addressed by him to his friend Sir John Coleridge, as early as the year 1841. "I cannot go to Rome," he writes, "till Rome be much changed indeed; but *I may be driven out of the English Church*, should that adopt the present set of Charges and Programmes; and many will, I fear, not be content to be nowhere, as I should feel it my duty to try to be."

And again, in a later letter of the same year:—"The contingency that I contemplate, a very dreary one, but *such an one as I ought not to think it strange*

if I incur it, is not going to Rome, but *being driven, out of all communion whatever*."¹

NOTE P.—PAGE 296.

Frequency of Holy Communion and its abiding Effect.

This notion of introducing into the Eucharistic communion with Christ limitations of time is properly correlative with the notion of subjecting the Presence of Christ to the limitations of space.² The Materialistic Communicant who looks upon Christ as contained locally within the circumference of the Host, or the four corners of the Bread, consistently looks for the continuance of that same Presence according to the ordinary measures of time to be told off by the tickings of his watch. Mr. Carter does not shrink from the inferences which carnal reason draws from this view of the Eucharistic Presence. He actually raises the question "*as to the length of time the special sacramental Gift, the Presence which possesses the soul, lasts in its fulness.*" And he follows it up to a degree of most repulsive grossness, by asking, "Is it so that our Lord abides in us *only so long as the outer forms of the sacrament abide in us, the special inner secret Presence* received through the outward elements being *lost with them?*" True, he suggests, as if in some measure shocked by the tenor of his own thoughts upon the subject, that "this would be *too much to identify* the inward and the outward," and he endeavours to escape from the difficulty which he has raised—to say nothing of the irreverence of the ideas which he has suggested—by an observation subversive of his whole theory of incorporation with the elements, viz., that "our Lord in His secret Gift is *merely taking* the outward form, as a *vehicle, a means of entering into us*, to be with us afterwards according to His own Power, irrespectively of the accidents or circumstances of the perishing creature."³ One cannot help asking, however, how such questions come to be raised at all in connection with "spiritual instructions?" Are they suggested by the mind of the Instructor himself, or are they questions that have been raised among his disciples, to which he feels it incumbent on him to furnish an answer. In either case they are questions which,—while to a mind wont to "discern the Lord's Body," and spiritually to feed upon Christ in the Holy Eucharist, they are exceedingly painful,—cannot but be inconceivably hurtful to minds which have as yet to be initiated into a knowledge of the spiritual life, and to whom such carnal disquisitions are offered by way of introduction to it. The very fact of their presenting themselves, whether to his own mind or to the minds of his disciples, might surely operate as a warning of the peril he is incurring of their "falling into the ditch together."⁴

⁸ Keble's *Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance*, Letter CXVI.

⁹ See Note C.

¹ *Memoir of the Rev. John Keble*, by the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, 3rd edition, p. 209.

² Compare also Note S.

³ Carter, *Spirit. Instr.* vii. p. 63.

⁴ St. Matt. xv. 14.

The same notion of the duration of the spiritual effect corresponding with, and being more or less dependent on, the "moment" of reception, and the "abiding in us" of the outward elements, leads Mr. Carter on to another topic, that of the *number of times* at which the Holy Communion should be received, and that again to the question of the *minimum* number which may be deemed sufficient. "Being once received," he asks, "is it *enough*? Is one communion *sufficient* for the whole after life? Does our Lord *ever afterwards abide* because of the *one* reception, so that after-communions *add nothing* to the one gift?" This conclusion Mr. Carter very properly repudiates, as being "inconsistent with the Lord's own word which *identifies that reception with the image of the Bread of Life*, which needs to be received *day by day*."⁴ What is meant by "identifying the reception with an image," we do not pretend to understand; and we greatly doubt if Mr. Carter himself understands it. However that may be, the drift of his remarks seems to lead up to the idea of a daily reception being, if not absolutely necessary, at least strongly to be recommended. But if daily, why not three times a day? If the "image of the Bread of Life" puts the Holy Eucharist, as the Materialistic view clearly does, on a footing with ordinary bodily sustenance, why should not the "*abiding*" be secured by similar repetition; why should the body get three meals a day and the soul only one?

When the true nature of the "Bread of Life" is properly understood, all such questions fall to the ground. It then becomes clear why from the earliest times the Lord's Day was made the day of Eucharistic feeding, the *feast-day* of the spiritual life. It followed naturally upon the Divine appointment of one day in seven as a day set apart for God, for His Worship, for the furtherance of spiritual life in the soul; the remainder of the week being a season of toil and struggle, of trial and conflict with the necessities of the daily life; and further, upon the fact of that one day in the seven being the day on which by Christ's Resurrection "life and immortality" was "brought to light."⁵ The Holy Eucharist became the "*daily bread*" of the *Lord's Day*, the spiritual food appropriate to that one day which was set apart as God's own day, as the day of spiritual converse of man with God and sustentation by God. It is from this cause, no doubt, that weekly, not daily, communion became the universal practice, the more frequent reception not being excluded where the desire for it existed, or as special occasions—such as the festivals of the Church, or marriages, funerals, or the sick-bed and the dying-bed, might suggest. And that, in so ordering, the Church rightly apprehended the mind of Christ, is evident from

His own words "*as often as*" which leave the question of times and seasons, and of greater or less frequency an open question.

NOTE Q.—PAGE 301.

The Order of the Prayer Book in Successive Revisions.

Our attention has been called by a friend deeply interested in the vindication of sound Anglo-Catholic principles, to the remarkable confirmation which the view taken by us of the Church's design in the order of her Services, derives from the whole structure of the Book of Common Prayer, as well as from some special Rubrics. For the convenience of our readers we sum up under distinct heads the evidence afforded by the successive Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1662.

1. *Morning Prayer as a distinct service at the beginning of the day.* "Matins" or "Morning Prayer" ended with the third collect, in 1549, 1552, 1559, and 1604. In 1662 it was enlarged by the addition of the Prayers for the King and Royal Family, for the Clergy and People, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the concluding grace from 2 Cor. xiii.; these additions to be omitted when the Litany is read.

The Litany, in 1549, stood by itself at the end of the Book, after the Order for the Holy Communion, as an occasional service, without any special direction as to its use, except that in a Rubric of the Communion Office it is ordered to "be said or sung" upon Wednesdays and Fridays, before the Communion Service, whether followed by a celebration or not. When so used it would practically form a Service of supplication introductory to the Communion Office. In 1552 it was placed after the Evening Prayer, with a direction for its use upon Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and when commanded by the Ordinary; but without specifying any particular time of the day. Occasional prayers for rain, for fair weather, in time of dearth or famine, of war, and of common plague or sickness, were introduced into it before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom. To these were added, in 1559, a prayer for the Sovereign, and for the Clergy and people. In 1604 a prayer for the Royal Family was appended to the Prayer for the Sovereign; and the occasional prayers were printed separately, and placed after the Litany, with the

⁴ ὡσάκις ἂν, 1 Cor. xi. 25. It is noteworthy that these words clearly implying a *discretion* as to the times of observing the command *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*, are found in the account of the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, and in that only, which St. Paul gives on the direct authority (*Ibid* v. 23) of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; and not less so, that St. Paul's own corollary appended to it commences with the repetition of the same words ὡσάκις γὰρ ἂν (*Ibid* v. 28.) This disposes at once also of the notion that a daily celebration holds the place of the daily sacrifice in the temple, as well as of the inference suggested by Mr. Carter's parallel of "the image of the Bread of Life which needs to be received *day by day*."

⁴ Carter, Spirit. Instr. vii. p. 64

⁵ 2 Tim. i. 10.

addition of thanksgivings for special occasions. In 1662 the Prayers for the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and the Clergy and people were removed from the Litany and embodied in the Morning Prayer; and the Litany was now ordered to be used on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, after the third Collect of Morning Prayer. To the occasional Prayers were now added the Ember week Prayers, the Prayer for Parliament, as well as the prayer for all conditions of men; and the General Thanksgiving was prefixed to the occasional thanksgivings.

It was simultaneously with this change that the Rubric, which stood in all the previous books, requiring those who intended to be partakers of the Holy Communion to signify their names to the Curate "over night, or else in the morning afore the beginning of Morning Prayer, or *immediately after*," was altered to "at least some time the *day before*." This seems clearly to mark the period at which Morning Prayer ceased to be a separate Service from the Mid-day Service at which the Holy Communion was celebrated. There was no longer an opportunity now for "signifying the names of intending communicants" *after* Morning Prayer.

2. *The Communion Service.*

To this was prefixed, in 1549, "Introits, Collects, Epistles and Gospels, to be used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion, through the year, with proper psalms and lessons for divers feasts and days;" followed by the Communion Service under the title, "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse." In 1552 the Introits and proper psalms and lessons were omitted, reducing that part of the Book to Collects, Epistles and Gospels, and the title of the Office was changed to "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion." In 1662 the Rubric was prefixed to the Collects which directs "the Collect appointed for every Sunday, or for any Holiday that hath a Vigil or Eve, to be said at the Evening Service next before."

3. *Rules in regard to the celebration of the Holy Communion.*

a. In Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, 1549, "there shall *always* some *communicate with the priest* that ministereth," 1552, "where there be many Priests and Deacons, they shall *all* receive the Communion with the Minister *every Sunday at the least*, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary," which Rubric still remains.

b. In other Churches likewise the Holy Communion was to be ministered every Sunday, as appears from the following Rubric in 1549. "And that the same may also be observed *everywhere abroad in the country, some one at least* of that house in every parish to whom by course, after the ordinance herein made, it apper-

taineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall provide to offer for them, shall *receive the Holy Communion with the Priest*; the which may be the better done for that they know before when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the Communion, *all other who be then Godly disposed* thereunto, shall likewise receive the Communion. And by this means *the minister, having always some to communicate with him*, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries. . . . And the Priest *on the week-day* shall *forbear to celebrate the communion, except he have some that will communicate with him.*"

In 1552 this was altered by doing away with the obligation of the householders to provide in their "courses" for the elements, and the concurrent obligation to communicate with the priest. The elements were now ordered to be provided "by the Curate and the Churchwardens at the charges of the Parish." The celebration of the Holy Communion on Sundays now became (as in 1549, it had been on weekdays) dependent on the number of Communicants, and this was determined in the way in which it has continued ever since. "There shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a *good*"—1662, "a *convenient*"—"number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion." Which "discretion" is further limited by the next Rubric: "And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion, except four, or three at the least, communicate with the Priest."

For the individual the rule was, in 1549, "to communicate once in the year, at the least;" which, in 1552, was altered to the rule as it now stands: "At the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one."

The above data furnish an explanation of the gradual decay of Eucharistic worship. The original rule, and,—as appears from the tenor of the "exhortations" contained in the several revisions, and the directions for their use,—the practice also, was the celebration of the Holy Communion *every Sunday at the mid-day service*, preceded by Matins as a separate service; subject, however, to its being "forborne" through want of the *minimum* number to receive with the Priest; and so it continued till the revision of 1662, when the Morning Service and the Communion Service were blended together. The cause of this, doubtless, was the widespread neglect of the Holy Communion during the Great Rebellion under the influence of Puritanical notions, when the idea of *worship*, to which the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was essential, was thrust into the back-ground, and the propagation of *religious notions* by means of *Sermons* became the

principal feature of the object for which Christian assemblies were gathered on the Lord's Day. The prayers of the Church, curtailed by the omission of the Communion Service proper, became a prelude to the Sermon, which addressed itself to the intellectual, rather than to the spiritual man; religious *ideas* and *sentiments*, instead of, or in preference to, the *substance* of the *Living Christ*, imparted in the *Mystery of His Flesh and Blood*, became the food of the soul; faith in doctrines about Christ supplanted faith in the Living Personal Christ. Against this decadence of the religious life the revival movement of our own time is a salutary reaction; which, for the very reason that it is a reaction, is in danger of being marred by excesses and errors in an opposite direction, by materialistic conceits put in the place of spiritual realities.

4. Eucharistic Adoration.

On this subject it may not, in connexion with the present reference to the Rubrics, be uninteresting, nor is it foreign to our purpose, to observe that the materialistic view of the Holy Eucharist, transmitted in its original form of transubstantiation, received a check in 1552 by the insertion of the Rubric against *adoration*, of either "the Sacramental Bread and Wine," or of "any real and essential Presence"—altered in 1662 to "any corporal Presence"—"of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." And not less remarkable it is that this protest, omitted in the Books of 1559 and 1604, was re-inserted in the form in which we still have it in our Prayer Books by the Divines of the Caroline or Restoration period. Of the Sacramental Elements the Church affirms distinctly that they "*remain* still in their very (*i. e.*, true) *natural substances*, and therefore *may not be adored*;" and of the "natural Body and Blood of Christ," that "*they are in Heaven and not here*;" whence the inference is clear that they must be supernaturally communicated *from heaven*, and looked for *in heaven*, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. An adoration directed towards the Elements, or towards Christ "*impanated*" and "*invinated*" in them, is condemned by the Church as "*Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians*;" and the explanation of the mystery—so far as it admits of explanation—is that contended for in these pages, *viz.*, that Christ's natural Body and Blood have passed into the "spiritual" state, and that consequently their communication to the communicant from Christ Himself enthroned in Heaven, is not subject to the limitations, nor to be reasoned upon, or judged of, by arguments based upon the laws, of material existence.

NOTE R.—PAGE 302.

Holy Communion, an essential Part of the Mid-day Service on the Lord's Day.

In further support and confirmation of the views which we have expressed on the subject of the time of celebration as intended by our Church, and the undesirableness, to say the least of it, of recent

innovations on the arrangements contemplated by the Prayer Book, we cannot do better than refer our readers to the following observations contained in the paper read by Archdeacon Freeman at the Church Congress in October, 1870:—

"What," the Archdeacon asked, "was the *purpose* of the whole of this divinely-prescribed ritual? It was, surely, by processes covering the whole of our being and needs, and pervading, by a solemn weekly recurrence, our whole time, 'to present every man faultless in Christ Jesus.' It was not, as we have allowed ourselves too long to think, merely to give a fillip three times a year, or once a month, to a languid religious circulation; or to impart a month's provision of spiritual meat, as to some dull hybernating animal. No:—Sacrifice—presentation of an alert and vigorous life in weekly-renewed union to the one all-vivifying Sacrifice—this, and no less than this, was the aim of all Service, Eucharistic or ordinary. But a cord, to be kept strictly, or even approximately straight, must, we know, be supported at very short intervals. But a system of monthly Eucharists is like nothing else in the world than those nominally straight, but in reality feebly earthward-curving telegraph wires, which weary the eye of the railway traveller as he flashes along on his journey. Such long intervals of Communion cannot sustain us at the true spiritual level. A Church, or a parish, without weekly Eucharists, has yet to set up the warp for the woof of its Christianity. For such, any observance, for example, of Saints' days, seasons, or the like accessory helps to holiness, is in reality putting on the fringe without the garment.

"But as the Early Church, for hundreds of years, knew nothing of 'the new moons,'—that is, of monthly Eucharists—so neither did she know anything of what I venture, with all deference, to call *starved* Eucharists. The Eucharist, as originally constituted—as it existed throughout the world for seven hundred years, and as it theoretically and by rule exists still,—was, as we have seen, a provision for the *whole man*: his understanding,—his instinct of praise,—his need of manifold intercession; and, not merely for his need of a deep mystery of sacrificial Communion. The Church of the first ages never dreamed of a Sunday Eucharist which had not, bound up in closest union with it,—and as a rule preceding it,—large reading of Holy Scripture, abundant psalmody, full and detailed intercession and supplication. The existing Eastern Liturgies, with their preceding offices:—the Western Rite, ere it was miserably shorn of its Lessons, Psalmody, Canticles, and Litany, by the disease of the Breviary in public;—and finally, the existing law of both East and West, that the Offices, as far as Lauds inclusive, *must* precede the Eucharistic, were it only overnight;—these are my witnesses.

"But what is offered to us now, as the acme of spiritual perfection, and the proper instrument of it? Even on the high weekly Festival an early and isolated act of oblation and reception, from which these grand features of large Scriptural teaching, praise, and intercession, are excluded by the utterly illegal deferring (I refer to universal Church law, and to our own, fairly interpreted) of the Ordinary Office and Litany to a later period of the day. The grand rite ordained by Christ, and settled for ever in all its great features by His Apostles, is thus reduced to one which, however lofty its work, as far as it goes, does not provide for the *whole man*, but leaves three-fourths of his

being uncared for, or thrust into a corner, as if of secondary moment. Instead of a complex act, fitted to his complex nature, we have one which develops abnormally a single organ of it, to the atrophy of all the rest. And when to this is added, what is unhappily now advocated as the equally good, if not even the more excellent way, the forbearing that reception of the sacrificial Food, to which the whole ordinance leads up,—when the Eucharistic exhortation to charity, the analogue of the ancient kiss of peace, is regularly omitted, and the time spent in the washing or cups and patens, concerning which, however reverently intended, we certainly 'have no commandment from the Lord,'—then I know not what else to call the residuum but a *starved* Eucharist, such as cannot rightly feed a soul, and such as the Early Church never heard of. (See Scudamore: *Communion of the Faithful*.) The plea on which this vast departure from primitive practice is defended, is the duty of receiving fasting; concerning which, again, however reverent, we have no commandment, nor any proof of it as a custom for the first two hundred years, while Apostolic it certainly cannot have been. Nor is one favourite plea for non-reception, viz., previous reception on the same day, at all better founded. There is no trace earlier than the 7th century, and no distinct injunction earlier than the 12th, of such a prohibition; while the present Roman Church actually requires a second participation in the day by the celebrant, in the form of the ablutions; and the English Church enjoins the same, if any of the Elements be left, on the communicants also. In minor points too, those who undertake to be our leaders are leading us astray. 'Leavened [? unleavened] bread' has indeed a slight and superficial appearance of fitness for Eucharistic purposes. But it was not that which the Lord commanded, or the Apostles partook of (See *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii., pp. 272, 302). The nature of the ordinance, which in the case of both elements elevates our common food and drink into channels of spiritual benefit, added to the unwavering practice of the Eastern Church, and the late origin of the dispute about azymes (See Neale's *Eastern Church*), is conclusive on this point.

"Nor,—profoundly and fully as the ancient Church recognises the Presence of Our Lord, as our High Priest, in all ordinances, but supremely in this, to consecrate the elements, and identify them with His own Body and Blood, as offered at the Last Supper and on the Cross,—does she anywhere offer a single prayer to Him as impanate and invinate for our sakes, as well as Incarnate. Our proffered guides are as much at fault in what they *add* to the ancient rite, as in what they take away.

"Happily, amidst these divergences to the right and left, the course of duty and peace lies open to us; the *ὁδὸς*, the path of observances steadily maintained by the Early and United Church of God. 'The Evidence of Christian Antiquity as to Church Ritual' is not in the slightest degree doubtful or conflicting.

"Men may hear, or they may forbear,—but the trumpet gives no uncertain sound. '*Quod ubique, quod ab omnibus observatum est*,' in the matter of Ritual, for five hundred years, be this our *semper observandum*—Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἰθὺν κρατεῖτω.⁷

NOTE S.—PAGE 287.

Alleged Ubiquity of the Angelic Hosts.

There cannot, indeed, be any doubt in the minds of

sincere believers in God's Word, and devout communicants, that when they receive, at the hands of Christ Himself enthroned in Heaven, the spiritual substance and sustenance of His most Blessed Body and Blood transmuted into the Spiritual State, they do so in the presence of "angels and archangels, and all the company of Heaven." Nor can it be called in question that to the celestial witnesses of their heavenly feast, and not to the earthly congregation by which they are surrounded, their mind's eye,—that is, in that act, the eye of faith,—should be directed; even as it is not to the earthly hands which minister the symbols and vehicles, but to the hands of Christ Himself, who from Heaven ministers the spiritual reality, that their hearts should be lifted; which is the true meaning and intent of *sursum corda*. But there is the widest possible difference between this heavenly conception and the notion which has been propounded⁸ that upon every occasion, in all the Churches, and upon all the altars throughout the world, there is a simultaneous local attendance of the angelic hosts upon Christ *locally* present in the Eucharistic elements. It is hardly necessary to add that the teaching of Holy Scripture, so beautifully embodied in our Prayer Book, as to the ministrations of angels to "those that are heirs of salvation,"⁹ gives no countenance whatever to this notion of their alleged attendance upon the Lord Christ Himself, at stated seasons in the celebration of the offices of the Church; which is, in fact, simply an "accommodation" to those narrow and carnal conceptions of that Blessed Mystery which grow out of forgetfulness of the fact that "spiritual things" cannot be otherwise than "spiritually discerned."¹

NOTE T.—PAGE 307.

Melchizedek Co-equal with God.

"Blessed *be*, or, blessed *is*."—The original admits of either translation; the context must decide to which of the two the preference should be given. As regards the clause, "Blessed *be*, or *is*, Abram," there is little or no difference between the imperative style, and the simple affirmation of the fact. The second clause, on the contrary, "Blessed *be*, or *is*, the Most High God," seems to point to the latter as the preferable rendering; especially when regard is had to the statement of St. Paul, Heb. vii. 7:—"Without all contradiction the *Less* (τὸ ἑλαττω) is blessed of the *Better* (τοῦ κρείττονος)." Although the immediate application of the principle thus appealed to by the Apostle is to the relative dignity of Melchizedek and Abram, the general terms in which the principle is enunciated by the Apostle are scarcely consistent with any other supposition than that to which the whole tenor of St. Paul's exposition tends, viz., that Melchizedek was none other than the Son of God, the Manifested Jehovah. On the common hypothesis, that he was an ordinary man invested with a "typical" character, "the *Better*" would be blessed of "the *Less*," in the words, "Blessed *is*," (and still more so, if it be rendered, "Blessed *be*") "the Most High God;" and there would thus be a manifest contradiction between the blessing recorded in Gen. xiv. 20 and the principle asserted in Heb. vii. 7; whereas, on the other supposition,—on other grounds also the preferable one,—it is the Divine Person of the veritable Melchizedek Himself, Co-equal with God, that enunciates the blessedness of Him who gave the

⁸ See Carter's Spirit. Instr. xiv., p. 151.

⁹ Heb. i., 14.

¹ 1 Cor. ii., 13, 14.

victory to Abram. Nor should the bearing be lost sight of which this point has upon the whole argument of St. Paul, viz., to establish the superiority of the true Priesthood, the High Priesthood of Christ, taking its origin from Melchizedek, the Eternal Son, over the Aaronic priesthood, originating in Abram, Aaron's progenitor. The antithesis between the "First Man" and the "Second Man"² is thus reproduced, invested with the priestly character, in the antithesis between the priests which "were not suffered to continue by reason of death," and the High Priest who, "because He continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood."³ The new Humanity rising out of Christ, the God-man, is represented before God by the Priesthood of Christ, the God-man, that "God may be all in all."⁴

NOTE U. (additional.)

Increased Spiritual Power of Our Lord's Nature.

We seem to trace a much closer communion between Christ and His disciples on entering the Upper Chamber than there had been before. In our Lord's action of girding Himself with a towel, commentators have held that the taking to Himself His people was implicitly and mystically contained, according to the words of the Prophet, "As a girdle cleaveth unto the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto me the whole house of Israel that they might be unto me for a people."⁵ Archdeacon Freeman says:—"In Divine intention and reality He took to Himself in this action, as mystical members, the disciples then present, and also, by anticipation, the whole Church, His Body and spouse. That some mysterious and yet real

change of condition now passed upon the Apostles, is clear from His declaration to St. Peter when He proceeded to wash their feet, that they had been altogether washed, and made pure, and needed not save to wash their feet." With this agree the words of St. Augustine, "This expression proves that they were already baptized in Christ's Passion."⁶ This is certainly confirmed by our Lord's intimation that by that washing "they had part with Him." It is plain that even then "His spiritual body, of which the germ had ever lain hid in His natural body, had begun to be developed, and so inheritance in Him was even now communicable to man."⁷ Since, then, if this was the case when Jesus entered the Upper Chamber, it is evident that His spiritual offering of Himself in atoning death, which procured acceptance for His people, had preceded that entrance, and must therefore be assigned to the sacrificial act in the Temple court, and His devotions thereupon, not to any supposed oblation of Himself in bread and wine later in the evening. Of those devotions and intercessions our Lord seems to afford us an intimation in His words to Peter, "Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you—but I have prayed for thee."⁸ The Lord also intimates this inherence in Him as already existing. "Now ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you. *Abide in me.*"⁹ And He plainly intimates that He had already, in spirit, given His life a sacrifice for man. "I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down (*literally*, should have laid down) his life for his friends."¹⁰

From "The Eucharist Illustrated, &c.," by the late Rev. William Milton.

² 1 Cor. xv. 47.

³ Heb. iv. 14; v. 10; vi. 20—viii. 6.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 28.

⁵ Williams, Holy Week, p. 394.

⁶ Principles of Divine Service, ii. pp. 163-4.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 577.

⁸ St. Luke xxii. 31, 32. ⁹ St. John xv. 3, 5.

¹⁰ St. John xv. 12, 13.

ST. JOHN vi. 51, 54, 56.—"I am the living bread, which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . . Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. . . . He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him."

ST. JOHN vi. 61, 62, 63.—"When Jesus knew in himself that His disciples murmured at it, He said unto them, *Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.*"

1
"Touch Me not," to Mary said
Christ arisen from the dead;
"I am not yet gone away,
"Cling not to Me; do not stay,
"Quit Me; bid My brethren know,
"To My God and theirs I go."

2
We who, Lord, Thy Godhead have,
Carnal presence do not crave;
Faith Thee sees in Heaven stand,
Faith Thee touches with her hand;
We with hearts and minds arise,
And we touch Thee in the skies.

3
Give us grace to touch aright,
Live by faith and not by sight:
So, when earthly storms are o'er,
May we reach the peaceful shore,
And may ever with Thee dwell
In Thy heavenly citadel.

—From "The Holy Year," by the late Rt. Rev. CHRIS. WORDSWORTH,
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

NOTE.—The chief contents of this Part being a re-arrangement of the Parts V., VI., and VII. in the 2nd Edition, the Index of these two divisions will be found in the "Contents to 2nd Edition," prefixed to Part I., 3rd Edition, to which the reader is referred. The 1st Division begins with the former Part VI.—Sections 1 and 2 only, and is continued in the first 4 Sections of Part V. (2nd Edition), to which is added three notes from the appendix to Part VIII. on "Eucharistic Adoration,"—omitted from this 3rd Edition. The 2nd Division is reprinted from Part VII., (2nd Edition), on the "Materialistic Theory," &c., with the appendix thereto.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART V.—(*First Division.*)

THE ANGLICAN DOCTRINE OF EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

No Gospel like this Feast
Spend for Thy Church by Thee;
Nor Prophet nor Evangelist
Preach the glad news so free!

All our Redemption cost,
All our Redemption won;
All it has won for us, the lost—
All it cost Thee, the Son;—

Thine was the bitter price,
Ours is the free gift given;
Thine was the Blood of Sacrifice,
Ours is the wine of Heaven!

For Thee, the burning thirst,
The shame, the mortal strife,
The broken heart, the side trans-
To us, the Bread of Life! [pierced;

To Thee, our curse and doom
Wrapt round Thee with our sin:
The horror of that mid-day gloom,
The deeper night within!

To us, Thy home in light,
Thy "Come, ye blessed, come!"
Thy bridal raiment pure and white,
Thy Father's welcome home.

Here we would rest midway,
As on a sacred height,
That darkest and that brightest Day,
Meeting before our sight;

From that dark depth of woes
Thy love for us hath trod,
Up to the heights of blest repose
Thy love prepares with God;

Till, from self's chains released,
One sight alone we see—
Still at the Cross, as at the Feast,
Behold Thee—only Thee!
—"LYRA ANGLICANA."

SECTION I.—THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE DOCTRINE OF THE "EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE" —A PLEADING OF CHRIST'S ONE SACRIFICE IN MEMORIAL BEFORE GOD, FOR HIS ACCEPT- ANCE OF THE OFFERING OF OUR WORSHIP.

*A Treatise by the REV. J. LE MESURIER, Vicar of
Bembridge, Isle of Wight. (Original.)*

I.—*The Question considered:—Is the Eucharist
a Sacrifice?—and, if so, in what sense?*

In attempting to give an answer to the above question, the real point we are concerned to ascertain seems to be this:—In what exact relation does the Lord's Supper stand to Christian Worship? The undoubted and all-important truth flowing demonstratively from the words of the institution taken in connection with, and so interpreting our Lord's previous discourse of St. John vi., that in it "our souls are strengthened and refreshed by the Body and Blood of Christ, even as our bodies are by bread and wine" does not altogether supply an answer to this. To come to be *fed by Christ* with the "Bread of Life," is not the same thing as to come to *worship* Him; nor is it, to say the least, self-evident how the two acts stand related to each other. Yet the essential connexion of the Holy Communion with Christian worship is attested to us by the first mention

of it after Pentecost (Acts ii. 42), as well as by the universal instinct and practice of Christians from the earliest days until now.

Those who declare the Eucharist to be in any sense a sacrifice do undoubtedly give an answer which meets the case, for every sacrificial act is an act of worship. But then the further question arises "Is it a sacrifice?" and, if so, "in what sense?"

Now, almost all, I doubt not, who are earnest to maintain the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, are yet ready to admit fully and heartily that it is only a "*commemorative sacrifice*."¹ And, if we take Chrysostom,² Theophylact, or Bishop Bramhall³ as our guides, this is identical in meaning with the "*commemoration of a sacrifice*,"—or rather the latter is the more accurate statement of the two. "We make not another sacrifice, but always the same; but rather we make (*εργαζόμεθα*) a commemoration (*ἀνάμνησιν*) of a sacrifice." Bishop Bramhall writes: "Protestants acknowledge (1st) spiritual and eucharistical sacrifices, as prayers, praises, a contrite

¹ I would draw attention to Canon Trevor's *Treatise on "Sacrifice and Participation of the Holy Eucharist,"* 1st Edition, (J. & C. Mozley)—a work by all means to be read on this subject. (See Part IV.) The 2nd Edition is now published.

² Chrysostom on Hebrew X. Quoted by Canon Trevor, p. 7.

³ Bramhall's works (Anglo. Cath. Libr.) Vol. V. 221. Part IV., Discourse VII. "Protestants' Ordination Defended."

heart, alms, and the like; (2dly) a commemoration, or a representative sacrifice, in the Holy Eucharist; (3rdly) they teach that this is not '*nuda commemoratio*'—a bare commemoration' without efficacy, but that the blessed Sacrament is a means ordained by Christ to render us capable, and to apply unto us the virtue of that all-sufficient Sacrifice of infinite value which Christ made upon the Cross, which is as far as the moderate Romanists dare go in distinct and particular expressions." "Whatever power the Holy Eucharist hath is in relation to the Sacrifice of Christ, as a means ordained to apply that to true believers."

The above passage, in clearness and precision, seems to leave nothing more that can be required to be said; what follows is to shew how this is taught in Scripture, and to endeavour to clear away some confusion of thought which seems painfully to hang about this subject.

II.—*The whole Eucharistic Service, a pleading of Christ's Sacrifice before God.*

Before, however, entering on our own enquiry it is right to allude to an answer already given in these pages to the question placed at the head of this treatise, and against which nothing in these observations is intended to militate, viz., that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of the death of Christ, not only before men, but before God.⁴ This has been shown from our Lord's use of the word ἀνάμνησις, compared with the occurrence of the same word, Numbers x. 10, and Levit. xxiv. 7, 8, and the use of the corresponding term μνημόσυνον in connection with Jewish sacrificial worship. It is confirmed by the simple fact of its ever having been connected with public worship, which is unquestionably a service "before God," and further by the insertion in all the ancient Liturgies of a special verbal commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ with prayer and praise to God, before the offering of the bread and wine. Thus the whole service has an aspect God-ward as well as man-ward; and in the words of Bishop Bramhall, "we acknowledge a representation of that action [the Sacrifice on the Cross] to God the Father; we acknowledge an impetration of the benefit of it," as well as "we maintain an application of its virtue." Or, in the words of a living writer,⁵ which will probably commend themselves to

all, "What we do in words when we add to our prayers 'through Jesus Christ our Lord,' that we do in act in the Eucharist, viz., plead with God the once offered, never-to-be-repeated Sacrifice of Christ in an ordinance of His own appointment."

III.—*FIRST BEGINNING of a change of language about the 3rd century, seen in the writings of St. Cyprian.*

This does, of course, supply a real bond between the Lord's Supper and Christian worship, and if it is argued further,—as it is,—that by analogy, the term "sacrifice" may be reasonably applied to a service, in which we plead Christ's Sacrifice past—as the Jews in their sacrifices looked forward to it as yet to come,—we have no wish to raise contention on this question of terms, so long as the sense in which the word is used is ever borne in mind. But it does seem of much importance to remember that the application of the term "sacrifice" or "oblation" to the commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ's death was utterly unknown in the Church till the middle of the third century;⁶ and further, that seeing (as has been already elsewhere shewn) that the verbal commemoration of Christ's death was always made in the early Liturgies at the offering of the elements before the completion of the consecration⁷ (i.e., although after the recital of our Lord's words of institution, yet before the Invocation or prayer that by the presence of the Holy Ghost they might

⁶ [The Oblation.] This name attached itself to the Holy Eucharist from the several offerings or oblations (προσφοράς) which were made in the celebration. There is the oblation of alms (in kind or money) for the poor, the clergy, and the fabric of the Church; the special oblation for the use of the altar of a part of the bread and wine already offered as alms; and the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ when the sacrifice of His death is commemorated and pleaded before God in the prayers and ritual action of this most holy sacrament. It does not appear that the Eucharistic commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ was spoken of as an offering before the third century." [See Note B, Appendix.]

"[The Sacrifice.] This appellation of the Holy Eucharist seems to have run a course parallel with Oblation, to which in sense it is so nearly related. At first the rite was called a sacrifice, on account of the material offerings that were presented at it."—Sendamore's Notitia Eucharistica, pp. 12-13

"We need not question that these early fathers, as undoubtedly those after them, believed that the bread and wine offered to the Lord were offered in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, and so, that the Eucharist was a commemorative sacrifice. But it is remarkable that even this view of the Eucharistic sacrifice does not expressly appear before the time of Cyprian." Bishop Harold Browne on the XXXIX Articles—Art. XXXI., p. 739. See Part V.

⁷ That the Elements are not consecrated until this prayer is offered, see at length, Thorndike, Vol. IV., p. 50-61.

See also conclusion of Note A, Appendix.

⁴ See Note A, Appendix. Also Canon Trevor's work, Pt. V.

⁵ Epist. to M. de la Miletie c, Anglo-Cath. Libr., Vol. I.,

⁶ (quoted by Bishop Harold Browne—Art. XXXI., p. 746.)

become the Body and Blood of Christ to the good of the receiver), such offering cannot with any strict propriety of speech be called the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

It is the very object of this treatise to draw attention to this point, and to invite consideration to this question, whether in the change of language here referred to, beginning, it would seem with St. Cyprian,⁸ we have not the first small divergence from primitive language, and so by degrees from primitive doctrine, which became wider and wider as centuries rolled on. Without therefore denying for a moment that there is in the Lord's Supper a commemoration of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ, not only before men but also *before God*, and only interposing one small word of caution, that we do not suffer one aspect of the Lord's Supper, or an inferential argument, however strong, from one word, to throw into shade other aspects of the same holy ordinance, and other teachings of Scripture as set forth in fuller terms and more extended passages, there is plainly still room for the enquiry,—what is the teaching of those other passages of Holy Scripture as to the connection of the Lord's Supper with Christian worship, and to what, in connection with that Sacrament, is the term “offering” or “sacrifice” applied in Holy Scripture and by the earliest of the Fathers?

IV.—*The testimony of Scripture as to the nature of our Eucharistic Service.*

The passages of Scripture which seem to bear most immediately on the subject before us are 1 Cor. x. 16-21; Heb. ix. 18-20, compared with x. 19-25 and xiii. 10-16. Let us examine these consecutively:—

(1.) 1 Cor. x. 16-21: Here we are distinctly and without the smallest ambiguity taught that in the Lord's Supper we spiritually feed on the Body and Blood of Christ once sacrificed on the Cross, just as the Israelites at the peace-offering feast fed on the victim whose blood had been sprinkled on the altar. There appears here a clear distinction between the “table” and the “altar”⁹—the altar on which the victim was offered; the table on which it was eaten. They must have been unmistakeably distinct in the case of idolatrous worship (verse 21), and in that of the Jewish peace offerings (verse 18). There is the like distinction between “the

Lord's Table” and the Altar of Christ's own Sacrifice on Calvary. It should be observed also how accurate is the language in the Greek. By being in *very bodily act* partakers (μετεχειν, verse 17, 21,) of the “Table” and the “One bread”; we become κοινωνοί (verse 18 and 16), have beneficial fellowship and communion with the “Altar” and Him who was offered thereon.

(2.) Heb. ix. 18-21 (referring to Exod. xxiv.), compared with Heb. x. 19-25. Observe the following parallel.

Heb. ix. 18. The first Covenant was dedicated with Blood ἐγκεκάνισται, Exod. xxiv. 5. Burnt offerings and peace offerings were sacrificed.

Heb. ix. 19. Moses sprinkled (ἐππάντισε) all the people with the Blood.

Heb. ix. 20. In so doing he used these words, “This is the Blood of the testament (or covenant—διαθήκης) which God hath enjoined you.”

In Exod. xxiv. 11, They “ate and drank” (doubtless of the peace offering) in God's presence.

Heb. x. 19, 20. Our Lord Jesus Christ consecrated (ἐνεκαίτισεν) a new and living way into the Holiest by His Blood.

Heb. x. 22. We draw near having our hearts sprinkled (ἐππαντισμένοι) from an evil conscience.

In the Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. 28), “This is My Blood of the New Testament (or covenant—τοῦ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης) which is shed for many for the remission of sins.”

Heb. x. 25. We forsake not our ἐπισυναγωγὴν—our meeting together to God, or in God's presence.

Is it wrong to deduce from this passage, as what it clearly teaches, that Christ Himself on the Cross sealed the New Covenant with His own Blood, and there and then opened a new and living way of access to the Throne of Grace, and that in the Lord's Supper we are in the reception individually *sprinkled with the Blood of that Sacrifice*, in order that we may boldly draw near by that way, and may offer up our prayers and praises in full assurance of faith; that, being offered in connexion with this appointed commemoration of Christ's Sacrifice, they will for His sake, and by that way which He has opened, enter into the Holiest, even God's Presence, in Heaven?

(3.) Hebrews xiii. 10-16. It should be observed first that θυσία ἀντίστροφος verse 15, is the very name given to the Jewish *Thank-offering*, Levit. vii. 12 (in the LXX. verse 2), which was to be all eaten on the day on which it was offered, and—from verse 18 we may, I

⁸ Bishop Harold Browne on the Articles, p. 740.

⁹ See Note C. Appendix.

think, certainly infer of this, as of the other peace-offering there spoken of—was not imputed unto any who did not duly eat of it. This strongly confirms the belief that we have here an undoubted reference to the Lord's Supper. What then do we learn from this passage? "We have an altar." Verse 12 makes it clear that here as in 1 Cor. x., the altar is that of Christ's own sacrifice on Calvary;¹ but we eat of that altar (*i.e.*, of that sacrifice), at the Lord's Table, even at the Christian "Peace-offering or Thank-offering feast," spoken of in verse 15. And now in this holy Ordinance what does the apostle say that through Christ we "offer"? Emphatically and expressly the "fruit" (or "calves,"—Hosea xiv. 2, of which S. Paul here gives the LXX. version) "of our lips, giving thanks in Christ's Name," to which he adds the "sacrifices" of "doing good and distributing," which include our alms and our whole services. It certainly seems here, as in the former passages, expressly and distinctly taught us that the "Eucharistic Sacrifice" is strictly the offering of our prayers and praises, our oblations of bread and wine as the first-fruits of God's creatures, and our alms, and ourselves, our souls and bodies, *through* Christ, and *in His Name*. And that the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ's death in the Holy Communion is *not* in strictness of speech a sacrifice, nor is it an "offering" to God, but it is that by which the virtue of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross is so applied to each one who partakes of the Lord's Supper, that the offerings above spoken of, offered in Christ's Name, are, *through Him*, for *His sake*, in virtue of *His one sacrifice*, accepted by God.

V. — *Testimony of Scripture, that there was NO oblation of Christ's Body and Blood at the first Institution.*

We would now inquire still more specifically, Is there any oblation made in the Holy Communion, either of Christ's Body and Blood, or of Christ Himself? Was there at the first institution? Is there in our celebrations now?²

¹ See Note D. Appendix.

² During the last twenty years, I suppose, most of us have met frequently with statements such as this: "On the Cross He offered Himself up, both Body and Soul, unto Thee, His Eternal Father, with shedding of blood, after the order of Aaron, and in an unbloody manner also at his Last Supper, after the order of Melchizedec." "Guide for Lent," by Rev. J. Skianer, p. 127 (published 1852).

Canon Trevor, p. 24, writes: "S. Cyprian is the first to adduce the act of Melchizedec as a type of the Eucharistic

Tried by the test of Scripture, and the early Liturgies and Fathers, I believe not.

The ground for the former is, I apprehend, sought for (1) *In the words of Institution*. "This is my body which is given for you" (*το ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον* Luke xxii. 19). "My Blood which is shed for you" (*το ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον*.)³ Is this an oblation then and there made, or an anticipation of one shortly to be made? To this I find an answer in John xvii. 11, "And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to Thee" (*οὐκ ἔτι ἐμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι*). Is this an Ascension then made, or an anticipation of one shortly to be made? If it would be incorrect to say, "He ascended first in heart from the upper chamber, (or wherever John xiii. was spoken), and then in body from Mount Olivet," so I conceive it is incorrect to say, "He offered Himself, first after one manner, in the Last Supper, and then after another manner on the Cross." In either case he spoke anticipatively of an event which was shortly about to happen, and which did happen, once for all, at one place, and at one time, *viz.*, in the one case on the Cross, and in the other from Mount Olivet.

(2.) From *ποιεῖτε*. To draw any argument from this word it is absolutely essential to show, not only that it *may* bear the meaning of "offer," but that it *does* bear it in this passage. I believe it will be found that whenever *ποιεῖν* bears the meaning of "offer," it derives that meaning from its predicate, or from the context, not from itself. As in the sentence "To make an offering," the English word "*make*" obtains the sense of "*offer*" from its predicate. It has, I think, been shown conclusively that this is, at the very least, generally the case, if not altogether universally. But leaving the further pressing this argument to those who have carefully examined the passages in the LXX., where *ποιεῖν* bears the sense of "*offer*," this much is self-evident:—Our Lord, so far from using a word which means specially "to offer," uses one of the widest possible meaning, *viz.*, "*do*."

So far as *ποιεῖν* has any special meaning in connexion with the *Passover* (and this was after a Paschal Supper) it means to "keep," "ob-

sacrifice. After him it was held by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Jerome, and so passed to a common opinion. It was never inserted however in the Liturgies or Decrees of Faith till the Council of Trent, and there it was long stoutly denied. Jeremy Taylor admits it, but Bishop Andrewes confidently affirms of Melchizedec, "*sacrificium nullum obtulit*,"

³ See Appendix, Note E.

serve" (Exod. xii. 47⁴), with reference not to any priestly function, but to "all the congregation" eating it.

So far as the context points to any special meaning at all, it is in this same direction, not of any priestly offering, but of all partaking. See 1 Cor. xi. 25, 26. "This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come."

VI. — *Testimony of EARLY Liturgies and Fathers to the true nature of the Eucharistic Oblation in comparison with the change of language in the LATER Liturgies, indicating a gradual divergence from the primitive doctrine.*

In proof that according to the early Liturgies and Fathers no oblation either of Christ's Body or Blood, or of Christ Himself is made in the Holy Communion, I would refer:—

(1). To the fact that in *all* Liturgies the oblation is made with the unconsecrated elements, and after the oblation, prayer is immediately made that the Holy Spirit would descend on the elements to "exhibit" (ἀποφάνειν)⁵ or "make" (ποιεῖν) them the Body and Blood of Christ, and this always with direct and special reference to *reception*.⁶ In most of the principal Liturgies,⁷ the sentence—1 Cor. xi. 26, is added to the words of Institution, thus connecting the appointed ἀνάμνησις inseparably with the partaking.⁷ "That they may be to all of us *who partake of them* for faith, for sobriety, for healing, for temperance, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body, and spirit, for participation of the blessedness of eternal life, and immortality, for the glory of Thy Holy Name, for the remission of sins."

⁴ Girdlestone (Synonyms of the Old Testament, p. 315) gives the following passages in which ποιεῖν, as a rendering of נָשַׁךְ is used of the people "keeping" the Passover, Exod. xii. 48; Numb. ix. 2-6, 10-14; 2 Chron. xxx. 1-3, 5, 13; 2 Chron. xxxv. 18; Ezra vi. 19.

⁵ ἀποφάνειν. The use of this word in the Clementine Liturgy and in Irenæus, as distinguished from the later word ποιεῖν, seems worthy of note, as accurately expressing an imparting of a new use and efficacy to the elements, but not a new nature or substance. It is used (See Liddell and Scott) for appointing a man to be a teacher (διδάσκαλον) or steward (ταμίαν), the same man, but with new office and power.

* Viz., that of St. Mark, St. James, St. Clement, besides many others given by Dr. Neal in his Appendix. 6 (This is well put forward by Canon Trevor, Sacr., p. 155.)

⁷ St. Mark's Liturgy, (Neal, Greek, p. 27; English Translation, p. 27.) To like effect in all the others. (See Greek, 64, 86, 138; Eng. Transl., 52, 104, 116.)

(2.) I would refer to the Clementine Liturgy, taken from or agreeing with the Apostolic Constitutions, and admitted to be the best representative we have of an Ante-Nicene Liturgy,⁸ and to St. Mark's Liturgy as in the main agreeing with it, together with passages from Justin Martyr and Irenæus (with which I believe all others up to their date would be found to agree), as contrasted with the language of the Liturgy of St. James and St. Chrysostom, which bear unmistakeable marks of copious additions and alterations of (at earliest) the middle or end of the fifth century.⁹

Consider the following passages:—

Clementine Liturgy—"We offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to this institution, this bread and this cup (εὐχαριστοῦντες σοι δι' αὐτοῦ) giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice unto Thee (rather, probably, * to be priests unto Thee, — ἱερατεύειν σοι), and we beseech Thee, that Thou wilt look graciously on these gifts now lying before Thee, O Thou self-sufficient God; [ἀνευδής]: Thou that dost not need gifts from us.—See Irenæus, below.] and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ. And send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, on this sacrifice, (θυσίαν) that He may exhibit (ἀποφάνῃ) this bread, the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup, the Blood of Thy Christ; that all who shall partake of it (ἀντὶς) may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life; Thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled unto them."¹

"Again and again let us pray to God through His Christ in behalf (ὕπέρ) of the gift that is offered (προσκομισθέντος) to the Lord God; that the Lord God will receive it, through the

⁸ See Canon Trevor, Sacrifice, &c., p. 144.

⁹ This is manifest from the frequent recurrence of θεοσκόκος (Neal Eng. Transl., p. 38, 50. Greek 43, 61) which must, I conclude, have been inserted after Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and also from prayers offered through intercession of the Virgin Mary (Neal, Eng. Transl., pp. 94, 95, 100), which (see letter of Rev. G. Williams, given in Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon, Part. II., p. 425) are known to be an innovation introduced first by Peter the fuller—the heretical Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 482.

¹ Neal. Liturgies, Greek, p. 103, 104, Eng. Transl., pp. 85-6.

* See Wordsworth, note (on force of Pres. Inf.) on 1 John iii. 9.

mediation of His Christ, at his heavenly altar for a sweet smelling savour." ²

Observe on these passages, the sacrifice (*θυσία*) is the unconsecrated bread and wine; and even after the consecration, so far as they are regarded as oblations, they are still referred to simply as an offering from us, needing our prayers, that they may be accepted through the mediation of Christ, and to His honour. There is not a hint of any offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, or of Christ Himself, which could not need our prayers for them, but mention only of the appointed gift of bread and wine, according to Christ's appointment, and accompanied with our prayers and thanksgivings offered through Christ, and to be accepted through His mediation.

Agreeing with this are the following passages from Justin Martyr and Irenæus.

Justin Martyr (Dial. Tryph., § 41) speaks of the sacrifices which are offered to God in every place by us Gentiles, viz., "the Eucharistical Bread," and equally "the Eucharistical Cup," "which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to offer (*ποιῆν*) in remembrance of His Passion," and says, (§ 117,) "That prayers indeed and thanksgivings (*εὐχαριστῶν*) offered up by the worthy are the *only* sacrifices which are perfect and acceptable to God, is what I myself also affirm—for these alone the Christians also have been taught to offer (*ποιῆν*), and that in the remembrance made by their food, both solid and liquid, in which there is a commemoration also of the Passion endured for their sakes by the Son of God."³

Irenæus (Book IV.):—"Again giving directions to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created things, not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, He took that created thing, bread, and gave thanks and said: 'This is My Body.' And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His Blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Covenant, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout all the world."⁴

"The oblation of the Church, therefore, which the Lord gave instructions to be offered through-

out all the world, is accounted with God a pure sacrifice, and is acceptable to Him; not that He stands in need of a sacrifice from us, but that he who offers is himself glorified in that he does offer, if his gift be accepted. For by the gift both honour and affection are shown forth towards the King; and the Lord, wishing us to offer it in all simplicity and innocence, did express Himself thus: 'Therefore, when thou offerest thy gift upon the altar, and shalt remember that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift.' We are bound, therefore, to offer to God the first-fruits of his creation, as Moses also said, 'Thou shalt not appear in the presence of the Lord Thy God empty;' so that man, being accounted as grateful, by those things in which he has shown his gratitude, may receive that honour which flows from Him."⁵

Again, after illustrating the Church's oblation by Phil. iv. 18, he continues: "The Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator, —offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus—offering to him, with giving of thanks [the things taken] from His creation. But the Jews do not offer thus, for their hands are full of blood, for they have not received the Word, through whom it is offered to God."⁶

"Those who have become acquainted with the secondary constitutions of the Apostles, are aware that the Lord instituted a new oblation in the New Covenant, according to Malachi the prophet. For 'from the rising of the sun even to the setting, My Name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered in My Name, and a pure sacrifice.' As John also declares in the Apocalypse, 'The incense is the prayers of the saints.' Then

⁵ Harvey, p. 201. A. N. L., p. 431.

⁶ "Non enim receperunt Verbum, per quod offertur Deo." This is Harvey's reading. There is a various reading adopted by Massuet and other editors which omits *per*—of course thus read the passage tells exactly in the *contrary* direction to which I here quote it. It seems to me impossible for any one who reads the whole passage, and moreover observes the verbal correspondence between Irenæus' words throughout these extracts with the Clementine Liturgy to have a shadow of doubt as to Harvey's reading being the true one. If this be so then the various reading is full of instruction, and exactly marks the very change of doctrine to which I wish to draw attention. The doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice in Irenæus' time was an offering made through Christ. Later editors perceived the contrariety of this to the doctrine held in their day, and so altered the text of Irenæus to suit this later doctrine, viz., that Christ was Himself the offering.

² Ditto Greek, p. 106. Eng. Transl., p. 88. See Part VI. sect. 7.

³ Ang. Cath. Libr., pp. 121, 215.

⁴ Harvey, Vol. II., p. 197. Ante-Nicene Library, Vol. I., 303.

again Paul exhorts us to 'present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.' And again, 'Let us offer the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of our lips.' Now those oblations are not according to the law, the hand-writing of which the Lord took away from the midst by cancelling it; but they are according to the Spirit, for we must worship God 'in spirit and in truth.' And therefore the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one, but a spiritual; and in this respect it is pure. For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then when we have perfected the oblation (τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες) we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit this sacrifice (ἀποφύγῃ τὴν θυσίαν τάυτην), both the Bread, the Body of Christ, and the Cup, the Blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal."⁷

In the above extracts from Irenæus I would specially draw attention to the manifest, even verbal, references either to the Clementine Liturgy itself, or to Liturgies then in use identical in language with what we now have preserved to us in the Clementine.

These passages may be sufficiently clear of themselves, yet their force can hardly be perceived fully except by their marked contrast with the language of the fifth and later centuries, as seen in the Liturgies of St. James and St. Chrysostom. Then we find such new language as this: "The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Christ our God (προέρχεται) cometh forward to be (σφαγισθῆναι) sacrificed, and to be given for food to the faithful,"⁸ and "that I may (προσφύγῃσαι) sacrifice Thy holy and spotless Body and precious Blood;" "For Thou art He that offerest and art offered, (προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος), and receivest and art distributed, Christ our God."⁹

* Springing out of this novel view of the Eucharistic sacrifice we find many other changes. What in the Clementine Liturgy and St. Mark's are called simply *gifts*,¹ are called in St. James's Liturgy, "hallowed, precious, celestial, in-

effable, stainless, glorious, terrible, tremendous, divine"²—and yet they *pray* for them that the Lord would receive them!—a witness to the pure doctrine of the original Liturgy before it was interpolated.

The phrases "unbloody sacrifice" which (so far as I see) does not occur in the Clementine Liturgy, and which is found in St. Mark's simply as "reasonable and unbloody,"³ referring apparently to the whole act of worship, and in meaning being, I presume, equivalent to those terms used by St. Paul, Rom. xii. 1, becomes in St. James's Liturgy, "fearful and tremendous."⁴

Whereas in the Clementine Liturgy, the Bishop uses the word "offer" in the name of the whole people, and as equivalent with "we pray unto Thee," "we call upon Thee," "we beseech Thee,"⁵ and in St. Mark's the priest prays "The thank-offerings of them that offer sacrifices and oblations receive, O God, to Thy holy and super-celestial altar, to the height of the heavens, by thy arch-angelic ministry;"⁶ in St. James's Liturgy, the Priest prays for himself, and those who have been placed in this ministry as ministers of thy spotless mysteries, "that we may be worthy to offer to Thee gifts and sacrifices for our own ignorances, and for those of the people."⁷ And in St. Chrysostom's: "Strengthen, with the might of Thy Holy Ghost, me that have been endued with the grace of priesthood, that I may stand by this, thy holy altar, and sacrifice thy holy and spotless Body and precious Blood."⁸

VII.—Concluding remarks.

All these mark unmistakably an entirely changed aspect of the Eucharistic sacrifice: that which was originally an offering of bread and wine, with our praises, prayers, alms, and self-devotion, through the mediation of Christ, accompanied with the appointed commemoration of, and spiritual feeding upon, the Sacrifice of Christ on Calvary, to seal to us the power of that mediation, was changed into a supposed offering to God of the Body and Blood of Christ, or even of Christ Himself.

The deflexion from primitive truth would seem to be threefold:—

1. That the Body and Blood of Christ are offered to God.

2. That the Priest is the sole offerer, or, at least is specially the offerer, and that in the act

⁷ Fragment XXXVI. or XXXVII. Harvey, Vol. II., p. 500. Ant. N. Libr., Vol. II., p. 176.

⁸ St. James's Lit. Neal, Gr. p. 50. Eng. Tr. pp. 39, 40.

⁹ St. Chrysostom. Neal, Greek, p. 128. Eng. Tr., p. 107.

¹ Neal, Eng. Tr., pp. 23, 88.

² Ib. pp. 44 and 56.

³ Ib. p. 15.

⁴ Ib. pp. 45, 46, 48, 57.

⁵ Ib. pp. 86, 87.

⁶ Ib. p. 19.

⁷ Ib. pp. 45, 46.

⁸ Ib. p. 107.

of consecration.⁹ It is true that according to the right view of the oblations, the Priest presents the gifts and oblations of the people to God (Clement of Rome, 1st Epistle, chap. 44); but the ἀνάμνησις of Christ's death, inasmuch as in this the *partaking* is an essential part, is the act of the *people* as well as of the priest.

3. There seems to have been (in later times, at least), a confusion between the *person* of Christ, and *His Body broken*, and *His Blood shed*—i.e., separated one from the other, as during the short period of *His death*; as though because of the consecration of the elements Christ Himself must be "on our altars."¹

I would at least suggest that in any further investigation of this question careful attention should be directed to these points among others. For what seems greatly needed at this time, and what I would earnestly commend specially to my brethren of the clergy, is this—to test and to complete the investigation of this subject which has been thus imperfectly begun. Let them examine whether this be not the fact, that there is a scriptural and primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which prevailed in the Church universally and unquestioned till at least the middle of the third century, and which is absolutely identical with that set forth in our own Communion office, and that this was supplanted gradually by another form of doctrine, *unscriptural* and *unprimitive*, which has changed the character of our Lord's ordinance, and culminated in the false teaching and corrupt practices of the Church of Rome.

Of this I am sure, that in times of controversy, few lines of enquiry are more useful than that into the History of Doctrine. It removes us from (it may be) a somewhat heated strife over sacred things to a patient investigation of facts; it enables us to discriminate between what is truly primitive and what is of later growth; and when claim is made to the authority of the ancient Church, to know whether we ought to bow to it or not. It will assuredly make us more loving, dutiful, and loyal sons of our own Branch of Christ's holy Church, and more deeply thankful to Almighty God for having secured to us in her the Truth, pure, as "from the beginning."

May we learn to love that Truth more and more, and may God of His great mercy guide us to keep it "whole and undefiled."

SECTION 2.—THE TRUE WORSHIP OF CHRIST'S CHURCH ON EARTH — SACRIFICIAL; IN UNION WITH THE WORSHIP OF HEAVEN, THROUGH CHRIST OUR HIGH PRIEST.*

By the late REV. DR. BIBER, Vicar of West Allington.

I.—The true Sacrifice, and the true Worship.

There was a worship established in Israel, when Christ appeared as "a teacher sent from God," the worship of the temple at Jerusalem. That worship rested on Divine authority. It was established under circumstances of a most remarkable character, by the immediate command of God Himself; and it professed to be, and by the voice of divinely inspired teachers was pronounced to be, the only correct worship, the only correct mode of approach to God on the part of sinful man, then known among men, as having the sanction of Divine authority, and therefore acceptable unto God. At the root of it lay the idea, which need only be stated to command universal assent, that the mode of access to a Sovereign and Holy God, on the part of man, his dependent and sinful, his rebellious and yet suppliant creature, must be determined, not by man himself, but by God. And God had so determined it, by the enactment of the Mosaic law of Sacrifices, not permanently, indeed,—not according to the Divine ideal of what that worship ought to be,—but in a temporary way, suited to man's capability, untutored and unchastened as he was; in a way calculated to supply that tutoring and chastening which man's condition required, and at the same time to indicate and to render familiar to his mind the elementary ideas of all true worship.

Looking at the nature and intent of the worship so established by Divine authority, it cannot be matter of surprise that when He came, in whom all true worship—worship according to the Divine ideal of what it ought to be, worship according to the nature of God's purpose with man, and according to the intrinsic requirements of God's claim upon man, and of man's need of God—was to centre, the Divine sanction given to the worship previously established should be withdrawn. Such a withdrawal of the Divine sanction from what had never been otherwise than temporary and pre-

* This Section was written by Dr. Biber as the conclusion to his Treatise on Non-Communicant Attendance, in Part VII. (but reserved for this Part), and unconnected with the Treatise 1st Edn., p. 400, which was written by him expressly for the conclusion of the 1st Edition.

⁹ As in the 12th Council of Toledo, Cap. 5, A.D. 681, the Priest is called "ipse sacrificans." ¹ See Part V., p. 360-61.

paratory,¹ when the time for the accomplishment of the design to which it pointed and tended had arrived, was to be expected. Accordingly it had been foretold by the voice of ancient prophecy, "Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not, but a *Body hast Thou prepared Me*;² burnt offering and sin offering hast Thou not required. Then said I, 'Lo, I come, in the volume of the Book'³ it is written of Me; I delight⁴ to do Thy will, O my God."⁵ Again: "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure Offering; for My Name shall be great among the *Gentiles*,⁶ saith the Lord of Hosts."⁷

The change in the character of the worship, so predicted, involving both the substitution of the Body prepared of old for the sacrifices of the Law, and the extension of the worship to all the nations of the earth, was pointed out as about to take place by Him who was at once the High Priest and the Sacrifice of the new worship. "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."⁸

¹ "The law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ" (Gal. iii. 24). "The first covenant had ordinances of Divine Service, and a worldly sanctuary..... which was a figure for the time then present, in which [time] are offered both gifts and sacrifices that can not make him that does the service perfect, consisting only in..... carnal ordinances imposed until the time of reformation,"—literally, rectifying, *διορθώσους* (Heb. ix. 1, 9, 10). The change of tense in the original is worthy of remark. "A shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ" (Col. ii. 17).

² The true reading of the Hebrew text in this place, which underlies the LXX. version, quoted by St. Paul, doubtless was that which has been suggested and approved by the best critics—*אֵין נֹחַ כְּרִית*.

³ Literally, the Roll of the Book—*i.e.*, the Law. Compare Luke xxiv. 27, 44.

⁴ "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work" (John iv. 34). "I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me" (John vi. 38). "Not My will, but Thine be done" (Luke xxii. 42).

⁵ Psalm xl. 6—8. Compare Heb. x. 5—9.

⁶ גֵּוֹיִם the same word as that rendered "Gentiles" in the former part of the verse. ⁷ Mal. i. 10, 11. ⁸ John iv. 21—24.

The change in the character of the worship, so predicted by the voice of ancient prophecy, and so indicated as imminent by the Lord Jesus Himself, was brought about by a series of facts—by the offering of the True Sacrifice, the God-Man, upon the Cross;⁹ by His resurrection¹ and ascension into Heaven,² changing the scene of the new and only true worship from earth to heaven;³ and by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, imparting to the new body of worshippers, the Church of Christ, a spiritual life,⁴ and to the worship offered by them a spiritual character;⁵ after which the transition from the old, shadowy, carnal, to the new, the real, the spiritual worship, having been made known to to all, both Jews and Gentiles—both the old worshippers and the new worshippers admitted to the privilege of worship,⁶—the old worship,

⁹ "This spake he [Caiaphas] not of himself; but being High Priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad" (John xi. 51, 52). "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. v. 7).

¹ "Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us" (Rom. viii. 34). "To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living (Rom. xiv. 9). "By faith Abraham offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son; accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure" (Heb. xi. 17, 19). "He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again" (2 Cor. v. 15). "Baptism doth..... save us..... by the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. iii. 21).

² "We have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God" (Heb. iv. 14). "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24).

³ "The temple of God was opened in heaven" (Rev. xi. 19). "The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened" (Rev. xvi. 5).

⁴ "There is one Body, and one Spirit" (Eph. iv. 4). "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one Body; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 13). "Ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit" (Eph. ii. 22). "Hereby know we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He has given us of His Spirit" (1 John iv. 13; 1 John iii. 24).

⁵ "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit Itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered" (Rom. viii. 26). "God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father" (Gal. iv. 6). "Ye, as *living* stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. ii. 5).

⁶ "The mystery of Christ, which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; that the Gentile

which had virtually ceased at the moment of the consummation of the One True Sacrifice upon the Cross, and its virtual cessation at that moment being signified by the rending of the veil of the earthly sanctuary,⁷ was rendered *de facto* impossible by the destruction of the Temple, in which alone it could lawfully be offered.⁸

II. — *The worship of the Church expectant in Heaven.*

The true worship, then, is that which is offered in heaven by the Great High Priest on behalf of His Church, and by His Church through him;⁹ and it is of its very nature a sacrificial worship, worship through the Lamb that was slain, but liveth for evermore, and is presented in heaven as the everlasting Sacrifice¹ by the everlasting High Priest. The Church which offers this worship, in which holy angels are permitted to join, is composed of the first-born of mankind, begotten anew, and incorporated into the Church—of the spirits of perfected saints² which have fallen asleep in Jesus³ and

should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel" (Eph. iii. 4-6).

7 "The way unto the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while the first tabernacle was yet standing" (Heb. ix. 8). "Jesus when He had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the Ghost. And behold the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, from the top to the bottom (Matt. xxvii. 50, 51). The fact that the old worship was virtually abolished, though outwardly suffered to continue for a season, accounts for the repeated change from past to present, and from present to past, when speaking of the Temple and the old worship in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, written during that transition period, and before the destruction of the Temple.

8 "Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest, but in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee (Deut. xii. 13, 14; cf. vv. 5, 6). "In the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (Dan. ix. 27). "He taketh away the first, that He may establish the second" (Heb. x. 9).

9 "We have such an High Priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens; a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man" (Heb. viii. 1, 2). "Having an High Priest over the House of God" (Heb. x. 21). "Christ being come an High Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by His own blood He entered in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 11, 12). Compare page 325, col. 2, note 2.

1 "By His own blood (Heb. ix. 12). "In the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb, as it had been slain" (Rev. v. 6). "They sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb" (Rev. xv. 3).

2 "Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the Living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of

are in His presence,⁴ in the heavenly mansions,⁵ waiting for the day in which He shall descend with His holy myriads,⁶ when they shall descend⁷ with Him, to be clothed with their resurrection bodies,⁸—glorious bodies—in the likeness of Christ, the heavenly Adam.⁹

In that true worship, the worship of the Church expectant¹ in heaven through Christ her Head, the everlasting High Priest—sacrificial through the blood of the Lamb, the everlasting sacrifice—those members of the Church who at any moment are still remaining on the earth in a transition state, a state of probation² and gradual transformation of mind and heart into the image of Christ,³ and successive gene-

the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of perfected saints, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant" (Heb. xii. 22-24).

3 Literally, "Those that were laid to sleep by Jesus," τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (1 Thess. iv. 14).

4 "Having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better" (Phil. i. 23). "Whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord..... We are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 6-8).

5 "In My Father's house are many mansions..... I go to prepare a place for you" (John xiv. 2).

6 "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of His saints"—literally, "His holy myriads," both angels and perfected spirits (Jude 14).

7 "Those that were laid to sleep by Jesus, will God bring with Him" (1 Thess. iv. 14). See above, note 3.

8 "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds" (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17). "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed..... the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52).

9 "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. xv. 47-49). "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him for we shall see Him as he is" (1 John iii. 2). "The Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body" (Phil. iii. 20, 21).

1 "This man, after He had offered one Sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till His enemies be made His footstool" (Heb. x. 12, 13). "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (Rev. vi. 10). "Not that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life" (2 Cor. v. 4). "The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 19).

2 "Now for a season, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; that the trial of your faith..... might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 6, 7; comp. 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13; James i. 12).

3 "Ye have put on the new man, which is renewed in know-

rations of this "Church militant on earth," are privileged to join; realizing thereby their membership of the heavenly Church,⁴ and their union with Christ.⁵ How men, still dwelling on earth, in the body, can be enabled to join in that heavenly worship, would appear to be the great problem; and the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, the appointed worship of the Church on earth, is the solution of that problem.

III.—*Participation of the Church Militant on Earth in the Heavenly Worship.*

The inquiry, then, as to the nature of the Eucharistic Worship, according to Christ's institution and the teaching of His Apostles, resolves itself into the question: "Has our Lord Jesus Christ made, and have His holy Apostles perpetuated, any appointment to enable the members of the Church on earth during their state of probation to take a part in the sacrificial worship of heaven? and if so, what is that appointment?"

To this question the Holy Ghost makes answer, through the mouth of the Apostle St. Paul, We have "boldness to enter into the holiest,"—"the true tabernacle,"⁶ "heaven itself," into which "Christ is entered, to appear in the presence of God for us"⁷—"BY THE BLOOD OF JESUS, by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, THROUGH the veil, that is to say, HIS FLESH."⁸ That Body prepared from everlasting,⁹ as the true Sacrifice, the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ given for us, the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ shed for us, is the appointed means of our taking part in the true Sacrificial worship of the Church in Heaven. To eat that Flesh and drink that Blood, is the appointed means, the absolute condition, of our

abiding in personal union with Christ,¹ of our enjoying eternal life here, and attaining unto the resurrection of life hereafter.² And on the eve of that great Sacrifice, once accomplished in time on earth, and everlastingly presented in heaven, the Lord Jesus Himself ordained the Mystery or Sacrament in which we are enabled, privileged, and commanded to eat His Flesh and to drink His Blood. "He took bread, and when He had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, 'Take, eat, THIS IS MY BODY which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of Me.'" "He took the Cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying: 'Drink ye all of it; for THIS IS MY BLOOD of the new Covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me,'"³—not "in remembrance"—to put us in mind—of the historical Christ only, crucified for us eighteen hundred years ago, but of Christ the everlasting High Priest, now and for evermore appearing in the presence of God for us with the everlasting Sacrifice.

To eat of this Bread consecrated by giving of thanks, and so eating, to eat the Flesh, the Body of Christ; to drink of this Cup consecrated by giving of thanks, and so drinking, to drink the Blood of Christ, is the way ordained by Christ for the Members of His Church on earth, whereby they are to take part in the Sacrificial worship in Heaven, offered by Himself the Great High Priest. So the Apostles of our Lord understood it: "The Cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?"⁴

To partake of the "Altar," to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup, became the established worship of the Church, to be joined in by all the Faithful in the act of eating and drinking—the great means employed by the Apostles, their fellow-labourers and successors, for the accomplishment of the work given them in charge by their Divine Lord, the work of "perfecting the Saints and building up the Church, the Body of Christ."⁵

ledge after the image of Him that created him" (Col. iii. 10). "We are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus" (Eph. ii. 10). "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil. ii. 5). "We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" (2 Cor. iii. 18).

⁴ "Our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named" (Eph. iii. 14, 15). "Our conversation [literally, our community, our citizenship, *πολιτευμα*] is in heaven" (Phil. iii. 20), "God hath.....raised us up together [with Christ], and made us sit together in heavenly places [with Him] in Christ Jesus" (Eph. ii. 4, 6, Compare p. 326, Note 2).

⁵ "That they all may be one: as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us.....I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one" (John xvii. 21, 23).

⁶ Heb. viii. 2.

⁸ Heb. x. 19, 20.

⁷ Heb. ix. 24.

⁹ Heb. x. 5.

¹ "Abide in Me, and I in you" (John xv. 4). "He that eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in Him" (John vi. 56).

² "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 54).

³ Matt. xxvi. 26—28; Mark xiv. 22-24; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23—25. ⁴ 1 Cor. x. 16. ⁵ Eph. iv. 11, 12; i. 22, 23.

APPENDIX.

NOTES TO SECTION 1.

NOTE A.—P. 318.

THE "MEMORIAL" OR "REMEMBRANCE" BEFORE GOD—
A SACRIFICIAL ACT OF WORSHIP.

[We are indebted to the Rev. Canon Trevor for the following valuable remarks on "the Memorial Sacrifice" in reference to the subject of this Treatise—Ed.]

It is a common opinion that a Remembrance or Memorial can only be designed to preserve the event in the recollection of man, since God can neither forget nor be reminded. But this is certainly opposed to the constant use of Holy Scripture. God says of the rainbow (Gen. ix. 6), "I will look upon the bow and remember my covenant."

Under the law, the shewbread was never seen by the people at all, being presented and consumed in the Holy Place, to which none but priests were admitted. It was "shown" to the Lord, and not to man. (Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 26). Now this bread—or rather the frankincense which was put upon it—is called "a memorial even an offering made by fire unto the Lord." (Lev. xxiv. 7.) This is the description of a sacrifice in the strictest sense. The Septuagint here has the precise expression which our Blessed Lord used of the Eucharist *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν*, translated in the New Testament "in remembrance." Hence the Eucharistic Remembrance is *before God*, and is a Sacrifice. The word "Memorial" occurs again in Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16, v. 12, vi. 15, and Numbers v. 26, where the Septuagint has *μνημόσυνον* but the Hebrew word in all these places is the same as in Lev. xxiv. 7.⁹ It follows that in the Greek the noun *μνημόσυνον* is equivalent to the phrase *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν*. In Numbers v. 15, we have the full expression "an offering of memorial bringing iniquity to remembrance"—*θυσία μνημόσυνον ἀναμνήσκουσα ἀμαρτίαν*. Here, again, the memorial is a sacrifice (*θυσία*), and its object is not to remind man but God. Of the two human parties, one was in ignorance and the other quite conscious of the truth, but suspected of concealing it. The Sacrifice was an appeal to the Omniscient to remember and disclose the fact. So in 1 Kings xvii. 18, "Art thou come to call my sin to remembrance (with God) and to slay my son?" This language is doubtless *anthropo-morphical*, but it is the language of *prayer*, both under the Old and New Testaments. The Psalms abound in appeals to God to remember His mercies, and to forget and blot out our transgressions. Our Blessed Lord has no scruple in exhorting us to perseverance in prayer by the thought that "God will avenge His own elect though He bear long with them." (Luke xviii. 7). And the Apostle in like manner says "Let your requests be made known unto God." The whole idea of supplication and inter-

cession is to put God in mind of us and of our brethren. Do we not also pray, "Remember not our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers"?

Now what prayer does in word it was the office of Sacrifice to do in act: hence memorial sacrifices, or sacrifices of remembrance, were primarily and properly to remind God, and only secondarily became memorials or monuments to men. In Numbers x. 9, it is promised that on blowing an alarm with the trumpet, "Ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies." The sound is to come up before God, and remind Him of the promise, and His people's need. And in the next verse the trumpet is to be sounded in like manner over the Sacrifices "for a memorial before God." Indeed, all the Levitical rites and sacrifices, especially those in the Holy Place, were primarily liturgical offerings to God, and because of that, symbolical lessons to the people. Of this kind, was the "remembrance" of sin referred to in Heb. x. 3, the only other place in the New Testament where the Eucharistic word *ἀνάμνησις* is found. The reference is not to the sinner's recollection of his transgressions, but to the liturgical remembrance of the sin-offering made before the mercy seat, by the bringing in its blood within the veil. The necessity for the yearly repetition of this sacrifice showed the continuance of sin, though temporarily pardoned, and pointed to a better Sacrifice to come. It should be borne in mind that eating and drinking are not *per se*, either commemorative or religious actions; they become so only when we eat and drink the Memorial Sacrifice. The Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the Lord's Supper, *because* the Bread which we eat and the Cup of which we drink are the sacrificial *μνημόσυνον*—*εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν*—of the Sacrifice of his Death. It is remarkable that the sacrificial word is not recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, as if to the Jewish mind it would be necessarily implied in the command to eat and drink His Body and Blood; a thing only possible through a liturgical medium, such as they were familiar with. St. Luke and the Apostle of the Gentiles supply the name, establishing the parallel with the Peace Offerings of the law.

That the Sacrificial Act applies to the whole service, is shown by Thorndike—Vol. IV. p. 119, (Anglo-Cath. Libr). "Breaking, pouring forth, distributing, eating, drinking, are all parts of the Sacrifice: as the *whole* action is that Sacrifice, by which the covenant of grace is renewed, restored, and established against the interruption of our failures."

NOTE B.—P. 318

OUR EUCHARISTIC "OBOLATION."

The passage (Scudamore, "Not. Euch.," p. 12,) quoted in Note 6, p. 318, concludes as follows:—

⁹ Heb. *askarah* from the root "to remember." In Proop's Hebrew and Spanish Bible (a great authority), this word when used of the sacrifices, is always translated *sahumerio* (a smoke) and *memoria*, when denoting a remembrance to men, as in Ex. iii. 15; and Zech. vi. 17.

"But whenever it obtained the name, this would naturally soon come to be regarded as the chief, and at length perhaps as the only, reason why the whole rite should be termed 'the oblation'; for this is the most sacred and essential notion of an offering connected with it." These words seem to me to add greatly to the positive force of the comparatively negative testimony of the early Fathers brought forward in this treatise. Whenever the commemoration of Christ's death came to be looked upon as an "oblation or offering of His Body and Blood," the thought of any other offerings—whether those of our own prayers and praises, or, still more, the mere material offering of bread and wine as the first-fruits of God's creation—was of necessity overshadowed and soon lost to sight. It could not but be so. The less could not hold its place by the side of that which, if true, would be incomparably greater.

The fact, therefore, that in the writings of the earliest Fathers, and in what appears to be the earliest type of the ancient Liturgies, (as in holy Scripture itself,) these offerings are kept prominently in view, and the expression "offering of the Body and Blood of Christ" nowhere appears—proves that the idea contained in these last words, not only failed to find expression in their writings, but must absolutely have been foreign to their thoughts.

NOTE C.—Pp. 319 and 320.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN "ALTAR" AND "TABLE."

It is true that in *some* passages in the Old Testament (Ezek. xli. 22) and Rabbinical writers (Lightfoot on 1 Cor. x. 21), the two terms Altar and Table, are used as identical in meaning,—but not in all. Girdlestone (Old Testament synonyms, p. 309, note) says, "The *table*, however, served a different purpose from the *altar*. The animal was slain and cut up on the table, but its blood was sprinkled, its fat burnt, and in the case of the 'olah (Burnt-offering), all the pieces were burnt on the altar," and he refers in proof of this to Ezek. xl. 39-43.

If the distinction is here made between the altar on which the victim was offered, and the table on which it had been slain, so might there well be a like distinction—and so in 1 Cor. x. there seems plainly to be,—between it and the table on which the victim was eaten.

NOTE D.—P. 320.

THE ALTAR OF THE CROSS.

I had at first written "the Altar is the Cross;" so Bengel, *i. l.*—so among recent commentators, Ashwell, in the S.P.C.K. commentary. But as it has been suggested that the Cross finds its type rather in the wood borne by Isaac than the altar on which he was offered—and that Matt. xxiii. 18, forbids us to count that the Altar, which is less in dignity than the Gift—I have altered the expression to that in the text, to

leave it open to the interpretation adopted by Hammond (on Heb. xiii. 10), Lightfoot (Vol. vii. p. 243), and others, that *Christ Himself* is at once Priest, Victim, and Altar. The only point I would urge is that—as it seems to me—while the "eating" refers to the Lord's Supper, the "altar" refers to that on which we then spiritually feed—the *actual sacrifice of Christ*, when he died upon the Cross. It is to *this* sacrifice the Apostle has all along been referring as the one Sacrifice, and the fulfilment of every kind of Jewish sacrifice (Heb. x. 8); it is *this* sacrifice, not its commemoration, of which he speaks in verse 12; it is by this interpretation that we best see the force of the Apostle's argument in setting forth the superiority of the Christian to the Jewish Dispensation. Under the Law the sin-offering might not be eaten, for it could not take away sin, and therefore, bearing sin, remained itself polluted. But our great Sin-offering—the Lord Jesus Christ—has so perfectly taken away sin, that all sentence of sin is absolutely removed from Him, and thus He becomes also our *Peace-offering*, whereof we may "eat" to our soul's healing and peace.¹

It may be well just to add that the argument from verse 15 stands by itself, whatever interpretation may be given to the word "altar" in verse 10.

[Since the above was written we have been favoured with the following remarks on the subject from the Rev. J. F. Isaacson, Rector of Freshwater, which we gladly insert here, with his permission.—ED.]

As regards the question in Note D, I would remark that Vitringa's observation on Is. vi. 6—"Altare in sacris Deum figurat, cui quid traditur et devovetur ab illo veluti consumendum,"—suggests the true light in which we should regard the Cross, viz., as representing God the Father, to whom "Christ offered Himself without spot by the everlasting Spirit,"—as St. Paul declares in express terms in Heb. ix. 14, and as is mystically signified in Levit. xiv. 5, where it is written in the Sept.—*Σπάξουσιν τὸ ὀρνέθιον τὸ ἐν εἰς ἀγγέλιον δατράκινον ἐφ' ὕδατι ζῶντι*. In this wonderful passage the whole scene of the Crucifixion is set, as it were, before our eyes: "the earthen vessel resting upon living water" exhibits the Lord Jesus, while hanging on the Cross, as resting on the Father, and accepted by Him, to whom He was giving Himself as the one all-sufficient Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. See Wordsworth's note, *in loco cit.*

NOTE E.—P. 320.

(Also by the Rev. J. F. Isaacson).
"WHICH IS TO BE GIVEN," &c.

I venture to suggest that attention should be drawn to the incorrectness of the received reading of the expressions, *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον*, *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον*: "which is to be given,"—"which is to be

¹ See expressly to this same effect Thorndike Vol. I. 475-477. IV. 17-20. The terms headed are "The Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross,"—"the Sacrifice of the Cross,"—"the Sacrifice Offered to God upon the Cross."

poured out" would more accurately express the force of the participle in the two cases, as may be seen from the following passages taken from the Old and New Testament respectively, in all which the *present* tense is used. 1. Deut. iv. 22. "I am to die, (*ἀποθνήσκω*), and not cross over," (*διαβαίνω*). 2. 1 Cor. xv. 12: "is to be no resurrection," *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν*. 3. Ib. verse 35: "to be raised," *ἐγείρονται*;—"are they to come," *ἐρχονται*. When the Lord spoke the words now under consideration, *the body was on the point of being given*, and *the blood was on the point of being shed*; and this the present participle expresses most exactly. In Levit. xiv. the participle *ὁ καθαρῶνόμενος* is rendered by our translators "he that is to be cleansed" no fewer than seven times, viz., in vv. 11, 14, 17, 19, 25, 28, 31.

HOLY COMMUNION THE SPECIAL SERVICE OF THE LORD'S DAY.

So long as the temple worship continued, and a Church of believers in the Lord Jesus remained at Jerusalem, the daily celebration of the Holy Communion was the necessary Christian counterpart of the daily service in the temple; but after the spread of the Gospel beyond the reach of Jerusalem, it became simply the one distinctive feature of Christian, as distinguished from all other, worship. The first day of the week, now called the Lord's Day, was observed as the day specially set apart for Christian worship in public assemblies, and as such it was the day on which the Holy Communion, as the central act of that worship, was celebrated. From Acts xx. 7, it appears that there was a stated day, the Lord's Day, on which the disciples assembled to "break Bread;" and to this agree all the testimonies of the early Church as to primitive usage. However in some parts the practice of daily communion might be kept up, and the Eucharist be connected with the prayer for "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, in the Church at large it assumed the character of the spiritual Bread of the Lord's Day, and so it continues in theory, though unhappily not in practice, to the present time, in our own branch of the Church Catholic.

THE MYSTERY OF SPIRITUAL SUSTENANCE.

The process of assimilation, by which one nature is capable of converting another nature into itself, is, even more than that of procreation, or the perpetuation of the same nature in a succession of individuals, one of those deep mysteries of which the Almighty Creator alone has the key. As a matter of fact we see in the material world the plant taking up from the soil, from the atmosphere, and from the sun, nourishment, which it converts into its own substance. The vegetable substance thus produced is in

its turn taken up by the animal, and converted into organized substances of a higher order. And this again, as well as the vegetable substance, is taken up by man, and converted into human flesh and blood, constituting the vessel and the instrument of the immaterial soul. In the material world, which thus affords numerous illustrations of the process of assimilation, the order of that process is conversion of the lower into the higher substance. In the spiritual world this order is inverted. It is the higher nature which, by imparting itself to the lower nature, converts the latter into its own likeness, makes the creature so assimilated,—the soul of the regenerated man,—partaker of the higher, the Divine nature. Human nature, spiritualized by the indwelling Godhead in Christ, becomes the sustenance, "meat" and "drink" (St. John vi. 54-56) of the new man, and converts him into the likeness, (1 John i. 2) yea, into the very substance (Eph. v. 30) of Christ Himself. Ought not the very mysteriousness of that process to restrain us from all attempts to speculate upon it? Should it not lead us,—in humble acknowledgment of the fact that in the nature of things it must transcend our comprehension,—in simple obedience to *do what He has commanded*, and in childlike faith to *believe that the purpose for which He has ordained it will assuredly be brought to pass by His mighty working in us*,—His "inworking" (*ἐνέργεια*)—whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself"? Phil. iii. 21.

THE FORCE OF HABIT OVER PRINCIPLE.

One instance would strikingly illustrate the preponderance of the force of habit over principle. That participation of the Holy Communion, which is an integral and essential part of true Christian Worship, must be infinitely more edifying, and calculated to build up the soul in Christ, than any—though it be the most eloquent—discourse, no one would upon reflection dream of denying. Yet while no Church-goer would scandalize the congregation, or show disrespect to the preacher, by marching out of Church before the Sermon, hundreds may be seen every Lord's Day leaving the Church before the commencement of Holy Communion. The disrespect they would not show to the human preacher, they habitually shew to the Lord Jesus, whose gracious invitation to feed upon Him they contemptuously disregard; and while they would not willingly forego the edification derived from a Sermon preached by human lips, they deliberately defraud themselves of the far higher and richer edification to be derived from the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. So much are men creatures of habit; so little account do they make of principle, and of spiritual realities!

THE ANGLICAN DOCTRINE OF EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

PART V.—(*First Division, continued.*)

WHEN Thou hadst blest the loaves,
And sent the crowd away,
Thou to the mountain didst ascend,
O Lord, alone to pray.

Thou, Lord, the Living Bread
To feed the world hast giv'n;
And now Thou ever praying art
Upon the hills of heav'n.

Thy Church is tost with waves,
The night is drear and dark,
A weary night to them who row
In the storm-beaten bark.

But walking on the waves,
In the last watch of night,
Thou wilt appear, and in the gloom
Wilt shine with glorious light.

By the Rt. Rev. CHRIS. WORDSWORTH, D.D., *late Bishop of Lincoln.*

SECT. 3. — THE COMMEMORATIVE SACRIFICE IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST,—WITH FURTHER REFERENCE TO THE LAST CHARGE OF THE LATE BISHOP OF SALISBURY,—DR. HAMILTON.* (See Pt. III. SECT. 2.)

I pass on to speak of the doctrine of Sacrifice as connected with the Holy Eucharist.

There is probably no point on which the cast of thought and the consequent mode of speaking prevalent among the great mass of English Church people, and the members of all Protestant or reformed communities differ so largely from the language and thought of the Early Christian Church, as the subject of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The ancient Church spoke without any hesitation or any fear, of the celebration of the Lord's Supper as bearing a sacrificial aspect, and as taking, in the new economy, the place of much of the sacrificial system of the older covenant. It was felt that the ancient sacrifices had referred by way of prefiguration to the great offering of the Son of God, and had done so without interfering with, or derogating from, the honour of that one, sole, singular, only meritorious and atoning Sacrifice, which had no second and no like, without predecessor and without successor; and not only had not derogated from Its honour, but had in a measure enhanced Its honour, in that, with all their holiness and splendour, they had been only attendants upon It, introducing It, and giving way to Its supreme dignity and value when at last It entered.

And the commemorations of that one Sacrifice in the ordinance of the Eucharist were in their turn considered by the early Church as attendants upon the great Offering, serving to keep up Its honour by way of reflection and remembrance. There was now no need of bleeding victims and smoking altars, such as of old had

been necessary to raise the dim sight and sluggish faith of God's ancient people to realize the coming Sacrifice. The Sacrifice had come. It needed only memory to retain, not foresight to create, the knowledge of that atonement offered; and a little bread broken, and a little wine poured out, were enough to bring back, by their deep significance, and yet more by His authoritative appointment, the remembrance of Him and His atoning death. The Church knew that there was no true sacrifice but that One—never had been, never could be; and therefore no thought of encroachment upon that One disturbed her as she contemplated all those prefiguring shadows and all these commemorative figures, as crowds that went before and that follow after, swelling the triumph of the one grand, central Object of the whole sacrificial Procession.

But this happy simplicity of her faith was destroyed when the restless speculations of men and the development of human devices began to give what almost amounted to independent atoning efficacy to the Christian commemorative sacrifice. Having carried, as we have seen, the Real Presence out of the act of reception, they deemed that they had on the altar the very Body and Blood of Christ; then they came to regard it as their office to offer them to God; then they considered that in so doing they offered Christ to His Father, which at once gave a meritorious, atoning, or propitiatory efficacy to their sacrifices. It is a righteous protestation against these errors, made in the interest of truth,—but, as so constantly happens, going too far in the opposite direction,—which has caused the whole doctrine of the Christian commemorative sacrifice to be regarded with such suspicion and distrust, not to say hostility, that it has altogether fallen out of our ordinary

* By the Rev. WILLIAM MILTON, M.A., of Newbury.

teaching. Nor, indeed, can it be safely restored until it is put upon its true and primitive footing and cleared from all those corruptions and superstitions which have drawn down upon themselves the strong expressions of our Church, "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits" (Article XXXI).

The consideration of the sacrificial element in the Lord's Supper is greatly facilitated by a study of the ancient liturgies, and especially by a right appreciation of the prayer of invocation used by the Primitive Church as follows :— "We beseech Thee, O God, send down upon us and upon these holy gifts that lie before Thee, — or these loaves and these cups (Lit S. Mark), — Thy Holy Spirit, that He may sanctify them and may make this bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, that they may become to all of us that partake of them, unto faith, healing, remission of sins," &c. For this is the great foundation principle of the Eucharistic sacrifice, that the Church, or minister, or priest, does not offer to God the Body and Blood of Christ, but does offer before God bread and wine—symbols, types, memorials of the broken Body and outshed Blood of the Lord. For in all the Primitive Liturgies the oblation or sacrifice is made, finished, completed; the elements being offered as bread and wine, with direct remembrance and recital of our Lord's death and passion. Then, and not till then, the Spirit is invoked upon "these gifts" (S. James), these loaves and cups (S. Mark), these symbols, these antitypes of the Holy Body and Blood (S. Basil and Apost. Const.), that by His Presence He may make them to be or exhibit them the Body and Blood of the Lord for the purpose of reception. During the whole oblation or sacrifice, the gifts are considered to be, not the Body, but the commemorative symbols of the Body, consecration not having yet taken place. I will quote in support of this view the words of the Liturgy of St. Clement, found in "The Apostolic Constitution," of which Neale says "we shall do well to assign them to the third century; but the liturgy which they contain is probably of a far earlier date." After reciting the institution, it goes on, "Wherefore, having in remembrance His passion, death, and resurrection, and His future second appearance, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy

to stand before Thee and to sacrifice unto Thee. And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously on these gifts now lying before Thee, O thou God that needest nothing, and wilt be pleased to accept them, to the honour of Thy Christ. And send down thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may make (or exhibit—*ἀποφύνη*) this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, that they who shall partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of their sins," &c.

Here we observe that the elements are not consecrated by the recital of the institution, but by the prayer of invocation, according to the strenuously maintained view of the Eastern Church, which consecrating invocation comes *after* the oblation or sacrifice has been made; so that that sacrifice consists, as expressly stated, of "this bread and this cup," "these gifts," to be accepted "for the honour of Christ."

This is the tenor of all the Ancient Liturgies, the sacrifice *precedes* consecration: and rightly so; for, as we have seen, consecration had only reference to reception, which followed immediately upon it. The sacrifice was a commemoration, and therefore necessarily symbolical, therefore an oblation of symbols or types of the great Sacrifice, not an oblation of the substance of that Sacrifice itself. And this is in accordance with the whole analogy of the two covenants. In the ancient dispensation, all sacrifices prefigured the offering of Christ yet to come; in the Gospel, the Eucharistic sacrifice postfigures the offering of Christ which has come. The ancient sacrifices were symbols, gross and heavy with bloodshedding, of the Lamb of God: the Gospel oblations are symbols, but bloodless and more spiritual,—so to speak, more refined,—symbols of the Lamb of God; but symbols still, and therefore always other than that which they symbolized: as Augustine says,— "The Flesh and Blood of this Sacrifice was promised before the Advent of Christ by means of victims bearing resemblances to them; in the passion of Christ, it (the 'flesh and blood,' or human nature) was rendered by the very Truth Himself; since the ascension of Christ it is set forth by means of the Sacrament of commemoration." And again: "This visible Sacrifice is the Sacrament of an invisible Sacrifice; that is to say, it is a sacred sign." And again: "That which is called sacrifice by all,

is a sign of the true Sacrifice.”¹ So again : “In that Sacrifice of yours (*i.e.*; in the Eucharist) there is a thanksgiving and a commemoration of the flesh of Christ, which he offered for us.”² Eusebius says : “Christ, after all things done, making a most acceptable oblation, offered to His Father a wondrous sacrifice and slaughtered victim for the salvation of us all, and left to us also a memorial to be offered continuously to God instead of a sacrifice.” So St. Clement or the author of the Apost. Constit. : “Offer ye the Antitype of the royal body of Christ.”

This plain action of the Church, as exhibited in her liturgies, became confused in the Roman liturgy by innovations which were introduced into it. That liturgy retains the ancient, true, and catholic oblation—“*Hanc igitur oblationem quæsumus ut placatus accipias*”—then follows an invocation very similar to the consecrating invocation of the Eastern Churches ; then follows the recital of institution (in this liturgy only placed after invocation), which Rome declares to be the formula of consecration. And after that a second oblation is interpolated in this form, “We offer to Thy Majesty out of Thine own donations and gifts a pure sacrifice, an immaculate sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation”—not even now making a direct oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ—but still of the elements as they are bread and wine, God’s “donations and gifts” to man. But by placing an oblation *after* consecration, which everywhere else came *before* it, Rome opened the door to the uncatholic error, that the Body and Blood of Christ were offered to God. That this second oblation was an interpolation, is proved by the fact that it is not to be found in the Milan rite, which, at some early period, branched off from the Roman.³ In fact, as Palmer states, on reviewing the several liturgies of Christendom, “None contain a verbal oblation of Christ’s Body and Blood. This is not found in the Roman Liturgy, nor is it a form that has at any time been used in the Christian Church.”⁴ This is of very great importance, for it proves that the dogma of offering the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharistic sacrifice is an invention or development later than even the latest alterations of the liturgies.

At this moment it is no more than a gloss upon the Roman canon of the Mass, and finds no expression in the office itself. It cannot therefore be regarded otherwise than as a serious error in the [late] Bishop of Salisbury’s Charge, that he lays it down that the priest offers the Body and Blood of Christ in sacrifice (p. 50); then it follows by the force of the hypostatic union (see p. 50), that he offers Christ to God—a proposition condemned in the most vehement terms by our Church in her XXXIst Article.

This is one of the errors, perhaps the most dangerous of all, that have grown up in that interval which man has invented between consecration and reception. The growth of the error may be traced as follows :—

The ancient Church observed universally in the Eucharistic Office this order :—

- I. The oblation, or sacrifice, by the elements, with commemoration of the “economy” and recital of the institution of the memorial.
- II. The consecrating invocation of the Holy Spirit to effect the Real Presence for reception.
- III. The reception of the Real Presence by the faithful.¹

The Church of Rome has, in the course of time, altered the order thus :—

- I. The oblation of the elements, without commemoration of the “economy,” except in fragments by special prefaces on high days.
- II. An invocation almost the same as that used by the Eastern Church for perfect consecration.
- III. The consecration by the formula of institution.

¹ It may seem presumptuous to call in question the opinion of a man so intimately acquainted with Ancient Liturgies as the late Dr. Neale; but he has certainly committed an important error in his statement of the constituent parts of all liturgies. He says, “Under the Consecration we have—

Words of Institution for the Bread and Wine,
Oblation of the Body and Blood,
Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost,
Prayer for the Change of the Elements.”

(“The Liturgies Translated,” p. xiii.) This assertion, that every liturgy contains “Oblation of the Body and Blood,” is absolutely unfounded, for no such oblation is found in any known liturgy. Dr. Neale might think that an oblation *after* the words of institution must be an oblation of the Body and Blood, but the liturgies did not think so, not even the Roman (see below); and Dr. Neale’s own words confute him, for *after* this supposed oblation he places the prayer for the change of the elements.

¹ Quoted by Bp. Jewel, vol. ii. p. 736, Parker Soc.

² *Ib.* p. 716.

³ Palmer’s *Origines*, ii. p. 82, note.

⁴ Palmer’s *Origines*, ii. p. 85.

IV. An oblation or sacrifice of the *consecrated* elements (though still as bread and wine).

V. Reception by the faithful.

A comparison of these two schemes will bring out clearly the manner in which this great disturbance has been effected, and will point us to the cause of the change. It is simply this: Article II. in the Roman order, *i.e.*, the invocation, has been put forward out of its place, which always was immediately before reception. Put it back, and the Roman order becomes identical with the Catholic. For the Roman Articles I., III., and IV. form really Article I. of the Catholic order, broken up into its parts—the commemoration of the gospel history being very much shortened, limited mostly to the recital of the institution of the memorial (whereas the Church always made the commanded memorial by dwelling on the incarnation, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and promised future coming of her Lord), while the mere recurrence to the fact of the oblation which occurs in the Ancient Liturgies becomes expanded into a distinct oblation of the *consecrated* elements. And the cause of these changes is evident. The Roman school, in very early days, took to defining the particulars of the mystery of the Eucharist, and dogmatized, single-voiced against the whole Church, that the virtue of consecration lay in the recital of the words of institution, whereas other Churches recited the institution in the commemoration of the economy,—which was the memorial before God of all His work of grace, and, joined with the oblation of bread and wine (representatives of God's goodness to man in nature and providence), constituted the Eucharistic sacrifice,—and appointed, after that recital was over, a prayer of invocation for the beneficial reception of the elements. But Rome, denying the consecrating power of this invocation, removed it from its place just before reception, took out its important point by omitting the mention of the Holy Spirit's agency, and tacked it on its altered form to the oblation of the elements before the recital of institution, where it still stands in the canon of the Mass—betraying its origin and its transposition by its concluding words, praying for beneficial reception—"Which oblation do Thou, O God, vouchsafe to bless, approve, accept, that it may be made to us the Body and Blood of Thy dear Son." It has been said by Dr.

Neale that the Roman Liturgy has entirely lost the prayer of invocation, which all the world considered the words of consecration. But this is not correct. I think it is to be detected—though misplaced—in this prayer, before what Rome calls the consecrating words. And it is a singular fact in confirmation of this view, that the African Liturgy—which Palmer shows to have been derived in the second century from the Roman—still retained the invocation, having borrowed it, Palmer thinks, from the Eastern Churches. But the explanation thus suggested by Palmer is unlikely and unnecessary. Africa doubtless got it from the ancient Roman, which, like all the rest of the Church, had it at first, but afterwards maimed it and transposed it, to suit her private theory of consecration by the words of institution;—maimed it, by leaving out the mention of the Holy Ghost,—transposed it by putting it where it now stands, before the words of institution, instead of after them, which new position is out of keeping with its own prayer for beneficial reception. And it is this Roman misplacement which has led our own compilers into the unusual arrangement of placing the consecrating benediction ("Grant that we, receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, may be partakers," &c.) before the recital of the words of institution.

This early wilfulness of Rome has broken the otherwise universal uniformity of type of the liturgies of the Catholic Church. Other errors followed in the lapse of centuries. At first consecration had been held to be effectual for the purpose of reception; but nothing was defined even at Rome as to its transmuting effect upon the elements, for the oblation after consecration was still of God's "gifts," of "bread" and "wine," sanctified indeed, but still God's creatures; and He was prayed to look graciously upon them and accept them, as He accepted the gifts of Abel and Abraham," &c.,—terms wholly incompatible with the idea that it was an oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ; and so it stands to this day. It was only after the canon of the Mass had been fixed in its present form—probably long after—that human speculations dogmatized that consecration effected an absolute objective Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and then it was argued that in the Eucharistic sacrifice there was an oblation of that Presence; and so in time an offering of Christ to God, and so at last, all "the blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits" of the

Mass. It is very important to observe that the Roman Liturgy itself proves that these are late innovations, for it contains no oblation of the Body and Blood of the Lord, nor any words capable of being so interpreted. So that when a Priest offers, as he thinks, Christ to the Father, it is by a mental act of his own for which the liturgy of his Church provides him no form of expression; and, further, it contains, besides the recital of institution, no mention of any Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, except in regard to reception. So that our Church had good ground for her guarded expression, "the sacrifices of Masses, in which it was *commonly said* that the priest did offer Christ," for no such doctrine is expressed in the authorized canon of the Mass.

One further development of error must be noticed. When men came to believe that in the Eucharist the Church made an actual oblation or sacrifice of Christ to Almighty God, they naturally transferred the supreme importance of the rite to this one point. Christ's supreme design, the communicating of Himself to the souls of His people for their life and salvation, became quite secondary; the Lord's Supper became exclusively, or at least pre-eminently, a sacrifice, not a communion; and reception, which in the mind of Christ, was the great end of the institution, became, in the blinded minds of Christians, as nothing, and was almost universally omitted.

It was the righteous protest of the enlightened Christian mind against these unscriptural speculations and innovations, that led to the great religious movement of the Reformation. And, on the unfailing principle of reaction, it has resulted that the exaggeration of the aspect of sacrifice has led to its total obscuration. Instead of the Christian Eucharistic sacrifice being considered, as at first it was, a memorial of and a witness to, and a follower and attendant upon, the One Great Sacrifice, it had been elevated into a position of co-ordinate dignity and efficacy, made, not a memory of Calvary, not merely, as S. Dionysius called it, a symbolical ministration (*ἡ συμβολικὴ λειτουργία*), in relation and accord with the work of Christ in the Presence in heaven; but declared to be that work itself—Christ, by his priests on earth, offering everywhere the same Body and Blood that he offers before the mercy seat in heaven. And then came the reaction, and all idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist was lost, or nearly so; and the

language of the ancient Church, so full and express on this subject, became strange and obsolete. The Communion idea became paramount, and in its turn obscured the sacrificial idea. But it was a remark of one of our great Reformers, "Take away transubstantiation, and we shall not quarrel about the sacrifice." If we would return to the primitive conception of the Eucharist, there would be no difficulty whatever, I conceive, about the sacrificial element of it. The primitive conception was this:—the Eucharist was the great solemn intercourse between God and man; it divided itself, therefore, into two great parts, that which man presented to God, and that which God graciously gave to man—man's service, *ἡ λειτουργία* God's gift, *ἡ κοινωνία*—the sacrifice, and the feast following upon the sacrifice—the oblation, *ἡ προσφορά*, and the reception, *ἡ μετέληψις*. The oblation was partly material and partly spiritual. Bread and wine, fruits of the earth, were offered as representatives of God's gifts to man in nature; and the rehearsing of God's acts in working the salvation of the world, by the incarnation, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, of His Son our Lord, was offered to God in memorial of His gifts to man in grace: this whole recital being brought to its fitting consummation in the recital of the actions and words of our Lord when, at the close of His earthly ministry, He instituted the feast now about to be partaken of, with the express command that it should be received in direct connexion with the memory of His salvation-work; the whole oblation being mixed with thanksgiving, hymns of praise, supplications, prayers, and intercessions. Now the oblation or sacrifice is over—the *λειτουργία* is finished—man's part is given to God. There remains God's *αντίδωρον*,—His gift in return,—which, in surpassing recompense, He gives to man: the Communion now comes on—the reception of the heavenly food of the Body and Blood of the Lord. And this portion of the office commences with prayer or benediction, "a grace before meat," asking for a blessing upon that which is about to be received—the prayer for the sending of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the congregation, and "these loaves and cups," and to make them the Body and Blood of the Lord, that all who partake of them may be filled with grace, pardon, salvation. This division in the service and difference in the character of the action is distinctly marked in the very ancient Liturgy of

S. Mark. After the recital of the economy and institution is finished, the prayer follows, "O Lord our God, we have set before Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts, and we pray and beseech Thee, O Thou lover of men and kind God, to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these loaves," &c., where, observe, the oblation is spoken of as a thing past; it is no longer said *προσφέρομεν*, "we offer unto Thee," but *προεθήκαμεν*, "we did set before Thee" at some time past, for the sacrifice is over,—the feast is about to begin, and only waits for God to give the blessing upon the guests and upon the things about to be received. The same distinction is plainly asserted by S. Augustine, who actually distinguishes by different names the prayers of the oblation,—that is, previous to the consecration or benediction,—and the prayers for consecration or benediction, and reception. "*Precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici; orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum communitur.*"¹ "*Precations* we call those prayers which we make in the celebration of the mysteries" (i.e. in the commemorative oblation), "before that which is on the Lord's table begins to be blessed; *orisons*, those which we make when that is being blessed and consecrated and broken for distribution." We must remember that S. Augustine used the African Liturgy, which retained the consecrating invocation. All that preceded the invocation, he called "the celebration of the mysteries," and termed the prayers "*precations*." The invocation or benediction, and subsequent prayers for reception, he regarded as wholly distinct, and termed them "*orisons*."

This invocation of the blessing of the Spirit upon the guests and upon the repast, is followed in the liturgies by prayers for right reception and the Lord's Prayer, of which Gregory the Great affirms that the Apostles consecrated the elements with no other form; a remarkable testimony to that constant tendency to expand, which marks all liturgies, and which is the only key to their right interpretation. Then reception takes place. And here only, in this second part of the office only, does the thought of the Presence of the Body and Blood of the Lord, or prayer for that Presence, find place in

the Ancient Liturgies; for the Church, as we have seen before, connected that Presence only with reception. In the oblation, or sacrificial part of the office, the elements were only called "these gifts," "these Thy creatures," "these symbols," for the sacrifice is not actual but commemorative, representing the death of Christ by the way of symbols appointed by Himself; for the liturgies know nothing,—as the early Church knew nothing,—as the Scriptures know nothing,—of man's offering the Body and Blood of Christ to the Father. Those august realities only come into the solemn transaction when God returns to man his own gifts, infinitely enhanced and blessed to the faithful recipient.

The [late] Bishop of Salisbury commits a grave error, I conceive, when he places oblation after consecration, saying (p. 57), "The bread and wine become at Holy Communion the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Church presents before the Throne of Grace that which is present, viz., Christ's Body and Blood in the sacrament." The Church has no single word in her office indicating any such oblation. Again (p. 82), "The doctrine of sacrifice has most certainly its place in our service, for it is inseparable from the act of consecration." This is entirely to misunderstand the structure of liturgical service; for consecration never had, in primitive times, anything to do with the sacrifice. Consecration was part of the communion or participation, and did not come in till the oblation was over. It was a benediction, as S. Augustine has shown us, wholly distinct from the oblation. It was like the act of Samuel coming to bless the meat of the peace-offering, after it had been sacrificed, to pray a blessing upon it to the good of those who should partake of it.

For it is obvious to remark that the order of the liturgy thus traced corresponds exactly with the order of the sacrifice of peace-offerings in the Levitical ritual. The oblation was offered to God; then the sacrifice was blessed for the use of those who were to feast upon it—that blessing being a prayer that the meat might be sanctified and blessed to the use of those who partook of it; than they ate. So we read in 1 Sam. ix. 13, "For the people will not eat till he doth come, because he doth bless the sacrifice, and afterwards they eat that he bidden."

This order appears to be also in exact accordance with the action of our Lord on the occa-

¹ Aug. Epist. 149, quoted, but scarcely appreciated, by Palmer, Origin. i. 138.

sion of the institution. As far as we can enter into the great mystery of the last Passover, we believe that our Lord on that day did, by a direct secret act of His Divine Will, offer Himself in spirit to His Father. The sacrifice of His Human Soul was completed in Gethsemane : the sacrifice of His Body on Calvary consummated the oblation. Before entering the upper chamber He offered Himself in spirit, and the sacrifice began ; therefore He says, "My Body which is being broken for you," "My Blood which is being shed."¹ And *after* that secret offering in the spirit, He took bread, blessed it, and gave it to His disciples, bidding them take and eat ; and as they were eating, He declared the great sacramental truth, "This is My Body," and likewise of the cup, after they had all drunk of it, as S. Mark intimates, He declared the sacramental verity, "This is My Blood."

It is therefore an entire inversion of the order of the ordinance, when [the late] Dr. Hamilton interprets the words of our Lord, spoken after reception, "Do this," as meaning "Sacrifice this" (p. 52). Such an interpretation is in itself untenable. One who filled the see of Salisbury not unworthily, 300 years ago, asks, "What father or doctor ever taught that "*Hoc facite*" was "*Hoc sacrificare*?"² It is the decision of the learned Estius, the great Roman commentator, "*Non quod verbum 'facite' sit idem quod sacrificare, quomodo nonnulli illud interpretati sunt, planè præter mentem Scripturæ.*"³ The Ancient Liturgies do not recognise any such meaning. The Bishop says that it is the meaning of the Alexandrine Greek, but the Alexandrine Greek Liturgy of S. Mark knows nothing of such an interpretation. And even in the Roman canon of the Mass the words are used, not in the sense of sacrifice, but in the ordinary sense of "doing this" in memory of the Lord.

And indeed there is nothing to lead us to understand the words "Do this" as meaning in the ears of the Apostles "Sacrifice this." The only sacrifice that had taken place had been the Lord's offering of Himself in spirit to His Father. It had been secret, unseen by them, unknown to them : they could not be bidden to do that of which they had no knowledge. But

the meaning was plainly this, "Do this that ye have seen Me do. Take bread and wine, give thanks, and bless them with prayer and invocation, break the bread, pour out the wine in remembrance of your Lord's death, receive and consume them, that thereby ye may feed upon His Body and His Blood ; and by this continued reception declare your Lord's death till He come." And so St. Paul interprets the words in 1 Cor. xi. 26.

The conclusion, therefore, to which we are brought, is this,—that the Eucharistic sacrifice is not the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ to God,—Scripture knows no such doctrine, the liturgies know nothing of it,—but a setting forth of the memory of the work of Christ for our salvation, and of His death, by means of the significant figures which He Himself appointed for that purpose, together with praises and thanksgivings which give the very name Eucharist to the service. The Holy Body and Blood do not come forward, so to speak, till the sacrifice being over, the feast begins ; for they are for reception, and for that only. All suspicion and distrust of the sacrificial element of the Great Service may be laid aside when we understand that it is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, joined with an oblation of bread and wine, which are both by nature representatives of God's goodness to man in Creation and Providence, and by appointment symbols of Christ's work for man in Grace and Salvation. Such a simple scriptural view of the subject ought to disarm the scruples which still remain in such force. The English mind has not up to this time been able to give a temperate consideration to the question ; so great has been the prejudice raised against the very name "sacrifice" by the grievous innovations and superstitions which had arisen, culminating in that which it is now sought to bring back—the idea of *offering Christ to His Father* in the Eucharistic sacrifice. But take this error away, and what remains is unobjectionable, and primitive, and scriptural. Scripture says that in Holy Communion the Faithful show or announce the Lord's death (1 Cor. xi. 27), which the Primitive Church, following the analogy of the ancient dispensation, loved to interpret as meaning that we show forth that atoning death not only to the Church, not only to the world, but in the presence of God, pleading it as our ground of acceptance. And the Church of England, though naturally very shy of *speaking*

¹ This point is more fully discussed by the Author in the first Sermon of his work just published, "*The Eucharist Illustrated,*" &c.

² Jewel, ii. p. 990.

³ Estius, in 1 Cor. xi. 24.

of what had been so grievously abused, yet makes the oblation of the elements, and performs the whole commemorative action with thanksgiving, which is the pure and bloodless sacrifice; and all is performed with "these Thy creatures of bread and wine." No thought of offering the Body and Blood of Christ enters into her scheme. Her thought of the Real Presence is confined to reception exclusively. Therefore she has no oblation *after* her prayer of consecration. For consecration, as we have seen, has nothing to do with the *προσφορά* or oblation, but only with reception. Therefore those English clergy who make a practice of elevating the *consecrated* elements, to make an oblation of them, act in a manner wholly unauthorized by the Church of England, and *even plainly forbidden by her* (Article XXVIII.), and also contrary to all sound primitive liturgical principles.

Hoc est corpus Meum.

Concerning which form of words we must know, that as the Eucharist itself was in the external and ritual part an imitation of a custom and a Sacramental already among the Jews, [viz.] for the *major domo* to break bread and distribute wine at the Passover after supper to the eldest according to his age, to the youngest according to his youth, as is notorious and known in the practice of the Jews; so also were the words which Christ spake in this changed subject, an imitation of the words which were then used, "This is the bread of sorrow which our fathers eat in Egypt, this is the Passover;" and this Passover was called the Body of the Paschal Lamb, nay, it was called "the Body of our Saviour," and "Our Saviour" Himself. So that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made His by appropriation, by *Meum*; He was the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, He is the true Passover; which, He then affirming, called that which was the antitype of the Passover "the Lamb of God," "His Body," the Body of the true Passover to wit, in the same sacramental sense in which the like words were affirmed in the Mosaic Passover.

Bp. Jeremy Taylor's "Real Presence and Spiritual," &c., Sect. I., and Sect. IV.—10.

SECT. 4.—THE QUESTION OF THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH,—A SUMMARY OF THE FOREGOING SECTIONS.

It must not be forgotten that if the whole question of Ritual and Vestments were shortly to be settled (however hopeless such settlement now appears to be), there would yet remain great and wide-spread distress throughout the country, on account of the preaching

of doctrines alien to the spirit of the Reformation. We are assured by the most distinguished members of the extreme party, that any repression of ritual would only make it more imperative upon them to promulgate their doctrines with increased vigour. Therefore, the question of the Faith of the Church is that which we shall have to deal with. In such a discussion we have to assure ourselves of the mind of the Spirit in Holy Scripture, of the practice of the Primitive Church, and of the authoritative determinations of our own reformed branch. In the preceding pages I have sought to examine these three great authorities upon the subject of the Holy Eucharist: and the conclusion to which I have come, and to which I would gladly bring my readers, is this, that these authorities agree exactly in the following principles.

I. That in the Holy Communion, consecration is solely for the end of reception: that the two are inseparably connected, and form but one indivisible transaction, without interval, and admitting no interpolations.

II. That in the Sacrament there is a Real and True Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ to the faithful in reception; and that no other Presence is recognized.

III. That in the Holy Eucharist there is a commemorative sacrifice, or showing forth of the death of Christ by the presenting of bread and wine, symbols of his Body and Blood, and by thankful recital of His incarnation and death.

IV. That no oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, or of Christ Himself, to the Father is recognized either in Scripture, or in the Primitive Church, or in the Church of England.

If these principles could be agreed upon, all our other differences could soon be smoothed away. I earnestly pray the great Head of the Church, that the things that I have written may be made conducive to so desirable an end, to the advancement of His truth and to the good of His Church and people. For I am convinced that the matter must be looked into doctrinally, though many deprecate any such discussion. There can be no *real peace* until we all come to some agreement in the faith.

In the meantime, from the facts that have passed in review before us, we may be able to gather out answers to some questions of great interest.

I. What is the character or scheme of the Church's highest office, the Liturgy?

The answer is to be found in the words of Scripture, "He took bread, and gave thanks, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples and said This is my Body,"—and, "likewise of the cup." These words are the germ of every liturgy—just as the words of the baptismal formula are the germ of every creed. The liturgy is but an amplification of these words, and a repetition of these acts.

The Lord said, "Do this in remembrance of Me," and the Church set herself to "do this," and in doing it elaborated her liturgy. It is interesting to trace her fidelity to "the pattern showed to her in the mount."

HE TOOK BREAD. HE TOOK THE CUP.

The Church takes bread and wine and brings them before the Lord to be the material instruments of the great transaction that is to follow.

HE GAVE THANKS.

How gladly would we have known what thanks HE gave! But we may certainly believe that, as a faithful Hebrew, He gave Israel's Paschal thanksgivings for creation, providence, and redeeming grace.

The Church, by presenting bread and wine, representatives of God's good gifts for the sustenance of man, declares her thankfulness to God for His care and protection in nature and providence, and so is led on to offer thanks to God for His loving kindness manifested to His people in revelation and grace. This she does by reciting the goodness of God in creation, in the preservation of the world for man's sake, in the deliverance of His ancient people Israel, but above all in the salvation of mankind by His Son Jesus Christ.¹ This leads to the thankful re-

¹ These points are drawn out at the fullest length, and with extreme beauty, in the Liturgy of St. Clement (Apo-tol. Constit.). The Roman is the most meagre of all liturgies in this matter of thankful commemoration, which, in fact, constitutes the true "Eucharist." The English rite has suffered in this respect from its close connection with the Roman; but our Church has introduced a recital of the great facts of the Christian Economy in the very truest Eucharistic tone, in what is called the "Long Exhortation,"—"Ye that mind to come," &c.,—which is more than an exhortation, being, in fact, a Bidding Eucharistic Prayer, as is evidenced by the "Amen" at the end. It is much to be regretted that a custom obtains in some places of omitting this distinctively Eucharistic address. In the "Special Prefaces" we have truly Eucharistic commemorations of the great events of the Economy separately on the several days: and here we find an answer to the difficulty which has been felt, that there is no special preface for Good Friday, though, an Epistle and Gospel having been appointed for that day, it is evident that celebration is intended. The explanation is, that the special event of Good Friday is commemorated in every Eucharist, and there can be no Eucharist without it.

counting of the mysteries of redemption, the incarnation, the life, the ministry, the acts of mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ, culminating in the last passion and death, resurrection and ascension of the Lord, which gives occasion to the never-omitted recitation of the facts and words of the institution of the Supper of the Lord, which comes in most appropriately in this place, and moreover gives the cue, if I may use the expression, or the connecting link, that introduces the holy feast which now follows. Up to this point all has been "given of thanks"—"the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," which started from the material offering of bread and wine, but has come round to the lively memorial and thankful remembrance of the great sacrifice of the death of Christ, of which the bread and wine are the symbols appointed by Himself.

HE BLESSED.

The Church now blesses the elements for the coming feast, "asks a blessing," by invoking the sanctifying Presence of the Holy Spirit upon the recipients, and upon the things to be received ("upon us and upon these loaves and cups"), adding prayers for worthy and beneficial reception.

HE BRAKE IT AND GAVE IT.

These actions follow in the liturgies immediately upon the Invocation or Benediction: as S. Augustine says, "Benedicatur et sanctificatur et communuitur ad distribuendum."

AND HE SAID, "THIS IS MY BODY"—"THIS IS MY BLOOD."

The liturgies say no word to the recipient after reception, but they have recited these very words before in the "commemoration," and prayed, when the elements were given, that the Body and Blood of Christ might preserve soul and body; and now it is left to the faith of the recipient to hear the Lord Himself saying to him secretly, to his inmost soul, as He alone can say it—"This is My Body, This is My Blood."

II. Then another question:

What is the formula of consecration? what are the very words that consecrate?

Many will answer, "The words 'This is My Body.'" But these are just the very words that do not consecrate, that did not consecrate, for our Lord spoke them after He had given the sacrament to His disciples. Therefore these are not "the words that made the sacrament," as Mr. Carter calls them,¹ for the sacrament was

¹ Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 12.

made and given before they were spoken. I believe the truer view to be, that the whole liturgy, up to reception, contributes to the consecration of the elements. Thus the bread and wine are consecrated—1st, in the oblation, when they are presented to God the Father as the Creator; 2ndly, in the Eucharistic commemoration, when they are brought by recital of the economy and institution into relation with the work of God the Son, as the Saviour; 3rdly, in the invocation, when they are commended to the secret operation of God the Holy Ghost as the sanctifier.

This last is more especially *the* formula of consecration, "the Benediction," as it was frequently called; and is the foundation of our "Prayer of Consecration,"—"Grant that we receiving," &c.,—though unhappily the direct mention of the Holy Spirit's agency was omitted in the second book of Edward VI. The whole Church, with the single exception of Rome, has always considered that consecration was effected by this invocation, answering as it does to our Lord's blessing the elements before He gave them.

III. A third question rises immediately:

What is the *effect* of consecration?

Here there is need of distinct definition, for there is much misconception on this point, Consecration does not transmute the elements, does not produce the Real Presence; that is not its function: to consecrate is to set apart to God's service: and the priest consecrates bread and wine when, with prayer, he sets them solemnly apart for the Divine transaction, and puts them under God's hands for Him to work by and with. A church is consecrated when it is set apart with prayer and given into God's hands, for Him to use as the audience chamber of His presence, where His people may find Him and receive from Him His gifts and graces. Water is consecrated in the ordinance of baptism when it is set apart by prayer as the instrument for the Holy Spirit to use in the work of regeneration: so bread and wine are consecrated when they are set apart with prayer and put into the hands of God with a petition that His Spirit may use them for the purpose of exhibiting or conveying by them the Body and Blood of Christ to the souls of faithful receivers. This is what the Bishop of Salisbury rightly says in his first summary of the doctrine (p. 23), "God's ministers so bless oblations of bread and

wine as to make them *the channel of conveying* to the soul the Body and Blood of Christ."

But the Bishop goes very far beyond this sound view when he says (p. 74), "Through consecration the Body and Blood of Christ become really present;" this is to confuse consecration which is man's part, to set apart the elements to be the channels, and that very different work which is the operation of the Holy Ghost, which the Church rightly prays the Holy Ghost to perform, the manifesting or making present the Body and Blood of Christ to the souls of the faithful through those channels. I must again recall the important words of the ancient consecrating invocation, "Send Thy Holy Spirit upon these loaves and cups, that He may exhibit this bread, the Body of Christ," &c., "that to those that receive them they may be to faith, grace," &c. This, then, is the function of consecration, to put into God's hands instruments for Him to work with, for He does condescend to work with material instruments. But the work is His to do, not on bread and wine, as they lie upon the holy table,—for the Spirit does not work on mere material substances, irrespective of the souls of men,—but a spiritual work with the spirits of men in the secret operations of His grace acting on their souls through those elements faithfully received. How He works there, hidden from human sight in the secrecy of reception, is and ever must be a mystery, as indeed becomes such a Worker and such a work.

IV. There is one question more:

What kind of sacrifice does the Church offer in the holy Eucharist?

S. Augustine has told us—"A sign of the true sacrifice." Eusebius has told us—"A memorial to be offered instead of a sacrifice" (supra p. 56.) S. Paul has told us, in a passage distinctly Eucharistic—"The sacrifice of praise," and takes care to explain it—"that is, the fruit of our lips." After the presenting of the bread and wine at the beginning of the Eucharistic service, there is no manual oblation whatever: it is all a vocal offering after that, offering to God "of His own," by reciting His goodness to man in nature, providence, and grace; above all, by commemorating the life and death of the Lord Jesus, with thanksgiving for all. Thus, to recite the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, is "to show forth His death," as the Apostle says,²

¹ Heb. xiii. 15.

² 1 Cor. xi. 26.

where the word he uses (*καταγγέλλετε*) is not of any manual oblation, but simply vocal—"Ye announce, declare, proclaim," marking that this "showing forth" is "the fruit of the lips," "a sacrifice of praise"—no real actual sacrifice, but "the memory," "the sign of a sacrifice." And so it is connected with the work which Christ, our high priest, does continually in heaven. He does not make a sacrifice there—that He did on Calvary once. The high priest made the sacrifice outside the veil; then entered into the holy of holies with the blood—the token, evidence, means of presenting the sacrifice that had been made. Christ, by His very Presence before the Throne in his wounded Body, brings before the Father the tokens, evidences, the memory,—if such a word can be used of heaven, where time is not,—of His sacrifice. St. John saw in heaven "the Lamb as it had been slain"—not being slain, but with the tokens and evidences that it had been slain. And we take our part and plead our interest in this great intercession by the due celebration of the Eucharist; we slay no sacrifice, we do not offer Christ to God, we do not offer the Body and Blood of Christ, but we offer the memorial of Christ's death,—a sacrifice, the fruit of our lips,—vocally, by the recital and commemoration of His passion; symbolically, by the symbols of His broken Body, and poured-out Blood, and with personal application, by receiving the same according to His most holy institution; for St. Augustine says very well in words already quoted, but which I may repeat here as fitly closing this whole discussion, "In the holy oblation and the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ, Christians celebrate a memory of the same sacrifice that has been accomplished."

SECT 5.—CHRIST OUR PASSOVER, BOTH SACRIFICE AND FEAST:—THE TRUE SPIRITUAL FEAST UPON THE SPIRITUAL SACRIFICE.*

"Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast."—1 Cor. v. 7.

Let us join ourselves in spirit to the company which attended our Blessed Lord in the solemn events of that day so important, so interesting to every faithful Israelite of old, to every Christian now, of which the Evangelist speaks, (St. Luke xii. 7.) "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed."

On the first two, perhaps three days of the week, Jesus taught publicly in the temple, His last public ministrations. On the Wednesday, as we speak, our Lord appears to have spent the day removed from sight, in perfect retirement, at the house, probably, of the beloved Lazarus, at Bethany, preparing Himself in silence and meditation and prayer, for the mighty work which now lay close before Him.

At last Thursday is come, and "then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed." The expression of St. Luke in this place is very strong. The exact translation is, "When it was their bounden duty to sacrifice the Passover." Two solemn ceremonies were that day incumbent upon every faithful Israelite who could come up to Jerusalem—first, the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, called "killing the Passover;" secondly, the feast upon the sacrifice, called "eating the Passover."

The former solemnity could be performed only in the Temple courts at Jerusalem. Each faithful Israelite, the head of a family, attended by the males of his household, sacrificed a lamb in the Temple court, gave the blood to the priest, stood by while the life of the innocent, spotless victim was devoted to God, and joined himself to the act of sacrifice by an inward devotion, renewing therein his nation's covenant and his own personal covenant with the God of his fathers, and in that solemn act dedicating himself, his soul and body, a free-will offering to his God. And thence, when the sacrifice had been made, and some of the household had gone out to make ready the Paschal feast, the worshipper would pass from the court into the chambers of the Temple, there to make, in the enjoyment of that access to God which his oblation had obtained for him, prayers, supplications, intercessions for himself, for his beloved ones, and for the Israel of God.

From a little after two in the afternoon, when the sun began to decline towards the west, until the hour of sunset, the Temple court is thronged with numberless groups and companies. Let us scan the crowd carefully, and we shall see one company on which our eyes and hearts must instinctively fix themselves. Jesus of Nazareth must be there. He who was so careful to fulfil all righteousness, to perform His every duty as a faithful son of Israel, cannot be absent now, "when it is a bounden duty to sacrifice the Passover." Let us fix the eye of

* This and the following section are taken from "The Eucharist Illustrated and Cleared from Error;" three Sermons by the same Author. Rivingtons, out of print.

faith upon that company. He is attended by His family, His chosen disciples. As the head of the house, He Himself, it may be on his own sacred shoulders, has borne the lamb for an offering. He Himself offers it in sacrifice—He stands by in solemn earnest devotion, while the blood of the lamb without blemish and without spot is devoted to God. He joins Himself in spirit to that action, and therein, in all the intensity of His Spiritual Being, He offers Himself to His Father, in spirit and in truth. What a Paschal sacrifice was that! Fifteen hundred Passovers were gathered together in that action, and at that hour! The types of thousands of years of sacrifice had reached, at last, their substance and fulfilment. He, the true Lamb of God, the Lamb without blemish and without spot, was then offering Himself in spirit, devoting Himself in sacrifice to God. His hour was now come. It is of this spiritual offering of Himself that the Apostle in the epistle to the Hebrews speaks, when he says that “Christ through the Eternal Spirit, offered Himself without spot to God.” “Without spot.” It was of necessity that the Paschal Lamb should be without spot or blemish. “Offered Himself,”—for this at least, was all His own act and deed. No hand constrained Him now. As yet no hand was laid upon Him. His life no man taketh from Him, He layeth it down of Himself. “Through the Eternal Spirit,”—for thus far the sacrificial action, as an offering of Himself, is confined to the innermost recesses of His Spiritual Being.

And now the sacrifice, being over, Jesus sends away two of His disciples into the city to make ready the Paschal Feast; and He Himself, we may well believe, enters into one of the Temple chambers—one of the “many mansions of His Father’s House,” there to pray. What prayers, supplications, intercessions, followed that great oblation, who can tell?

And now He passes from the Temple into the city. And now the sun has set: the evening is come. Let our thoughts attend Him, as He enters with His company into “the large Upper Room, furnished and made ready.” The second great solemnity of that day of unleavened bread is about to be celebrated. Jesus is about to keep the feast upon the sacrifice—“to eat the Passover with His disciples.” As a faithful Israelite He keeps the appointed feast, by which the covenant of the nation is maintained with God. The lamb has been sacrificed in the

Temple courts, and the feast is eaten in the Upper Chamber, and the rites of the House of Israel have been duly paid, and the Passover has been duly celebrated.

But there is more to follow. There had been more in that offering of the lamb than in any Paschal sacrifice that had ever before been offered. And there shall be more in this feast than in any Passover that had ever before been celebrated. Long had our Blessed Lord looked forward to that day and to that hour, and to that Paschal feast. “With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you, before I suffer.” It was to be the last repast that He would hold with His disciples upon earth—the last occasion of fellowship with them before He suffered. We know, ourselves, how much heart-moving feeling, both sorrow and sweetness, is contained in that word “last,”—how strangely sadness and sweetness are blended in farewells, and at death-beds. And this gathering in the Upper Chamber partook—and Jesus knew that it would partake—of the character both of a farewell and a parting by death, and with desire He desired it.

But beyond all this, there was in the Saviour’s heart a desire to keep that last Passover with his disciples, because it was destined to afford to Him the occasion of instituting for His disciples, and for His Church for ever, a greater, a holier, a more blessed feast, to be at once a memorial of Himself to them, and a means of continued communion between them and Himself, an ordinance of grace for the sustentation and refreshment of their spiritual life in him. He took bread, He blessed God, and gave Him thanks.¹ He brake the bread, He gave it to His disciples: “Take, eat; this is My Body, which is given for you.” He took the cup, He blessed God, and gave Him thanks. He gave the cup to His disciples: “This is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you. Thus He celebrated and gave to them the Feast upon the Sacrifice—the spiritual feast upon the spiritual sacrifice. The spiritual sacrifice, as we have seen, He had already made, when in the Temple courts He offered Himself in the devotion of His Spirit, while the Lamb that represented Him and them was being sacrificed to God. And now he keeps the spiritual feast upon that sacrifice made in spirit and in truth. We must not think that the Feast of

¹Note A.

the Lord's Supper was in anticipation of the sacrifice that was made the next day on the Cross. The feast could not precede the sacrifice. It never has done: it never can do so. And further, that was to be a corporal sacrifice; this on the contrary, is a spiritual feast. And observe our Lord's own words: "This is My Body which is being given for you"—for that is His exact expression. "This is My Blood which is being shed for you." This is His precise language. He says not, "which has been given," as a thing past, for the giving was not finished: nor "which shall be given," as a thing future, and not yet begun; for the giving had commenced when in the Temple court, in symbol, in mystery, and in spirit, He gave Himself to the Father—His flesh for the life of the world. But He says: "which is being given;" "which is being shed," as the original language expresses it, with a precision which our feeble tongue cannot so well render; signifying that the oblation was already begun.

And this is the mystery of the ordinance of the Passover, in respect of the time appointed for the sacrifice. The Lord commanded "the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it *in the evening*." The exact force of the Hebrew expression is given in the margin of our Bibles: "between the two evenings;" and, while it is true that the Jewish expositors attached to this phrase a meaning which sufficed to give a fair explanation of it, viz., between the beginning of the evening, about three o'clock, or a little earlier, when the sun began plainly to descend towards the west, and the true evening when the sun set, yet in the fulness of Scripture, as it came from the mind of God, there was implied in this expression, a truth which only its fulfilment in the person of Christ could bring to light, and make clear with a full explanation. The true Paschal Lamb, and He alone of all Paschal lambs, was indeed sacrificed "between the two evenings;" between the evening of the fifth day of the week, Thursday, as we speak, when in spirit He offered Himself with an entire devotion of Himself to God, as He stood in the Temple court of Jerusalem, and in the outward visible sign of the death of His Offered Lamb, laid down His life, in spirit, and in mystery, a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; and that second evening, the evening of the sixth day, Friday—Good Friday as we speak—when the sacrifice was completed on the Cross, and He

exclaimed, "It is finished," and yielded up the ghost. All through those four-and-twenty hours, the Great Offering was prolonged, was proceeding, and the Paschal Lamb, in exact obedience to God's original ordinance, was "sacrificed between the two evenings."

Now let us return to the words of our Blessed Lord, so important for the understanding of the mystery of the Lord's Supper. "This is my Body which is being given for you." "This is my Blood which is being poured out for you." Our Lord could thus speak, because the great offering of His life, His body, His blood, had commenced. The spiritual sacrifice had been already made; and therefore the spiritual feast upon that sacrifice could even now be given; and the fruit of that sacrifice could even now, in spiritual strength and grace, be communicated to the faithful. His sacred Body was yet unwounded, His precious Blood yet flowed in unsevered stream within His sacred veins. Yet, by reason of the spiritual offering of Himself that He had already made, He could say of Himself in that hour, "Now is the Son of Man glorified," and in spiritual power His flesh was even now the life of the world; and in His blood the New Covenant was already made in spiritual truth with the Father.

How often do we ask ourselves, "How can our Communion upon the Body and Blood of Christ after His Crucifixion and His Ascension into Glory, at all resemble that First Communion given by our Lord to His disciples in the Upper Chamber? What we receive as the consequence of His death, how could they receive before that death took place?" And to these questionings no answer can be given, until we understand that the spiritual sacrifice had preceded that Communion as truly as it has preceded our Communion; and that, therefore, the spiritual feast founded thereupon, could be as truly given unto them as it is given unto us. Only after an heavenly and spiritual manner did they receive; and only after an heavenly and spiritual manner do we receive. There is no corporal receiving, no carnal eating of the crucified Body of our Lord, or of His outshed Blood. All was, all is, spiritual and true. The spiritual offering of Himself by Christ gave a boundless power of spiritual communication to that Body and Blood which He offered; and that spiritual communication was as true to His Apostles in the Upper Chamber as it is to us at the Lord's Table; and was the same to them before His

Crucifixion as it is to us after that event. It needed not then, and it needs not now, an impossible presence of His Body in the bread that He held in His hand, nor of His Blood in the cup. These were symbols to their sight, assurances to their faith, concurrent with the reception of which the spiritual life-bestowing power of His self-devoted Body and Blood was communicated to their spiritual being, as it is communicated to us.

And now the Feast was over. There had been much to sadden their hearts, but the Lord would have them rejoice in their feast, as they were commanded. He lifted their hearts from time to time, and cheered their drooping spirits. "Let not your heart be troubled." "If ye loved me, ye would rejoice." Even amidst much distress of mind, and much bodily apprehension, He was keeping a spiritual feast with His Father; and He would have them also amidst much apprehension of coming evil, and the saddened thoughts of that parting hour, rejoice with spiritual joy, in faith, and love, and hope. And therefore they sang an hymn, Israel's great thanksgiving song of triumph and gratitude, and holy joy; "and when they had sung an hymn, they went out unto the Mount of Olives."

How changed is now the scene! It is not the darkness of night, but the darkness of a great sorrow that has fallen upon the soul of my Saviour! The great sorrow of all is at hand, strong mental distress and agitation of soul. "He began to be sorrowful, and very heavy," saith the Evangelist. He saith Himself, as He enters upon this exceeding heavy trial, "*My soul* is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." For now the second particular of His Great Sacrifice has to be performed; and it is by far the most severe of all. It is the sacrifice of His soul, of His human will, that He is now about to make, following upon that sacrifice in the spirit which He had rejoiced to make in holy devotion in the Temple courts. How different is it now. He had "rejoiced in spirit," but now His *soul* is exceeding sorrowful. As a human soul—which belonged to Him by reason of the flesh of our humanity, which He had graciously taken upon Him—as a human soul, it shrank from death; and such a death! so painful, so shameful, and, in all its circumstances, so sad, so grievous, and by Him so plainly foreseen. In the Agony of the Garden of Gethsemane, the great struggle took place,

which distressed and agitated His whole human nature, so that His sacred Body sweat, as it were, great drops of blood. It was the terrible conflict by which He brought His soul to resign itself to the last bitter suffering, the Cup which He saw held out to Him, and all the bitterness of which He knew. Listen to the contending emotions of His soul, as they are uttered in His prayer: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me." That is the natural, the innocent, shrinking from the terrible coming woe. "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." This the perfect submission of the soul to the Father's will. Thrice He prayed, thrice He desired to be delivered, thrice He consented to submit to all, if it was still His Father's will. Let us hear His own account of the struggle, while yet in the midst and the heat of it. "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."¹ His spirit had been wholly willing, and had made the offering in full devotion; and so continued firmly set; but the flesh was weak; the human will, swayed by human motives and emotions, was sorely exercised now in the final hour of choice. But his soul, amidst all these contending emotions, adhered to that which is the only saving principle for the soul of man to hold by—conformity to the will of God. Mighty as was the struggle, His holy determination prevailed. He "learnt obedience by the things that He suffered."² He "was made perfect through these sufferings."³ His human will became perfected by His final submission to the Divine will. He made the great sacrifice of His will, of His soul to God, in the Agony of Gethsemane; then He made His soul an offering for sin;⁴ then He wholly and finally resigned Himself to the Divine will; and, when He had come to that point, when that was done, then the struggle was over. He rose from His knees resigned and calm. "It is enough." And from that moment He went wholly resigned, wholly without agitation, to finish on the Cross the Great, the Perfect Sacrifice. The third, the last particular is come—the offering of the body—completing the devotion of the spirit and the sacrifice of the soul. In the false kiss of the traitor, printed on His sacred cheek, in the thong-bound hands, in the weary limbs throughout that night, in the mocking of Herod,

¹ S. Matthew, xxvi. 41.

Hebrews, x. 8.

³ Hebrews, ii. 10.

⁴ Isaiah, liii. 10.

in the scourgings ordained by Pilate, in the crown of thorns, in the heavy Cross borne up the way of sorrow, in the piercing nails, in the burning fever and agonizing thirst, His body bore its consummating part, and the Great Sacrifice is completed in the three-fold strength of Spirit, Soul, and Body. He exclaims "It is finished,"—the evening hour again is come—and, gathering up His expiring strength into one last effort, He cries with a loud voice, strong in confidence, and faith, and filial love, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit." All is over! And thus "between the two evenings," "Christ, our Passover is sacrificed for us."

And all this but one single sacrifice. Although in thought we dwell upon the different parts, and trace them in their progressive course, yet the whole transaction is one, no part complete without the other portions. Man is but one, though his complex nature consists of the threefold union of spirit, soul, and body. No one part is the man by itself; to sever and disunite them would be to destroy his nature. The sacrifice offered by Christ is fitly termed the Sacrifice of the Cross; both because it was finished upon the Cross, and because that is the most patent and visible part of the Great Sacrifice, and stands in our common language for the whole.

In the offering made by every faithful Israelite there were ever three parts,—the holy desire to offer unto God; secondly, the self-denying dedication of the costly gift; and, thirdly, the act of the priest in slaying the lamb thus given by the devout worshipper. Of these three parts the last is the most visible, and that by which we speak of the whole, and yet it is the least truly the act of the worshipper himself.

SECT. 6. — CONCLUSION,—REFLECTIONS ON THE LAST SUPPER OF OUR LORD IN THE "UPPER CHAMBER" AT JERUSALEM; AND THE GREAT SACRAMENTAL TRUTH TO BE LEARNED FROM THE CONTEMPLATION OF IT.

"And he will show you a large upper room, furnished and prepared; there make ready for us."—St. Mark xiv. 15.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that it was the bounden duty of every faithful Israelite to kill the Passover on the first day of unleavened bread. It may not, therefore, be doubted that our Blessed Lord Jesus in this point also fulfilled all righteousness, and made

this appointed offering of the Paschal lamb in the Temple court at Jerusalem, attended by His household, His chosen disciples.

It appears to me that the words (above given) were spoken by our Lord, while He was thus standing in the Temple court, performing this sacred duty. St. Mark, of all the Evangelists always the most exact in particulars and details, seems to be describing the scene. This will appear clearly if we attend carefully to the full force of the original, which is somewhat lost in our translation. At verse 12, St. Mark says—"On the first day of unleavened bread, when they were sacrificing the Passover," that is, it appears to me, when Jesus and His company were standing in the Temple court, engaged in the Paschal Sacrifice—"His disciples said unto Him, Where wilt Thou, that we, when we have gone from this place, shall make ready, that Thou mayest eat the Passover?" A reasonable question. Jesus had no house of His own; His Father's house had furnished a place for the sacrifice; but, as far as they saw, there was no place prepared in which he could keep the feast. St. Mark continues (v. 13), "and He sendeth away from His company two of His disciples, and saith unto them, Go hence into the city"—that is, from this Temple court into the adjacent city—"and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water, follow him. And whosoever he shall go in, say ye to the good man of the house, The Master saith, Where is the guest chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples? and he will show you a large upper room, furnished and prepared; there make ready for us. And His disciples went forth, and came into the city"—observe these words "went forth," not out of any house, for they had no house; and it was because they had no house that they had asked the question. It can only mean that they went forth out of the Temple, and came into the city—"and found as Jesus had said unto them; and they made ready the Passover."¹

The sacrifice being over, and the evening being now come, Jesus, accompanied as before, enters the Upper Chamber, thus made ready to keep the second ceremony of that solemn day, the eating of the Paschal feast. It was an upper room, lifted up high above the ground beneath, as the name in the original forcibly

¹ A portion of "The Eucharist Illustrated and Cleared from Error." By the Rev. W. Milton.

expresses it, "up above the earth." It was "large"—a size not required for the gathering of that little company, but designed by God for greater things thereafter.

How solemn an interest gathers round that Upper Chamber into which Jesus entered with His disciples ! It is a spot in which great events came to a close, and from which yet greater events took their rise and origin.

I. There was concluded the whole line of Israel's Paschal feasts. It was a line which stretched from the captivity in Egypt—from Moses, with his glorious arm—from the night which heard Egypt's mighty wail for her first-born slain—from the farther side of the Red Sea, and the Wilderness—down all the ages of Israel's troubled history, and now came to an end in that Upper Chamber, when a greater than Moses was come—in that night which should witness the death of the true First-Born, and the sacrifice of the Lamb which God had provided !

It was the close of all Passovers, but it was the beginning of all Communions. A greater Sacrifice had come, and therefore a greater feast—a feast of fuller grace, and of higher memories ; a feast which has been celebrated ever since, and is now constantly celebrated, and shall be until His coming again.

Again, II. This gathering in the Upper Chamber was the last of the many occasions on which that Reverend Teacher had companied with His disciples, in the flesh, in His earthly life, during a term of three or four years. But it was also the first occasion of that fellowship, not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, which was to endure for ever, He dwelling in them, and they in Him, by the gracious sacramental gift, accepted by their faith and love. It was the conclusion of the intercourse of the Rabbi with his scholars : it was the beginning of the spiritual fellowship of the Divine Head of the Church with His members for ever.

Again, III. It was the conclusion of our Lord's ministry on earth. In that wondrous discourse in the Upper Chamber, so full of the revelation of God, of the saving knowledge of the Father, of the love of the Son, of the comfort of the Holy Ghost, Jesus finished the work of His personal ministry to man ; but from that same spot issued a greater ministry, a higher work—"Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go unto My Father."¹ It was in this same Upper Chamber (according to the constant tradition of the

Church), that the Lord Jesus appeared to His disciples after His Resurrection, and ordained them to the apostolate : "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you ;"¹ and it was in this same Upper Chamber that the Holy Ghost descended at Pentecost upon the infant Church ; and from that spot went forth the sound of the Gospel to all lands, and in all languages ; and the world-wide ministry of Christ's Church sprang as an overflowing stream from that place where His own earthly ministry had been concluded.

It was, as both St. Mark and St. John inform us, a large Upper Chamber. Accordingly it afforded room for the gathering of the Church of Christ in its first beginnings. St. Cyril, himself Bishop of Jerusalem, assures us that the Holy Ghost descended there in Jerusalem, and that this Upper Room was afterwards called "the Superior, or Upper Church of the Apostles." Hither the Apostles and the infant Church, under their care, resorted for prayer and for Holy Communion. "Therefore," as Bishop Wordsworth remarks, "this Upper Room on Mount Zion, at Jerusalem, was the first Church in the world, the primitive Church of Christendom."² With reverent affection, and in the spirit of religious associations, so powerful in their influence upon devout minds, this Upper Chamber seems to have been taken as the model of the places in which the early Christians met in religious fellowship, and especially where they broke bread and celebrated the feast of the Lord's Supper. It is recorded in the 20th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that it was in an "Upper Chamber" that the Christians at Troas met to hold farewell communion with St. Paul, when he was about to leave them, and there the Apostle broke bread, and celebrated the feast of Christian unity.

And besides this interesting tradition, which points to the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem as the model of all Christian Churches, we may draw from the celebration of the Holy Communion by our Lord in that room, much important instruction illustrative of the nature of the Holy Eucharist.

The Upper Chamber is a spiritual parable, and signifies to us that great Upper Presence Room, which is above the stars, above the heavens, where Jesus sitteth at the right hand of glory ; and where He now again and evermore dispenses the Holy feast of His Body and Blood to His

¹ St. John, xx., 21.

² Wordsworth on Acts, i. 13.

¹ St. John, xiv., 12.

faithful and elect disciples. The Holy Eucharist, as it is a communion between God and man, a spiritual transaction, is in its reality and truth celebrated in this Upper Chamber, which is Heaven, where Christ is. It is only the outward and visible sign thereof that is transacted here in our churches on earth. Our bodily sight, our mental thoughts, deal here with the outward symbols, and the memories of the death on Calvary. Our hands receive the consecrated elements, of which the Lord saith, "This is My Body; this is My Blood," meaning thereby, as the ancient Fathers explained it, the figures, the symbols, the representatives of His Body and His Blood. But the realities of the Things signified are not here, and cannot here be received. That sacred Body, and that precious Blood, the ransom of the world, and the food of God's elect, are not here, but in heaven, and in heaven only; and to them, there present, our spiritual being must attain by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and by the energizing of a living faith.

This truth is plainly set forth to us in that part of the Communion office where the priest, before celebrating the sacred feast, requires the people to lift up their hearts, and the faithful reply, "We lift them up unto the Lord." This is the key-note of the whole sacred transaction. By this effort of faith, by which the spiritual part of man's being is raised and lifted up, even up to the Lord in heaven, the whole sacred transaction, in its spiritual truth, is lifted from earth to heaven—is removed from the Church here below, up to the great Upper Chamber, where Christ is, where alone Christ is present in the Body, and where He keeps the feast with His disciples, and gives to them the Spiritual Food of His most precious Body and Blood. Those words, "Lift up your hearts," or their equivalent, as, "Lift up your spirits," "Lift up your minds," are found in every ancient liturgy with which I am acquainted, and have been, it is evident, from the very first, an essential part of the celebration of the Holy Communion. This "going up" to receive the feast was typified by the action of our Lord when He ascended to the Upper Room to institute the Lord's Supper; this was symbolized by the Apostles, when at Jerusalem or at Troas they, too, ascended to the "Upper Chamber," lifted up high above the earth, to celebrate the sacred feast. I have pointed out to you, brethren, on a former occasion, that in that Upper

Chamber at Jerusalem our Blessed Lord discharged in spirit the function of "the priest, after the order of Melchizedek." In that Upper Chamber He offered no sacrifice, but kept the feast, the spiritual feast, upon the spiritual sacrifice that He had previously offered. That Upper Chamber was no place of sacrifice; it was furnished and prepared not for sacrificing, but for eating, the Passover. That was no hour of sacrifice; it was, indeed, an unlawful and forbidden hour for sacrifice, for the sun was set, and the evening was come, and it was an ordinance in Israel that sacrifice could not then be offered.¹ That was no posture of sacrifice, as Jesus lay reclined at the table with His disciples. That was no altar of sacrifice, but a table at which the Paschal meal was taken. There were no words of sacrifice spoken; as a devout Israelite, Jesus blessed God, and gave thanks, before He broke the bread, or gave the wine to those around Him. But there were no words of sacrifice in that divine thanksgiving before partaking. Some of the words spoken by our Blessed Lord have, it is contended, a sacrificial import; and it is true that they imply a connexion with a sacrifice, but it is with a foregone sacrifice, as "memorial," and "given for you," and "shed for you," and "the blood of the New Covenant;" and thus they undoubtedly connect the feast with that sacrifice which, we have seen, had gone before in the Temple court of Jerusalem—the right place of sacrifice; in the afternoon—the appointed hour of sacrifice; standing in the posture of sacrifice; before the altar of sacrifice, with all the circumstances of sacrifice around, with the word of sacrifice with which the lamb was given, and the act of sacrifice by which the blood of the lamb was shed. These things were remembered, indeed, in the memorial or representative bread and wine in the Upper Chamber, but no sacrifice was there made or could be made in the celebration of the feast.²

And so it is in the true Upper Chamber, the Presence Chamber in heaven. There Christ sitteth; like Melchizedek, He sacrifices not, but bringeth forth bread and wine, the refreshing gifts and graces of the new kingdom, the benefits purchased by His sacrifice; He Himself bearing in His sacred Body the memorials of His sacrifice, once made, once for all presented, once for all accepted; He Himself the Priest that ministereth, and the Victim that constitutes

¹ Note B.

² From "The Eucharist Illustrated," by the same.

the feast. Lift up your eyes by faith and behold, as St. John beheld "The Lamb as it had been slain"—not as it is being slain, nor as it is being offered, but as it had been slain in sacrifice, and now is communicated for the food of the soul and the life of the world.

This Upper Chamber on high is the only place where there can be a real and true reception of the Body and the Blood of Christ, for there only are they really present. There is the only true communion or participation of the humanity of Christ. Lift up your hearts, lift them up unto the Lord, to that place where the Lord sitteth, the Upper Chamber in Heaven. Not only by thought, by memory, by imagination, by vivid conception, by meditation, but by the actual energy of the spiritual part of your being, exercised by faith, rise, as it is given you to rise, to the presence of Christ above. This is our privilege by the power of the Holy Spirit, which is the bond of our conjunction with Christ. This the Apostle declares to be our privilege even now, while our bodies sojourn yet upon earth; "Our conversation is in Heaven."¹ We converse and commune and are present there in spirit, even while we are waiting for the redemption of our bodies. Again it is declared that "God hath raised us up"—it says not, "will raise us up," as a thing future—but "hath raised us up, and made us sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."² By the marvellous power of the Holy Spirit, uniting us to Christ, our spirits even now, quickened by a lively faith, commune in heaven, there behold the Lamb on His throne, giving the feast of His precious Body and Blood; there with the spiritual hand we receive the heavenly communication of His glorified humanity; the channel to us of all the graces which with spiritual hunger we desire. In that Communion there is a marvellous distillation of the life-giving power of His Flesh and Blood to our spirits, quickening and refreshing our spiritual life; and by the mysterious union which exists between our spirits and our souls, there ensues a diffusion of that divine grace into our souls, sanctifying our will, purifying our hearts, kindling our affections, illuminating our understandings; and by the union of our manhood, the grace passes onward still, to our bodies also,³ giving to them spiritual cleansing, planting in

them the seed of immortality, preparing them for resurrection and glory. Is it not written—"Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day?" "Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before?" This we have seen and known by faith. And there He abideth in His humanity; and there our spirits commune with Him. "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."¹

The Lord hath ascended into the Upper Chamber, and there alone can we keep the feast with Him. There alone does He give, as of old He gave, the spiritual food of the Communion of His blessed Body and Blood. All these things here below are but shadows and visible signs of the truth that is above; corporal here, spiritual there. This holy place is a shadow of the Upper Chamber that is above, lifted up from earth: this holy table is a figure of the true, the table of the feast of God's grace that is spread in heaven. He that ministers here is a shadow of the ministry of the true Melchizedek above—the bread and wine, here given to the faithful people of God, are shadows and memorials of the blessed Body and Blood which are communicated there. These outward signs address the bodily eye and ear, and through them, inform the mind, awaken the memory, stir the imagination. Faith is quickened and excited—and being thus stirred, faith rouses the spiritual part of our nature to active energy, to exercise its heavenly right of citizenship, to exert its power of being conversant in heaven, to enjoy its privilege of sitting in heavenly places with Christ Jesus, and there to commune with Him, and by the bond of the Holy Spirit, in the strong language of the Scripture, to feed upon the spiritual banquet of his Flesh and Blood.²

How vividly is this stirring and uplifting of our spirits by faith, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, described to us in the strong figurative language of Holy Writ. "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so the Lord alone did lead him,"³ and again in Isaiah, "They

¹ Philippians, iii. 20.

² Ephesians, ii. 6.

³ Note C.

¹ St. John vi. 54, 61-63.

² Note D.

³ Deuteronomy, xxxii. 11, 12.

that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.”¹ And this as St. Chrysostom shows, explains those mysterious words of our Lord—“Where the Body is, there shall the eagles be gathered together.” Those who have spirits strong as eagles’ wings mount to heaven itself, and feed upon the body there, where alone the Body is, and where alone it can be received and fed upon.

Do not let us think that these aspects of the Holy Communion, because not familiar, are singular and novel. They may not indeed have been so largely dwelt upon, or so fully brought out before, but the germs of them are to be found in Holy Scripture, and statements of them, more or less direct, occur in the writings of many ancient and reverend teachers of the Word of God. Thus the Sacred Council of Nicæa, to whom we owe the vindication of the Godhead of our Lord and Saviour, and that common symbol of Christendom, the Nicene Creed, entered upon its records the following exhortation to all Christian people for the right understanding of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and the removal of all carnal and earthly conceptions. Having spoken of the necessity of looking in baptism, not upon the outward elements, but upon the invisible power of the Holy Ghost, the Council proceeds to say; “Upon the Table of God again, there also do not let us basely cling to the bread and cup placed, but having lifted up our minds on high, let us, by faith, perceive lying upon the Holy Table *there*” (that is, in heaven) “the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world—sacrificed as He was by the priests, though not as a sacrifice” (that is, put to death by the Jewish priests, who thought they were executing a criminal, and knew not that they were sacrificing the Propitiation of the World). “And,” the Council continues, “let us, truly receiving His sacred Body and Blood, believe that these are the symbols or pledges of our resurrection.” Here the great council of Nicæa teaches that the heart must be uplifted by faith to the presence of the Lamb in heaven, and there receive the true communication of His Body and Blood.²

To the same effect, Eusebius of Emessa says—speaking, it would seem, of mounting by faith to the Presence in heaven—“When thou as-

cendest to the reverend Altar to be satiated with celestial food, by faith behold the sacred Body and Blood of thy God; honour it, admire it, touch it with thy mind, receive it with the hand of thy heart, and above all, take it to thyself by the inward drinking of thy inner man.”¹

To the same effect S. Chrysostom says: “Christ calleth us up into Heaven, unto the Table of the Great King.” And again: “We being here beneath, taste him sitting in heaven above.” And again: “Christ calleth us eagles, to show that he must mount on high, and fly aloft whoso will approach near to that body.” And S. Augustine uses the like language of the gathering of the eagles into Heaven, for the spiritual feeding upon Christ’s body. S. Jerome also says: “Let us ascend up with our Lord into that great Feast Chamber, and, there above, let us receive of Him the cup of the New Testament.”²

It is not necessary to multiply instances from ancient writers. They are quoted in several places by Bishop Jewel in his Defence of the Church of England—a writer than whom no one speaks with more authority in our Church. Bishop Jewel insisted upon this view of the nature of the Holy Communion in his sermon on the Lord’s Supper preached in his cathedral at Salisbury, in which that learned Bishop says: “Let us die with Christ, let us be crucified unto the world, let us be holy eagles, and soar above; let us *go up into the Great Parlour*, and receive of the Lord the cup of the New Testament. There let us behold the Body that was crucified for us, and the Blood which was shed for us.”³ One other writer may be quoted, viz., Dean Nowell, who possesses very considerable authority in our Church, because the Catechism written by him, and from which I am about to quote, is enjoined by the 79th of the Canons of our Church, to be taught in all schools. After the assertion that in the Holy Communion, believers are really “partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ,” the master asks: “Since we be in earth, and Christ’s Body in heaven, how can that be?” Here is raised the great difficulty of sacramental reception. How can we on earth receive the Body of Christ, which is not on earth, but only in heaven? Now hear how this authorized

¹ From “The Eucharist Illustrated.”

² From “The Eucharist Illustrated.”

³ Jewel, Parker Soc. ii. p. 1124.

¹ 1st Cor. xi. 21.

² From “The Eucharist Illustrated.”

teacher of the Church of England reconciles this apparent contradiction, and removes the difficulty. The scholar is taught to answer: "We must lift our souls and hearts from earth, and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is."¹ Thus, in the authorized teaching of the Church of England, "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," because the soul and heart—that is, the spiritual being of the faithful—is by faith lifted up to Heaven, that place where Christ is, and that place in which alone the Body and Blood of Christ are present, and in which alone, therefore, they can be verily and indeed received. How pure, and lofty, and elevating, is this view of the Holy Communion! What a high opinion it gives us of the dignity of that holy feast. How strongly it calls upon us to throw aside all sin that may defile, all burden that may weigh down our souls; and to rise by spiritual energy, and the power of living, active faith to the very presence of the Son of God in the Great Upper Chamber, where He is present, and where He truly communicates Himself to the faithful!²

And how full and satisfactory is the answer which this aspect of the Holy Communion gives to all the errors and corruptions which, to the destruction of the peace and unity of Christendom, have for a thousand years, gathered round this central ordinance of the Church of Christ, and have turned that which should have been the very bond of unity and charity, into the war cry of the most bitter contentions!

The error of the corporal presence—that is, the actual presence of the very Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements—whether, as taught by Rome, that presence expels the substance of the bread and wine, or, as held by Luther, it be present in, with, or under the form of those elements, without change of substance—this error in either form is put an end to by the truth that only in the Upper Chamber—that is, in heaven—is the Body and Blood of Christ really present, not encased in earthly elements, not taken by the bodily hand, not consumed by the bodily mouth, but present to our spirits only, which are there present with Christ, conversant with Him in heaven. In that heavenly and spiritual manner only, as the Article of the Church of

England declares, is the Body of Christ given, taken and eaten in the Lord's Supper.

The kindred error of reception of the Body of Christ by all, and therefore by evil and faithless men, and the revolting issue of that error, viz., that beast, and bird, and worm may eat the very Body of the Lord—this whole error is swept away by the truth that the real presence of the Body of Christ is only in the Upper Chamber, which can be reached by an active, pure, and living faith alone, and to which no access is granted, or is possible to "the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith," to use again the language of the Articles.

The dangerous error of the sacrifice of the Mass, now taught once again openly in our Church, which is shortly this:—that the Body and Blood of Christ, being actually present in the bread and wine by consecration, and held in the hand of the priest, are thereupon presented by him to God as a real sacrifice, a real offering of Jesus Christ to the Father for propitiation and remission—this "blasphemous error and dangerous deceit," as the Church of England strongly but faithfully terms it, is utterly expelled and rooted out by the truth, that in the Upper Chamber alone is the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ; and that even in that Upper Chamber there is no place for sacrifice, as there was no place for sacrifice, no act of sacrifice, in the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem; by the truth that there is no need of sacrifice, for a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction has been made, and has been accepted for the sins of the whole world; by the truth that the hour of sacrifice is past, and the feast alone is being celebrated; that the true Melchizedek, the priest that sacrifices no more, sits for evermore in the Great Chamber, and gives the feast of refreshment and grace and blessing to the faithful servants of the Most High God. The sacrifice of the Mass is as false in heaven as it is false in earth, and is swept away by the scriptural teaching of the Upper Chamber.¹

Again, the error and superstition of the adoration of the Sacrament, by which men who bear the name of Christ bow down before the consecrated wafer, and worship it as their very God, alleging that they adore therein Christ truly present under the form of bread and wine—this idolatrous superstition is swept away by the truth that in the Upper Chamber, in heaven

¹ Nowell, p. 213.

² From "The Eucharist Illustrated."

¹ From "The Eucharist Illustrated."

alone, is the adorable presence of Christ, and thither only must our adoration be addressed; there only can it be paid by hearts uplifted by faith. Those who practise that superstition defend their conduct by the words of the great doctor, S. Augustine, who says that "No one eats that flesh except he have first adored it." On which our learned Bishop Jewel, replies, "The saying is good; and where we eat it, there we adore it. We eat it in heaven only, in the Upper Chamber, for there only is that Body present, and there also we adore it, and there only—not in the elements, or on the earth, for it is not present here."¹

And the same is the argument of the learned Bishop Bull, who, condemning the errors of Rome, says, "But the worst ceremony of all is the elevation of the Host, to be adored by the people as very Christ Himself under the appearance of bread, whole Christ, God and man, while they neglect the old '*Sursum Corda*,' the lifting up of their hearts to heaven, where whole Christ indeed is."

It is this scriptural doctrine of the lifting up of our spiritual being to the Upper Chamber where Christ is, that expels this grievous superstition, as it answers all those other errors and corruptions.

But there are errors of defect, as well as of exaggeration, in respect to the efficacy of this Holy Sacrament. Some of the foreign reformers, in rejecting the errors of the corporal presence, and the superstitions that flowed from it, over-stepped the bounds of sound doctrine in the opposite direction, and denied a real communication of the Body and Blood of Christ in the due reception of the consecrated elements. They regarded the Eucharist as a memorial of our Lord's death, most instructive and edifying. They considered that the signs of His Body broken, and His Blood poured out, stirred up the faith of the communicants, that by a mental act they realized and dwelt upon the atoning death of Christ, and were greatly confirmed in their belief. This they called feeding upon the Body and Blood of Christ by faith, believing His death; and they taught that believing is eating the Body of Christ,² and relied upon the words of S. Augustine, "Believe, and thou hast eaten." But the error of their teaching consisted in this—that they made the celebration

of the Holy Communion act only upon the *mind* of the faithful; there was no grace from without communicated to him; it was all the action of his mind within him; there was no real imparting of the Body and Blood of Christ to him; the Body and Blood of Christ were not taken and received verily, but only virtually—not in fact, but only in effect. And their error arose from losing sight of the truth that it is not the mind, but the spirit of the Christian that communicates with the Body and Blood of Christ; that the Eucharist is not a mental act of memory of the past, but a spiritual act, conversant in the Upper Chamber with the body of Christ that now is, and as it now is. And, consistently with this, though probably unconsciously so, the great exhortation, "Lift up your hearts," is omitted from the Communion service of these Zwinglian Churches, for the first time in any known liturgy.¹ And this really explains the whole error. It is the truth of "the Upper Chamber" that is lost. It is the truth, that the spirit of the faithful is really conversant in heaven, that is lost, and therefore the real participation of the Body and Blood of Christ, by the spirit, when the consecrated bread and wine are received by the body, and the death and resurrection of Christ are recalled and dwelt upon by the mind, is lost, or, at least, obscured. The whole ordinance is made a mental exercise by faith, edifying and comforting indeed, but not differing from any other religious exercise, except as being more solemn and more vivid.

Thus this error of defect, as well as those errors of exaggeration, all alike are refuted by the simple doctrine of that "Upper Chamber," to which the spirits of the faithful even now have access. It is of this Upper Chamber in Mount Zion of which the Apostle speaks, "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God, the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling."² "Ye are come," says the Apostle, not "Ye shall hereafter come;" for even now the spiritual part of the Christian man, being lifted up by the energy of a living faith, is come to the Upper Chamber on the true Mount Zion, in the hea-

¹ Jewel, i. 542, in substance.

² From "The Eucharist Illustrated."

¹ From "The Eucharist Illustrated."

² Hebrews, xii., 22-24.

venly Jerusalem, and there companies with a numerous assembly of angels. For this cause the Church has always, after "Lift up your hearts," gone on to say, because then standing in that holy assembly, "therefore, with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify God's glorious name, joining in the very hymn of heaven, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.'"

Thus, in the mystery of the Upper Chamber, rightly understood, we have the whole doctrine of the Holy Eucharist cleared from error on either side, and as it is held in its purity by the Reformed Church of England.

The Body and Blood of Christ are, she asserts, "in heaven, and not here;" and, therefore, not contained in the elements of bread and wine, not laid upon the altar or holy table, not held by the hand of the priest, not received by the mouth of the communicant. Yet the bread which we break, and the cup which we bless, are the partaking, *i.e.* the means and occasion of partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, which are not virtually only but verily, not in effect only but in deed, taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. And this is

"only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," faith being "the means," faith which lifts up the spirits of the faithful to heaven, where the Body of Christ is, even to the heavenly Upper Chamber, where the true Melchizedek, seated on His royal priestly throne, receives the tribute of our adoration, and gives the spiritual food of His Blessed Body and Blood; which, by a marvellous incorporation, wrought by the Holy Spirit, as the Homily teaches, are, in the deepest reality, received and fed upon by the spirit of the Christian man, and the grace thereof diffuses itself to his soul and body, to his entire sanctification and salvation.

In this faith let us ever approach the holy communion, with hearts purified by repentance and charity. Then, by an active exertion of your spiritual being, lift up your hearts to heaven, even unto the Lord: realise vividly that large Upper Chamber, furnished and prepared, where He giveth the feast. Join in spirit the reverent company there assembled, and having offered your devout worship to your present Lord, receive from His hands, that which He alone can give, the very communion of His precious Body and Blood.

APPENDIX.

The main principle on which the sermons [from which the foregoing two sections are taken] rest is the doctrine revealed to us in Holy Scripture, and notably in the Epistles of S. Paul,¹ that besides the soul and body, the spirit is a distinct constituent part of a Christian man. This truth is seldom dwelt upon. It is almost universally made to give way to the shallower and less spiritual division by which Philosophy divides our nature into body and soul.

The spirit is the highest part of man's being, having very special functions, powers, and privileges of its own, distinct from those of the soul and body. It has its own special sphere of operation, within which all the dealings of God with us, all the intercourse and communion of Christ and the Holy Spirit with man, primarily take place, their influence being thence derived secondarily to the soul and body, for the perfecting of the work of our salvation. The spirit of man is the sphere within which, and the agency by which, the Eucharistic reception of the Body and Blood of Christ takes place: which is thus cleared from the error, both of the corporal reception of the Roman and Lutheran doctrine, and of the mental reception,—or rather bare subjective contemplation which is really no reception,—of the school of Zuñglinus and Ecclampadius, and even of Bullinger.

While the body has many organs and instruments, and the soul many faculties, as perception, recollection, and so on, the spirit has but one organ, sense, or faculty, unless it be that our ignorance of its nature prevents more accurate distinction. Faith is the eye, the ear, the hand, the mouth, the perception, the affection of the spirit. Consequently we find that the

spiritual part of our being is often spoken of by the term "faith," which is then to be understood, not as the mental act of belief or conviction, but as spiritual perception. Or it is spoken of as the "heart"—not meaning the bodily organ so called, or our natural affections, but the spiritual affections. It is also called the "understanding," or the "mind," by which is intended not mental but spiritual intelligence.

I feel how unable I am to deal with this difficult subject as it deserves. Other, and better qualified minds may, I hope, be turned to its consideration as bearing upon the Holy Eucharist. The solution of all Eucharistic difficulties can only, I feel convinced, be found in the right understanding of that part of man's being, which Scripture calls distinctively his "spirit."

Viewed in this light how forcible are the words of our Church in the formula of administration. 1. "Take and eat this"—the reception of the Bread by the act of the Body. 2. "In remembrance that Christ died for thee"—recollection and meditation, the mental act of the Soul. 3. "And feed on Him in thy heart by Faith"—the real reception of Christ, an act of the Spirit, "in the heart," the spiritual part of man, "by faith," the Spirit's organ of reception and participation.

NOTE A.—PAGE 342.

Our Lord's Spiritual Sacrifice.

It must be owned that no authority has been found who has worked out this view that our Lord offered Himself in a distinct act of spiritual devotion, in the sacrifice of the lamb for Himself and His household on this Passover Day. But I am supported in my opinion

¹ *E.g.* 1 Thessalonians, v. 23; Romans viii.

of the correctness of this view by finding it stated by Waterland that while "some Fathers of eminent note in the Church did plainly and in terms affirm that our Lord offered Himself in the Eucharist, other Fathers admitted of our Lord's offering, or devoting Himself previously to His passion."¹ This latter view supports my argument. The former view, that such offering took place in the Eucharist, is so contrary to all the facts and circumstances of the feast in the Upper Chamber (as shown at p. 345) that it cannot be accepted; but yet it is valuable as showing how strongly these eminent Fathers felt the necessity that our Lord's giving Himself in feast to man *must* have been preceded by His giving Himself in sacrifice to God: and thus it goes to support the view advocated in these pages, which is in full harmony with every sacrificial circumstance of action, time, and place (as already shown at p. 345). The law of the freewill offering enjoined by Moses seems exactly to describe the action which we have supposed our Lord to have performed at the entrance of the Temple court. "If any man of you bring an offering unto the Lord—let him offer a male without blemish:—he shall offer it of his own voluntary will at the door of the Tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord. And he shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt offering; and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him. And he shall kill the bullock before the Lord."² "Of his own voluntary will" exactly agrees with our Lord's words "I lay down my life of Myself," and it is remarkable that this freewill offering is declared accepted for atonement, even before the life is taken and the blood shed, which very well agrees with what has been said in these pages of our Lord's offering of Himself in spirit being accepted before His blood was shed upon the Cross.

NOTE B.—PAGE 347.

Unlawful Hour of Sacrifice.

The learned Commentator on the gospels, Stapulensis (J. Lefèvre d'Estaples) has the following remark upon the phrase "the two evenings" (Ben Haarbaim): "*Prima vespéra ad immolationem et præparationem agni spectat. . . . Secunda vero non ad immolationem (non enim in ea immolare licebat), sed ad comestionem attinet: 'et edent'—'carnes nocte illa.'*"³

NOTE C.—PAGE 348.

Our Bodies not primarily affected by the Holy Communion.

That our bodies are affected by the Holy Eucharist not primarily, but derivatively, is a truth of great importance, because it is often argued, that the prayer in our Communion office, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by our Lord's Body," proves a corporal receiving of our Lord's Body and Blood, that they are verily received into the body by the mouth in the consecrated elements. But this argument is overthrown by the consideration urged in the text, that the effect of the Holy Eucharist is conveyed to the body through the soul, not contrariwise to the soul through the body. This is admitted even by the late Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, in his work on "The Doctrine of the Eucharist." He says (p. 348, 2nd edit.). "It must be observed that the process by which Christ's Body and Blood act upon the receiver is spiritual, and not physical." "Again, while the sacramentum, or outward part, is assimilated to the human body as natural food, the *res sacramenti*, or

Body of Christ, becomes the food of the soul. . . . So that, though our Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist are the source of benefit to our whole constitution, yet these benefits must come to us through the intervention of the believing mind. The Body of Christ which we receive in this sacrament does not, and cannot, act directly upon our material structure, seeing that its presence is not that natural presence which could be an object to the senses, or supply nourishment to our bodily frame. Although we may pray therefore 'that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body,' as well as 'our souls washed by His most precious Blood,' yet it is only through a spiritual process that this work can be effected, and its medium must be a believing heart." This is sound doctrine; but it may be remarked that the "believing heart," which the writer speaks of as the medium of the spiritual process by which the Body of Christ acts upon the soul and then upon the body, is that part of man's being which I have dwelt upon as the "spirit" of man: and the writer loses much in clearness by neglecting the scriptural division of "spirit, and soul, and body," for it is the spirit of the faithful which communicates with the glorified and spiritual Body of Christ, and is the "medium" through which the efficacy of that Body "is imparted to the soul, and lastly to the body of man. This threefold distinction is recognised and dwelt upon in the primitive Liturgy of St. Mark: where in the prayer for right reception the petition is made, 'O Lord, by the visitation of thy Holy Spirit enlighten the eyes of our understanding, that we may, without condemnation, partake of this immortal and heavenly food, and sanctify us wholly in *soul, body, and spirit.*'" And again, "To Thee we have bowed the necks of our *souls and bodies*, signifying the outward form of service, and we beseech Thee, drive away the darkening attacks of sin from our *understanding*, and illuminate our mind with the divine beams of *Thy Holy Spirit,*"¹ where the "understanding" is contrasted with the more outward "soul and body," and is made the sphere of direct communication with the Holy Spirit of God. This word "understanding" (*διάνοια*) is that generally used by early writers to signify the third or highest and spiritual part of man's being, just as "animus" is used by Latin theologians to express the same idea in contrast to "anima."

NOTE D.—PAGE 348.

The Real Mystery of the Holy Communion—The Spiritual Body of Christ, verily received by Faith in Heaven.

The Homily "Concerning the Sacrament," when denying that in the Supper of the Lord there is a vain ceremony or a bare sign, declares the reality of the grace of the sacrament in these strong terms—"The Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ, is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win to their bodies a resurrection to immortality."² This passage, which is designed to raise to the highest point "the

¹ Lit. S. Mark. Neale's Primitive Liturgies, Grace, pp. 25, 27. The same recognition of the three parts of our nature in reference to the celebration of the Holy Communion and worthy reception is found in the Liturgy of St. James, *ib.* pp. 56, 67, 69, where "our souls and bodies and spirits" are mentioned three times.

² Homilies, Oxford, 1859, p. 442.

¹ Doctrine of the Eucharist, chap. xil. p. 337, Oxford, 1868.

² Leviticus, i. 9-5.

³ Stapulensis in Evangel. p. 391

reverent esteeming of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," is remarkable both for what it does not say and for what it does say. It does not say that there is any actual presence of the Body and Blood of Christ *in the elements*. It speaks only of reception. "In the Lord's Supper there is the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord." The "marvellous incorporation" spoken of is not an incorporation with the elements, but is "wrought in the souls of the faithful." The word "incorporation" is a term not commonly used to describe the efficacy of the Holy Communion, but it occurs in an exactly similar passage in the concluding sentence of the preface prefixed by Parker to his reprint of the sermon of Ælfric—a fact which seems to point to Parker as the author, if not of the homily, which is generally attributed to Jewel, at least of this important passage in the homily.

The expression "*marvellous incorporation*" is observable, because it indicates the real point in which the mystery of the Holy Communion lies. Erroneous conceptions of the sacrament place the mystery in the act of consecration, imagining that there is then wrought, by the act of the priest, "a marvellous incorporation" of the Body and Blood of Christ with the elements of the bread and wine. This error is excluded from the Church of England by the "Declaration" that "the Body and Blood of Christ are in heaven, and not here." Thus all the mystery of the real presence assumed to be within the elements is removed by the doctrine that the Body of Christ is really present only in heaven. The mystery of how man on earth can communicate with the Body of Christ which is in heaven only, is removed by the scriptural doctrine that the spirit of man is even now conversant in heaven, and is the sphere of all man's spiritual communication with God in Christ. "My kingdom is not of this world," John xviii. "The Kingdom of God is within you, Luke vii. 21. The real mystery then lies in this. How does the spirit of man eat the flesh and drink the Blood of our Lord Christ? Thus Archbishop Cranmer has pointed out "what is to be wondered at in the sacrament." "For the wonder is not how God worketh in the outward visible sacrament, but His marvellous work is *in the worthy receivers of the sacrament*. This wonderful work of God all men may marvel and wonder at, but no creature is able sufficiently to comprehend it. And as this is wondered at in the sacrament of baptism how he that was subject unto death receiveth life by Christ and His Holy Spirit, so is this wondered at in the Sacrament of Christ's Holy Table, how the same life is continued and endureth for ever by continual feeding upon Christ's flesh and His Blood. And these wonderful works of God towards us we be taught by God's Holy Word and His sacraments of bread, wine, and water, and yet be *not these wonderful works of God in the sacraments, but in us.*"¹

Here therefore lies the mystery. Of course the expressions "eat the flesh and drink the Blood of Christ" are figurative, borrowed from our bodily method of taking nourishment, and they mean no more than that the spirit of man derives its spiritual food and nourishment from the glorified humanity of Christ, by some intimate participation and reception proportionable to that by which bodily food nourishes the natural man. This is forcibly expressed by "the incorporation of the Body and Blood of Christ wrought in our souls" of which the Homily speaks, by which it is declared that the Body and

Blood of Christ are received *not virtually only*, not in their effects only, but *verily and indeed* by an actual "incorporation." On earth, indeed, the Body of Christ is not present *in se*, but only virtually in its effects—but in heaven It is present *in se*, and the spirit of the faithful Christian being in the Lord's Supper "lifted up" and "conversant in heaven," receives the Body of Christ not in its effects, but *in se* "verily and indeed."

Nothing less than this will satisfy the assertion of the homily, "the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord in a marvellous incorporation," and "our conjunction with Christ." While therefore we must deny the real presence *in the elements*, we must assert firmly the real participation, not the virtual only, *in the ordinance*. If it be asked "how can we attain to that sacred body now in heaven?" the answer is plain—"by the spirit of man being lifted up by faith to heaven where Christ is." If then the harder question be asked, "how can the Body of Christ, when reached, be the spiritual food of man?" it can only be answered, "by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ." We know that Christ, when the work of His incarnation was perfected, "became a life-producing spirit" (*ἐγένετο εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*).¹ And he has said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed."² And as the effects of food cannot be received unless the food itself is received so the Body of Christ cannot be received *virtually*, unless it is received *actually*, as it is received by the spirit of the faithful conversant in heaven, in the due reception of the Lord's Supper,—but not then only, though it may be chiefly.

It will have been observed that I have quoted the "Declaration" of the Church of England as saying that the Body and Blood of Christ are in heaven and not here. And it may be objected that the "Declaration" speaks of the "*natural* Body and Blood of Christ." But the word "*natural*," as there used, means only the very true body of our humanity, *i.e.* not His mystical Body the Church, nor His figurative Body, as the elements are sometimes called. Some persons think that the contrast is meant to be drawn between the natural Body and the spiritual Body of Christ. But this is erroneous. Our Lord has not two true bodies, a natural and a spiritual. His natural and His spiritual Body is one and the same—natural in the truth of our nature, spiritual in its risen and glorified condition. The error is founded upon a misapplication of the words of S. Paul, "There is a natural Body and there is a spiritual Body." But S. Paul is speaking of two states of one and the same body—natural before death, spiritual after resurrection. In that sense the word "natural" cannot now be applied to our Lord's Body, which is in heaven, for it is a post-resurrection Body. And of that natural glorified spiritual Body the "Declaration" asserts that it is in heaven and not here. It is therefore altogether an error to suppose that the "Declaration," in denying that the natural Body of Christ is on earth, leaves room for the assertion that the spiritual Body is here, and present in the elements. The natural Body, as the phrase is used in the "Declaration," is the spiritual Body of Christ, His true very Body of our nature, now risen and glorified—and is rightly termed simply "the Body of Christ," without qualification, when no contrast with the mystical Body is contemplated.

¹ Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 66, Parker Soc.

¹ 1 Corinthians, xv. 45.

² S. John, vi. 55.

THIS SECTION, CONCLUDING THE FIRST DIVISION
IS BY THE LATE REV. DR. GOULBURN.

"Lift up your hearts."

SECT. 7.—THE SURSUM CORDA AND THE TERSANCTUS
—OUR EUCHARISTIC OFFERING.

"By Him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name."—HEB. xiii. 15.

THE section of the Communion Service on which we now enter is perhaps of greater antiquity than any other. It can be traced back upwards of fifteen hundred years, and may possibly date from the Apostolic age itself. And accordingly it has a peculiar interest for the devout mind. There is something very solemn in the associations of an old Parish Church, in which generation after generation has worshipped God. It links us in thought to our forefathers in the faith of Christ, who in their days were the subjects of the same struggles, the same temptations as ourselves, and who found their refuge and strength in the mercy and faithfulness of the same Saviour. And a similar interest, only intensified in degree, attaches to a venerable form of Prayer, which has been consecrated by the use of many centuries. These simple and sublime words are the wings, on which many devout souls have been borne up in their flight heavenward,—thousands and millions of the faithful have found no juster expression of the desire, the hope, the gratitude, the love, of which their hearts were full. While a form of Prayer is quite new and untried, we are unable to form a judgment as to its value. An experiment must be made of it before its excellences and defects can be recognised,—before we can see the fulness and depth of it, if it have those merits, or discover (what is soon discovered in most modern prayers) its shallowness of thought and feeling. What a precious heirloom, then, must those pieces of devotion be, of which the faithful from the earliest ages have made experiment, without finding in them any defect; with which successive generations have been perfectly satisfied as a vehicle of devout sentiment! And it is upon the consideration of a piece of this kind that we now enter.

1. This section reaches from the end of the Comfortable Words to the end of the Tersanctus, and is introduced by the following admonition and respond: "Lift up your hearts;" "We lift them up unto the Lord." Observe the connexion of these words with what has preceded

them. The heart cannot be lifted up, to join the heavenly choir in praise, unless it have first been relieved of its burden of guilt. This burden should be lifted off from it by the Absolution, which Christ's ambassador has just pronounced in His Name, and by the comfortable sentences of Holy Scripture, which are so admirably calculated to undo any shackles which still hold it down to the earth. Thus released, the heart, like some balloon whose last detaining cord has been cut, is prepared to rise; and at the word of exhortation, "Lift up your hearts," if it have hitherto followed the Service with the spirit and with the understanding also, it *does* rise.

An exhortation then follows to give thanks unto our Lord God, and, the people assenting to this also, Thanksgiving and Praise immediately commence, Thanksgiving in the Preface (whether it be only the General Preface, or whether a special insertion, suitable to the season, has to be made in it), Praise in the "Tersanctus," or Hymn of the Seraphim, which at a very early period was engrafted into the Liturgy from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah.

2. *Thanksgiving and Praise.* Let us observe this indication that we have now arrived at the highest part of the Service. For Thanksgiving and Praise are the devotional exercises of Heaven, and as such will endure for ever. They are analogous to Gratitude and Love among the Christian Graces. The necessity for Faith and Hope will have passed away, when things eternal become objects of sight, and the Christian is in the full enjoyment of the crown of righteousness. And in like manner prayer and meditation, the religious exercises corresponding to Faith and Hope will find no place in a world where there is no want to be supplied, and no void in the heart which remains unfilled. But Gratitude and Love must endure throughout Eternity, and all other graces must merge into them, and lose themselves in them, as streams in the ocean. And similarly Thanksgiving, which is the utterance of Gratitude, and Praise, which is the utterance of Love, must for ever resound in the Heavenly Courts; and in these all other exercises of Devotion must be swallowed up.

Thanksgiving and Praise, then, are in certain respects kindred to one another, and have a general character in common. Yet they are carefully to be distinguished; and the present section of the Communion Office helps us very beautifully to the distinction. We thank God

for what He is to us,—for what He has done for us. We praise Him for what He is in Himself,—for the intrinsic beauty, goodness, and excellence of His character, apart from any benefits which we derive from it. We thank Him in the Preface. We praise Him in the *Tersanctus*. We thank Him for sending His Son in the flesh, yet “without spot of sin, to cleanse us from all sin;” for “destroying sin by the death of Christ, and restoring to us everlasting life by His Resurrection;” for allowing and causing a place to be prepared for us in Heaven by our great Fore-runner; for “bringing us, by the preaching of His Gospel, out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of Him, and of His Son Jesus Christ;” and for “giving us grace, by the confession of a true faith, to acknowledge the glory of the Eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity.” We praise God, on the other hand, for His moral and natural beauty; for His Holiness, which is in itself a lovely attribute, however terrible to sinners, and for that Glory, whereof not Heaven only, but Earth also, is full; the Glory which struggles forth into expression in all the stars of the firmament, and in all the flowers of the earth, those “stars which in Earth’s firmament do shine.” . . .

3. We must remark in this place on one of the names of the Holy Communion, which now naturally presents itself for consideration. This Service has been called from very early times the Eucharist or Thanksgiving Service. Many able commentators suppose that the word has the sanction of Inspiration; and that when St. Paul writes in 1 Cor. xiv. 16, “When thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?” he is alluding to the great Thanksgiving Prayer which the Minister was in the habit of reciting at the Communion, when blessing the Bread and Wine, and to which the laity responded by a hearty and devout Amen. But whether or not this allusion can be satisfactorily made out, certain it is that the word “Eucharist” has been very long in use to express this rite: and that it gives us one main aspect of the Ordinance, and an aspect under which the early Church delighted to look at it. Our own Church adopts exactly the same view of the Ordinance, when she employs these words: “We entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness

mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving.” It is rather singular, not indeed that Thanksgiving and Praise should have been largely introduced into the Service of the Communion, but that they should have been considered so to form the core and nucleus of the whole, that the current name for the Ordinance should be the Thanksgiving Service. In this name you observe the elements are ignored; there is nothing to remind us of the Bread and Wine, or of the participation in them by the Communicants. Perhaps the early Christians saw so clearly the permanent element of the Ordinance, that the thought of this loosened the hold of their minds on that which is temporary. The participation of the Supper has a prescribed term, after which it must pass away. It is ordained to endure till, and only till, “the Lord come.” But so far as the Service is one of Thanksgiving and Praise; so far as in it we join our voices with those of Cherubim and Seraphim, Angels and Archangels, and all the company of Heaven, so far it can never pass away. It is probable that in some part of the Christian world the Eucharist will be actually in celebration, when the hour for the Second Advent arrives. If it be so, while the earthly elements of the rite will of course be superseded by the Lord’s appearance, and while there will be no longer any need of remembrancers of a Saviour who is present, yet the Thanksgiving Service will undergo no interruption, but will be taken up into the harmonies of Heaven: and suddenly with those poor waiting (and perhaps persecuted) Christians, who are celebrating the death of their Master, there will be a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory: Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High.”

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord
 God of hosts, essential Good!
 God in highest Heaven adored,
 Hear our hymn of gratitude.
 O be Thou our strength and stay!
 Save us,—we in Thee believe:
 By Thee we bless, to Thee we pray,
 And to Thee all glory give.

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,
 Be Thy name in earth adored,
 As by Thy celestial host,
 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!

BISHOP MANT.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART V.—(Second Division.)

ANGLICAN DOCTRINE OF EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

I.—THE MEMORIAL SACRIFICE IN RECEPTION.

Well we know our Heavenly Father
Will the Bread of Heaven supply,
From whose Grace alone we gather
Strength to live, and calm to die.

Kneeling at the sacred altar
Prone in penitence and prayer,
With a love that cannot falter,
We shall find the Saviour there.

Of His Body—for us broken,
Of His Blood—for us outpour'd,
Take we then the blessed token
And confess a Present Lord!

Mortal eyes may not discern Him
Mortal sense may not receive,—
But *within the faithful bosom*
Dwells the Presence we believe.

By the late BISHOP OF JAMAICA.

"Nihil habet rati nem sacramenti, extra usam seu actionem divinitus institutam."—*Cosin, Hist. Trans.* iv., 5.

SECT. I.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE MEMORIAL
SACRIFICE AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE
SACRAMENT BY THE FAITHFUL.

*A Review of a Treatise by the Rev. GEORGE
TREVOR, Canon of York.**

THE Church of England has certainly one characteristic, and we doubt whether any other Church or communion of Christians shares it with her: it is that of appealing unreservedly to Scripture and Antiquity. She appeals with confidence to the testimony of the Catholic Church in the early age of Apostolic purity, in confirmation of the witness she bears to God's revealed Truth, as contained in His written Word. That was her watchword at her great epoch of self-review and self-reform in the 16th century; and he is no true son of the English Church, be his zeal or devotion what it may, who does not take up that watchword.

It was here that the ultra-Protestant or 'Evangelical' party failed, and was found wanting, viz., in that it set up an 'Evangel' or Gospel system of its own, regardless of antiquity, leading to a disavowal of the inward grace of the Sacra-

ments, and resulting in a narrow and partial conception of the Gospel. It is here that the extreme school of High Churchmen, or 'Ritualists,' at the present day, fails no less, and can never be a safe guide to the English Church, or become anything more than a school, simply because their standard is not Catholic Antiquity, but Mediævalism—that departure from primitive Truth which provoked the stern protest of Christendom, and still precludes our holding communion with Rome.

But chiefly do the two schools we have alluded to show their un-English—because un-primitive and un-Apostolic—teaching, in their diverse views on the doctrine of the Holy Communion. And the object of the valuable work we are now about to notice, is to state and vindicate, as against both these opposite schools, the true Catholic and Anglican doctrine respecting the "sacrifice and participation of the Holy Eucharist."

In regard to the principles maintained by the author, and the Eucharistic doctrine vindicated, we have no hesitation in saying they will be found in general harmony with the teaching of such leading authorities in the Church among others as the present Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Lichfield, Gloucester, and Salisbury, the Deans of Chichester, and Norwich, Dr. Jeff, Archdea-

* This Review of Canon Trevor's work on "The Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrifice and Participation of the Holy Eucharist" (Mozley, 1869), appeared in the Second Edition, by the Editor,—giving a general Summary of Dr. Trevor's work.

con Freeman, &c., and, let us add, by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his last charge, published after his death, in which he especially sets forth the Catholic teaching of our Church on this Sacrament.

It is indeed a *bonâ fide* pursuit of truth, regardless of mere party prejudice, whatever may be the direction in which it leads; but especially is it a refutation of the teaching of that extreme School, which is now striving to re-import into the English Church mediæval traditions, both in doctrine and practice, with regard to this great mystery; to emancipate herself from which perversions of primitive truth it cost this Church of England the great contest with Rome at the Reformation, and the lives of so many of her holy martyrs, who by their steadfast protest, bore witness to the true Catholic Faith, even unto death! In much that we hold in common with this party, we gladly acknowledge their many tokens of zeal and self-denial, but it must be confessed, that to the plain lessons taught by past history, they do indeed seem perversely blind.

As stated in the preface:—

"The work is designed to vindicate from recent misconceptions the old Catholic doctrine of the Memorial Sacrifice and Real Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; and the authorities adduced in exposition of Holy Scripture are the Councils, Liturgies, and Fathers before the division of East and West, together with the Liturgy and standard divines of the Church of England. The same authorities have been lately claimed for conclusions to which they are, in truth, strongly opposed. The old Catholic phraseology is unhappily being more and more limited to the Tridentine interpretation. The Real Presence, which Bishop Cosin affirms and proves to be common to all Protestant Confessions, is now sought to be restrained to the Church of Rome, and one section of the Anglican communion. The Eucharistic Sacrifice, taught by all our great theologians, is to a large extent confounded with the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is a natural though startling sequel, that one of these miscalled 'High Churchmen' at last reaches the conclusion that England and Rome are absolutely at one on the very doctrine which historically formed the chief ground of their separation!"—p. iii., iv.

Canon Trevor pays a graceful tribute of thanks to Archdeacon Freeman, for his revision of the proof sheets, and for access to the valuable stores collected in his *Principles of Divine Service*; and also acknowledges the encouragement he received from the late Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Bishop Primus of Scotland, the Presiding Bishop of the

Church in the U.S. of America, and from 21 other Bishops of the Anglican communion. Without attempting to pronounce a verdict on his treatment of every point, we may yet safely affirm that Mr. Trevor has made a most valuable contribution to the study of this great and mysterious subject, on which, by reason of its mysteriousness, there will doubtless be always among the best and wisest of men some different shades of opinion: although guided by Scripture and Christian Antiquity, the devout Christian will never be at a loss to realize the blessing of the Heavenly Gift, assured to every faithful communicant.

We propose to devote to the consideration of this work a larger space than usual for reviews, regarding it as a treatise of more than ordinary importance, in the present divided state of parties and opinions in the Church, and as one tending to form a bond of agreement among all sincere Churchmen, by its vindication of her Scriptural and Catholic teaching concerning this Sacrament. We will endeavour to give our readers such an insight of its treatment of the subject, as shall enable them to judge of its merits; and we heartily recommend the book itself to their attentive perusal.

The great principle throughout, which the author seeks to uphold, is ably expressed in the following passage, taken from the preface:—

"The Churchmanship of our day happily revolts from all that goes to lower or rationalize the Christian mysteries. In view of the secular tendencies of the age it clings the more fervently to the Catholic traditions, which may soon be our only bond of union, when temporal establishments may have ceased to exist. The present Essay is an appeal to Catholic tradition; to Church authority against private judgment; to the simplicity of the universal faith against an overbearing scholasticism, which, in seeking to *localize* the spiritual, darkens what it affects to define, and desecrates the Ark it presumes to uphold. It is the diversity of doctrine which creates and gives importance to our Ritual diversities. These can never be satisfactorily adjusted while the standards of teaching are misunderstood. Happily no new and independent exploration of the fathers is required; the citation is best limited to the beaten path of our own theology. It is not what, the private judgment of learned men may now find in antiquity, but what the Church of England has taken from it as Catholic truth, that her children require to be told."—p. iv., v.

"The Church of England solemnly appeals to the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, in vindication of her reformation, and of her claim to be a genuine branch of the Catholic Church. For private persons to

put their own construction on antiquity, and then affirm that such is the mind of our Church, in defiance of the contrary utterance, or the not less significant silence of her actual formularies, is a grievous insult to her authority."—p. 12.

This appeal of our Church to Scripture and Antiquity, Mr. Trevor keeps steadily in view, and this is the great merit of his treatise. He shrinks from no accredited utterance of antiquity, however perverted by later interpretation, distinguishing at the same time private speculation from general faith, as expressed in Canons and Liturgies.

The first section is devoted to upholding and explaining the primitive use of the word "sacrifice" as applied primarily to the whole action of the Eucharist, and secondarily to the sacred elements used in the oblation. This double meaning is also traced in the use of the term in Holy Scripture.

The second section treats of "the Sacrifice of the Mass," and ascribes the Tridentine perversion of the word to the mediæval doctrine of transubstantiation, which changes the elements mystically representing the Body and Blood of the Crucified Redeemer, into the whole Person of the Living, Glorified Christ. We give a few extracts in illustration, from these sections :—

"The Holy Eucharist is universally acknowledged to be not only the principal means of grace, but the highest act of worship in the Christian Church. . . . Comprehending the prayers, praises, and thanksgivings of the Church below, it offers them to God in union with the sacrifice of His dear Son upon the Cross, of which it is the appointed remembrance till He comes to translate us to the Church above. When it is disputed whether this service be itself a sacrifice, the question turns wholly on the meaning of the word. It arises, in fact, out of the erroneous conception of sacrifices in the modern Church of Rome. Nothing is more certain than that in the Catholic Church, before the division of east and west, the Holy Eucharist was universally regarded as a sacrifice. This is its common appellation in the Liturgies and Canons; and no one point of doctrine and discipline is more firmly established by the consent of the Fathers. Primarily and principally the term was used of the whole service as a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,"—a phrase still retained in our own Liturgy. It was the same under the Old Testament, where the "sacrifice," properly speaking, meant the whole act of worship, including the spiritual devotion of the worshipper, and not only the material symbol by which it was presented. But as under the law the material offerings were called in a secondary sense "sacrifices," as expressing the true inward sacrifice of the man, so the Church applied the same word to the visible elements in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The bread and wine were solemnly 'offered,' before they were partaken of; this liturgical act was

termed the 'Oblation'; and the things offered were called 'oblations,' 'gifts,' and 'sacrifices.' The true intent and meaning of these expressions is a main article in our long controversy with Rome; to reject them altogether would be to cut away from under our feet the whole body of evidence on which we appeal to the primitive Church. To the objection that the Eucharist is not called a sacrifice in the New Testament, the answer is obvious, that neither is it there called a *sacrament*. If it be rejoined that the qualities of a sacrament are affirmed of it, so also are the qualities of a sacrifice. The two words, in fact, come from the same original, and are distinguished only in the use. A sacrifice is an offering from man to God; a sacrament is a gift from God to man; and communion means a partaking of the same thing by God and man. In the New Testament the bread and wine are declared to be the Body broken and the Blood shed, i.e., the Flesh of Christ offered in sacrifice on the Cross. The participation of them is a participation of that sacrifice; and the whole celebration is a showing forth of the Lord's Death. Now these are the qualities of a sacrifice under the Old Testament. The Levitical offerings were all designed to represent, more or less directly, the one True Sacrifice of the Lamb of God, and minister participation in its benefits. To whatever extent these purposes are fulfilled in the Eucharist—and it is certain that they are more truly and beneficially realized in the commemoration than in the type—to the same extent the Eucharist must be a sacrifice. The word, in short, is a Scriptural one; and by the Scripture, not by modern prejudice, its use and meaning must be determined. . . . What the apostle teaches is, that 'there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin.' But the sin-offering under the law admitted of no participation, either by priest or people. . . . Hence it is a great point of superiority in the Gospel dispensation, that we have an altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle. Communion in the sin-offering, always inexorably denied to the Jew, is the prerogative of the Christian in the Holy Eucharist. . . . So far from abolishing that class of sacrifice (the *peace offering*) to which the Passover belonged, the Eucharist was given to make it 'new in the Kingdom of God.' Hence the Apostle, referring to this rite, says, 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the Feast.'"
—p. 1 to 6.

We must here remark that we should have preferred to see the above definition of the word "Communion" more clearly expressed; we should rather explain it as "our partaking of that renewed Human nature which is in Christ—the Word made Flesh."

The author further shows the especial character of the Eucharistic "sacrifice," as being commemorative, or a "memorial," of the one true Sacrifice for sin; giving quotations in support from the Fathers. After some remarks on the peace-offering by which the Israelites "partook of the altar," he observes :—

"That the 'memorial,' or 'oblation of a choice morsel

to God,' which distinguished this class of sacrifice, is the very name assigned by our Lord Himself to the Holy Eucharist: 'Do this in remembrance of me,' or more literally 'for My remembrance,' (or memorial) (*εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*). . . . This was the precise character of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Primitive Church. The fathers uniformly represent the Sacrifice of the Cross as the one true meritorious sin-offering, or satisfaction for the sins of the world: and the Eucharist a commemorative, representative rite to apply its virtue. 'What men call sacrifice,' says Augustine, 'is the outward sign of the sacrifice.' 'The memorial of a thing, on account of its resemblance to that of which it is the memorial, receives the same name.' . . . So Chrysostom: 'We offer not another sacrifice but the same; or rather, we celebrate the memorial of the sacrifice.' And Theophylact: 'Him we offer always; or rather, we make the memorial of that offering.' Now a memorial rite is obviously not the identical sacrifice, nor necessarily the same kind of sacrifice, with that which it commemorates; yet it may be a true and proper sacrifice of its own kind, as the peace-offerings under the law were sacrifices, though very different from the sin-offering and the Holocaust. . . . The commemorative sacrifice is not a *sin-offering*, efficacious by its own merits, but only a means of communicating the Sacrifice of the Cross."—p. 6 to 8.

"That *external* sacrifice is worthless, in comparison with moral and spiritual devotion, is the doctrine of the Old Testament no less than the New. Yet the assertion of this truth by the prophets was not meant to abolish the sacrifices of the Law. . . . Our Lord Himself ordained the use of material elements in Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; if these can be made channels of grace to man without injury to spiritual religion, it does not appear why they may not be also the visible signs of a holy and spiritual Sacrifice."—p. 10, 11.

This explanation of the "sacrifice" is well summed up in the following statement of the true objects of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, to be found at the commencement of the 4th Section, which treats of the "Anglican doctrine":—

"1. To praise God for the mercies of Creation, Providence, and Redemption. 2. To plead and commemorate the Sacrifice of the Cross, communicating the Body and Blood there offered to the faithful receiver. 3. To offer ourselves, in union with Christ, a living sacrifice unto God. It follows that none who do not communicate, or who communicate unworthily, either assist in the sacrifice, or partake of the Lord's Body and Blood: since these are not substantially contained in, or united to, the elements, but exhibited in mystery, and realized in faithful reception. For the same reason, though 'no one eats without adoring Christ,' our adoration is not offered to anything in the paten or the chalice but to His Glorified Body, which 'is in Heaven and not here.'"—p. 46, 47.

The other leading principle which it is the main purpose of the work to vindicate from mediæval perversion,—and equally from the

present attempt to return to the same practice in our Church,—is the necessity of *participation in the outward elements*, not only to constitute the service a real Sacrament and Communion, but also as essential to the spiritual sacrifice offered by each worshipper who takes part in it. This we find very clearly stated in the following passages from the 1st section:—

"Both characters of a sacrifice and a communion are inalienable from the Eucharist; when the Church of Rome had perverted the one and mutilated the other, the aim of our Church was to restore them to their true relations. *In Scripture and Antiquity the Sacrifice and the Participation are inseparable.* The Apostle says that we 'show the Lord's death'—which is the office of the Sacrifice—'when we eat this bread and drink this cup.' St. Augustine expressly observes 'that to eat bread is the Sacrifice of Christians.' Bishop Andrewes, pointing out that the sacrifice is Eucharistic, remarks—'Of that sacrifice it was ever the law that he who offers it should partake of it. He partakes,' he continues, 'by eating and drinking, as the Lord commanded, for participation in the prayers only is a novel and illicit sort of participation.' What our Church sought, then, was to restore the sacrifice and the participation to their original unity. The sacrifice is not denied, but vindicated by insisting on communion. For it is in eating and drinking that we show forth the Lord's death, and without eating and drinking there is no sacrifice. What Christ has joined together, let not man put asunder." p. 12, 13.

This same principle—the necessity of participation as essential alike to Communion and Sacrifice—will be found also traced in the 2nd section, when treating of its perversion and omission in "the Sacrifice of the Mass." This section exposes the errors and contradictions involved in the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and here, as in other parts also, the author lays great stress on the distinction between the Body and Blood of Christ *slain on the Cross*,—mystically exhibited in the Eucharist in *two separate elements*, e.g., in a state of death—and the *Person of the Risen Christ*, living in glory. To a confusion of these objects, he traces the whole controversy regarding Christ's Presence. As in Baptism—"when we were baptized into Jesus Christ we were baptized into His Death,"—so in Holy Communion, "if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him." The Christian life must ever begin at the beginning: "Death worketh in us first"—Resurrection afterwards,—and this is equally true of the second Sacrament, as of the first. For new supplies of Grace and Life, we must ever go back to the wondrous Death which alone kills the old nature, and keeps it in a mortified condition.

In looking direct to the testimony of Scripture, how consistent do we find the deep spiritual teaching of its great Sacramental Truths. This surest of all appeals for refuting the traditions and "fond inventions" of men, which the Church of Rome has added to the Faith, our author has recourse to in the next section which comes under our review.

In the 2nd section, on "the Sacrifice of the Mass," Canon Trevor first states the Decree of the Council of Trent concerning it; and we must give a portion of the decree, in order to follow his argument:—

"Art. 1. That on account of the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, it was necessary to establish another priest, after the order of Melchisedek, that is to say Jesus Christ, who, though he offered Himself but once on the Cross, nevertheless, in order to leave His Church a visible Sacrifice, *representative of that of the Cross, and applicatory of its virtue*, did in quality of Priest after the order of Melchisedek, offer to God, His Father, His Body and His Blood under the forms of bread and wine, and gave it to His apostles, commanding them and their successors to offer it."

"Art. 2. That since Jesus Christ, who was immolated after a bloody manner on the cross, is the same who is sacrificed after an unbloody manner in the Mass, this sacrifice is propitiatory; and God being appeased by this offering, accords us the gift of repentance, and remits all our sins; because it is the same Victim which is offered, and He who offered Himself on the cross is the same who still offers Himself by the hands of His priests."

He then proceeds:—

"To the first article of this decree the objections may be reduced to a question of words rather than things. The 'Body and Blood' of Christ mean in Scripture, and all Catholic antiquity, the crucified Body and outshed Blood of the Sacrifice of the Cross; and it is admitted by Roman Catholic divines that 'in this condition they are not really contained in the Sacrament, but represented by it.' Consequently, notwithstanding the expression, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' the sacrifice according to this article is only 'representative of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and applicatory of its virtue';—an application undoubtedly made to the faithful in partaking of the Communion. The language of the second article, though open to more exception, might also (with the omission of the last sentence) be reconciled with Primitive and Catholic doctrine, understanding first, that the Sacrifice really offered on the Cross is mystically commemorated in the Mass, and that this is the meaning of offering the same Victim after an unbloody manner, and secondly, that it is the Real Sacrifice, not the commemorative one, which 'appeases God,' and procures remission of sins. The last sentence of the second article, (*viz.*, that it may be offered for the benefit of the dead,) and the whole of the sixth, (approving private masses,) are mere inferences unsupported by Scripture or Catholic antiquity. Setting these inferences aside, it will be found that it is not so

much the Decree of the Mass, as the tenet of Transubstantiation, which determines the character of the sacrifice in the Church of Rome."

"The Council of Trent further lays down:—

"That by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is made a conversion of these two substances into the substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which conversion the Church justly and properly calls Transubstantiation.

"That the Body of Christ is under the species of bread, and His Blood under the species of wine, by virtue of the consecration; but that by concomitancy the one and the other are under each of the species, and every part of them, equally as under the two together."

"These limitations define the general statement, that 'after consecration Jesus Christ is truly, really, and substantially contained under the appearance of things sensible.' . . . An anathema is pronounced against all who shall assert 'that He is present in the Eucharist only in symbol, figure, and virtue.'

"Now in the Roman Mass the oblation is held to consist of the consecrated elements, thus converted from the symbols of Christ's crucified Body and Blood, into the reality of His living Person. This conception destroys the original character of the Sacrifice as 'representative of the Cross and applicatory of its virtue,' and introduces a totally different one in its place. . . . It is insisted (in the second article), at whatever hazard to reason and consistency, that the Cross and its commemoration are *one and the same Sacrifice*. The oblation which represents Christ crucified, is really and substantially the living Person of Christ glorified! This interpretation plunges everything into contradiction. . . . It is a contradiction in terms to call a sacrifice unbloody, in which one of the things offered is the actual Blood of Christ, unless it be in figure and by representation. . . . It is admitted that the sacrament represents the Sacrifice of Christ's Death. It exhibits His Body and Blood sundered in two elements, as in the hour when the one hung lifeless on the cross, and the other lay poured upon the ground below. Now, if it were true that these—whether by Transubstantiation or otherwise—could be corporally and substantially contained in or under the sacrament, yet they are not 'whole Christ.' The Soul was certainly then absent from the Body, in Paradise. And though we believe the Divinity of the Word to have remained united to each by hypostatic union, even when the vital union was dissolved, yet there is no hypostatic union with bread and wine. Hence, neither can the Divinity of Christ be contained in the Sacrament. Transubstantiation itself could result in nothing but a dead Christ, and that apart from the Living Word. But the Lord is risen; His Body and Blood are no longer in a state of death in fact, and can only be so in the sacrament by remembrance and representation.

"True it is, that in partaking of them we partake of His life. The living Manhood of Jesus Christ in heaven is the channel of all grace and life to men; and the object and result of the Holy Eucharist is to incorporate us more and more into Him who is the First-fruits from the dead. But means are not identical with the end. The means are Christ

Crucified, the *end* is Christ Glorified. The Sacrament exhibits the means by way of representation and symbol; for this it is indispensable to retain bread and wine; *it is no sacrament without them.* In receiving these, we receive indeed the Body and Blood, Soul and Divinity, of our ascended Lord, in spirit and in faith; but it is a clumsy contradiction to put the unseen reality in place of the visible element;—to make the same object at the same instant, bread and not bread—the symbol of Christ slain, and the reality of Christ risen. . . . The root of all this error seems to lie in confounding the phrase ‘Body and Blood’ as relating to our Lord’s death, with the word ‘Body,’ as denoting His glorified Manhood in Heaven. To offer the memorials of the first is the Eucharistic Sacrifice of antiquity. Transubstantiation in seeking to present the other, would not only require Christ to die again, but make His *Divinity* part of the Sacrifice;—a heresy confounding the whole doctrine of the Atonement. . . . It is the Atonement made by His Death which enables us to partake of His life.”—p. 14-21.

After summing up the Romish doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass in 5 propositions, he concludes:—

“These dogmas, though wholly unprimitive, unscriptural, and, therefore, in themselves false and pernicious, might be comparatively harmless if the ministrations were retained according to the Institution of Christ. Headministered the Sacrament in both parts to every one present at the consecration, and left nothing of either element unconsumed. Nay, it would appear that the bread was thus disposed of, before the cup was taken and blessed. The consecration, delivery, and communion were one act, of which the parts overlapped each other. There was, in fact, no moment of time in which the Tridentine Presence could be affirmed, or the Sacrifice of the Mass be performed, or the consecrated elements be exhibited for adoration. These startling dogmas are all crowded into an interval which *had absolutely no existence in the original Institution.* Neither is any interval between oblation and communion recognised by the apostle when he says, ‘As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till he come.’ The oblation and the manducation are concurrent parts of the Sacrifice; or rather, manducation implies oblation, while oblation *without* manducation is no Christian sacrifice at all. . . . In allowing non-communicating attendance, and reserving the consecrated elements for other and alien purposes, an entirely new and unauthorised train of thought was introduced. The host was kept in churches, carried about in processions, exposed for adoration, and in fact regarded as a material embodiment of the Redeemer—an actual visible God! Then came the novelty of assisting at the sacrifice without receiving the communion, and finally of the priest offering it on behalf of the absent or the dead, to whom receiving is impossible. All was the result of disobeying the one original injunction to eat and drink. The churches are still everywhere agreed that ‘the Body and Blood of Christ are verily taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.’ What destroys our Catholic unity, is the perverse ingenuity which demands,

What is that of which Christ said, ‘Take, eat,’ when it is *not* eaten?”—p. 30-32.

These are indeed significant words, and the warning they contain is of importance at the present day. It is a strong condemnation of the teaching and practice of that extreme party in our Church, who are perseveringly aiming at changing the essential character of our Holy Communion Service, from being the united participation of the assembled worshippers, to an outward ceremonial rite, in which the Celebrant partakes with but a portion of the congregation,—or even by himself alone,—and the rest of the worshippers become little else than spectators, supposed to assist by their presence in the offering of the sacrifice by the Priest! This perversion of the Holy Communion in direct defiance of the express rule of our Church, has recently received a timely rebuke from the Bishop of Winchester, in his parting charge to the clergy at Oxford; and the Bishop of Salisbury also strongly condemned it in his late Bampton lectures. It has, however (we grieve to state), become an almost established custom in some of our extreme Ritualistic churches.

Before leaving the subject of the Roman dogmas, we must conclude with a striking and appropriate passage from the section on the Western liturgies. The author is comparing the view of consecration which prevailed in the Eastern liturgies, with that of the Western; stating the considerations that justify the early Western view, which was by the words of Institution coupled with prayer, independently of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, or special benediction, customary in the east. He then concludes with these impressive remarks:—

“A widely different notion arose in the dark age that descended on the West, after it fell under the barbarian yoke. The mere pronouncement of the mystic words by a priest was then thought to fix the Divine Presence in the material element, irrespectively of prayer, or *after use* in communion. The gifts exhibited in the Sacrament were mistaken for the Person of the Giver. It was no longer the *crucified* Body, and *outshed* Blood, to be received in a mystery, but the *glorified* Christ, in bodily presence, that filled the paten and the chalice. The gifts which He bestowed in two separate elements, to symbolize His Body and Blood sundered in death, were darily brought together, first in actual mixture, then by the school dogma of concomitancy and the suppression of the cup. ‘Whole Christ’ was now lodged in the bread; that inward and spiritual Presence of the living Redeemer, which He taught us to expect as the result of feeding on His sacramental Body and Blood, was transferred from its proper tabernacle in the soul,

to the material symbols of His Death. This so confounded the sacramental mystery, that the schoolmen, who had wrought the mischief, were driven to the further invention of transubstantiation, as the only logical loophole from despair. And so He, whom, S. Peter taught, 'the heaven of heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things,' was feigned to be brought down at the bidding of every priest, not to feed the hungry soul, but to be lifted up, or put down, upon altars without communicants; to be gazed at, or shut up in pyxes; to be carried about in processions without His will or consent; to be exposed for adoration by those who worship they know not what! . . . These awful profanations, with other consequences revolting alike to decency, morality, and religion, were the offspring of the deplorable superstition, which converted the *sacrament* of our Lord's crucified Body and Blood into the *reality* of His glorified Person."—p.181-2.

The 3rd section is devoted to the Lutheran hypothesis, and a few extracts will suffice to indicate its treatment:—

"Luther rested his doctrine, as the Romanists rest theirs, on the literal form of the words of Institution; but in fact this interpretation was *further* from the letter than any other. The words of Institution may mean, 'This is My Body in *substance*, in *effect*, or in *figure*;' as the words 'this is my estate,' may denote the land itself, the value of it, the title deeds, or a drawing or plan of the property, according to the nature of the object indicated by the pronoun 'this.' But on the Lutheran hypothesis the bread is *not* the Body, but accompanies the Body; which is a direct contradiction of the words of Institution. This hypothesis involved the further difficulty of presenting *two* objects to the adoration of the attendants instead of one; which the schoolmen escaped by the invention of Transubstantiation. For, although the Lutherans profess to worship, not the Sacrament, but 'Christ in the Sacrament,' yet if the two are corporally united, it is impossible to exhibit external homage to one, without doing the same to the other."—p. 33-34.

"To locate Christ's glorified Body in the elements *along with* bread and wine, is not less injurious to a right faith in the Incarnation, than to imagine it in the paten and the cup *instead* of them. That Body (our Church affirms) 'is in heaven, and not here;' whatever glory it has acquired in the exaltation, it is still *areal* human Body; and of all bodies the distinguishing characteristic as opposed to spirit, is that they are bounded by form and place. Hence it is against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one. . . The co-existent teaching cannot escape the censure, which Hooker urges upon S. Augustine. 'That majestic body which we make to be everywhere present, doth thereby cease to have the substance of a true Body.' . . The words 'This is My Body' can only mean one of two things; either this is My Body under the form or appearance of bread;—or, this is My Body in mystical signification and power. . . Bellarmine himself admits that if the pronoun *this* have bread for its subject, then it can be Body only in figure."—p. 40-41.

"Some practical abuses were guarded against by attributing the consecration to the prayers of the Church, instead of the priest's utterance of the words of Institution;

and above all by the great Protestant canon,—cited and accepted by Bishop Cosin,—that a Sacrament has no sacramental effect beyond the use assigned to it in the Divine Institution."—p. 33.

"What the fathers teach is that Christ's Body is in heaven, and its presence upon earth is due to the hypostatic union with His omnipresent Godhead. In this 'heavenly, spiritual, and immaterial way,' the glorified humanity of our exalted Lord is indeed peculiarly present, and partaken of by the faithful in the Holy Eucharist. This is not the presence of a body contained in, or united to another body, but a presence *in spirit and effect* of a Body *locally* absent."—p. 43-44.

It was this co-existent theory which compelled Luther to discard the Catholic idea of Sacrifice, and rest the controversy with Rome on the false issue of Sacrifice or Communion—a mistake blindly followed by too many other Protestants.

Mr. Trevor justly observes that:—

"A disposition has lately been manifested among ourselves to revive this co-existent theory as less opposed than transubstantiation to the letter of the 28th Article." He remarks at the same time (which is worthy of note) that "according to Dr. Dollinger, hardly any genuine Lutherans are now to be found in Germany."—p. 36.

After thus considering the errors of the Roman and the Lutheran systems, the 4th section brings us to the assertion of the "Anglican doctrine," and it is supported by a variety of references to the standard divines of our Church.

Here we find the doctrine of the Real Presence, as held in the English Church, more directly treated. We will endeavour to give a general view of the author's clear enunciation of the doctrine, which has been already alluded to in considering the previous sections.

"The phrase 'Real Presence,' though not adopted in the Anglican formularies,—perhaps on account of the ambiguity introduced into it by the Church of Rome,—is received by our divines in its true and original meaning; viz., that Christ is really present to the faithful communicant in the eating and drinking of the consecrated gifts, and that not by the internal action of his own mind—or faith alone, (which some people call a subjective presence), but by a real Presence from without, of the Person of the God-man. In this sense the Real Presence is held not only by the Anglican Church, but, as Bishop Cosin shows, by all Protestant Confessions, as firmly as by the Church of Rome or the Lutherans. The peculiarity of the two latter is the seating Christ's *Person* in the material elements apart from communion, even when there is no communion, save of the priest. This, the Church of England, in common with all other Protestants, steadfastly denies.

Now on the controversy so raised, it is important to remark at the outset, that Scripture and antiquity are wholly ignorant of it. The Eucharist is never mentioned in Scripture or any Catholic Liturgy, but with a view to com-

munion; *all* that is said of it by apostles or fathers is said in relation to a rite culminating in oral participation. Consequently nothing in their testimony can apply to consecrated elements which are *not eaten*, or to a worshipper who does *not communicate*. In the next place, it is a mistake to suppose that a communicant receives only what he orally eats or drinks. Even the Romanist allows that Christ must dwell in the heart by faith; but He is no nearer to the heart or soul in the hand of the priest, than at the right hand of the Father. He does not enter the soul by corporal contact, but by spiritual union; and to this nothing is gained by diminishing the local distance between His body and ours: so that all have recourse to the Spiritual Presence in the end. Thirdly, it is obvious that the Sacrament represents and communicates the *slain* body and blood, sundered in two elements, which therefore cannot be at the same moment the living Body of the Resurrection; nor are they ever called so in Holy Scripture. It is true, that in partaking of Christ's Death we are quickened with His Life. He Himself is not absent (as St Cyprian notes) from the Sacrament of His Death; but His Presence is the privilege of the faithful receiver, not of inanimate bread and wine. Our Lord's own words are, 'He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood (he only) dwelleth in Me, and I in him.' The Flesh in the bread, the outshed Blood in the cup,—each really though in a mystery,—each with its distinct virtue and operation;—and then, as the effect of eating and drinking these, Christ, the God-Man, personally and spiritually dwelling in *us*, and we in Him."—p. 47, 48, 49.

"Of the *manner* of the Real Presence, which all parties assert," the author observes that "the force of the Anglican, as of Scriptural and Patristic theology, lies in distinguishing between the objects which the Council of Trent labours to confuse. . . . The Anglican divines hold the Real Presence (1) of the Divine Person of God the Word; by the omnipresence of God ever working with His gifts, but not comprehended or contained in them: (2) of His true Humanity, Body and Soul now glorified in heaven; by the hypostatic union of God and Man in Christ—"a presence (as Hooker phrases it) of true conjunction with Deity:" (3) of His Body broken and Blood shed on the cross; by mystical power—"a presence of force and efficacy throughout all generations of men." Each of these is a *real* presence, and in no degree the product of imagination or faith, but the genuine presence of an outward object, and the only presence (it may be reverently affirmed) which that object is capable of exhibiting to man. The province of faith lies in discerning and receiving each in the due sacramental order. First is the oral eating and drinking of the consecrated bread and wine, without which there is neither sacrament nor sacrifice, but a profane empty pageant. In so eating and drinking, the communicant partakes by faith of the Sacrifice of the Cross; he spiritually eats the Flesh, and drinks the Blood, which Christ gave for the life of the world; and with this the sacramental act is complete. But in so partaking of the Body of the Sacrifice, we receive the further gift of incorporation in the Body of the Resurrection. That glorified Humanity which is bodily at the right hand of the Father, is the Instrument—the *ὄργανον*—of all spi-

ritual life to man—the true Bread of God which cometh down from heaven—the life-giving Flesh—the germ of our resurrection, and the food of immortality. Being cleansed by the sacrificed Body and Blood of the Cross, we are incorporated with this new Head of Humanity on high, and so nourished to eternal life. 'We dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us.' Hence we are one with God the Word, and in Him with the Eternal Father.

"Meantime, the glorified body of Jesus Christ 'is in heaven and not here.' Its presence in the Eucharist is a presence of conjunction with the Omnipresent Deity. What is *here* is, first, the *personal* presence of the Son of God, drawing with it the life-giving fellowship of His Humanity in heaven; and, secondly, the *mystical* presence of His sacrificed Body and Blood in the consecrated elements. The first is recognized by all Churches and Confessions as the main object of Eucharistic worship and participation: all acknowledge this Real Presence of the God-man; all, too, distinguish the spiritual act, which admits Him to the tabernacle of the heart, from the external reception of the Sacrament. . . . In this highest view of the Presence, all agree with Hooker, that it is to be sought, not in the Sacrament, but in the faithful receiver of the Sacrament."—p. 69 to 71.

"In *participation alone*" (as expressed in a subsequent section) "the Anglican formularies assert the Real Presence. The Catechism affirms that, 'the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed *taken and received* by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;' but it maintains a significant silence on the presence in the elements by consecration, *apart from reception*, asserted by the 'Tridentine and Lutheran definitions.'"

"The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist" (to quote from Bishop Cosins) "means His real reception into the soul of the communicant. There is no presence to any but communicants, nor to them without faith."—p. 65.

"The controversy thickens round the *mystical* Presence in the consecrated elements: but holding fast by the words of Institution, the Body *broken* and the Blood *shed*, it is certain that these are present only *in force and efficacy*, since Christ is no longer dead *in fact*. The Sacrifice was finished on the cross, and the state of death passed away in the resurrection; but the force and efficacy of that death remain with God and man for ever. Now, a thing is as really present in the place where it *operates*, as in the place where it simply *exists* in form and substance. Nay, the power is often the only certain presence; i.e., it is sure and cognizable when the substance it proceeds from is unknown and absent. Such a presence our Lord assigns to the Spirit. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth.' And to the question *how* His Flesh can be given us to eat, He expressly says, 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.'

"The Body and Blood of the Cross, then, are now nowhere present, save in spirit, power, and efficacy; these our Lord so truly confers on the Eucharistic symbols, that the Body is not another thing united to the bread, or substituted under its form, but the bread is itself the

Body, and the wine the Blood, as His own words expressly affirm. The 'Divine thing' in the Sacrament is neither a Divine Person, nor a Divine substance, but a Divine *quality* (so to speak) imparted to the bread and wine, whereby they are made the communion of the Body and Blood of the Cross, and through these of the glorified Body in heaven."—p. 72, 73.

"The notion of 'base signs' is earnestly repudiated in our Articles and Homilies. The liturgical witness against it is *consecration*, on which no Episcopal Church ever wavered. If the faith of the receiver alone invests the elements with sacramental grace, consecration must be either nugatory or misleading. But consecration meets us from the first. Our Lord Himself not only gave thanks to God over the bread and wine, but He distinctly blessed *them*, before delivering them to His disciples as His Body and Blood. The same condition precedent is repeated by the Apostle, 'The cup of blessing *which we bless*, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ?' *Symbols* the elements are before consecration; after it they are *Sacraments*—i.e., symbols with a power and efficacy annexed, which makes them, to the faithful receiver, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ. To deny this is to part at once with Scripture and antiquity."—p. 74.

"When 'there went virtue out of Him' to the bodies and souls of men, it commonly passed by some material medium. Such was the 'hem of His garment,' of which St. Augustine finely says, '*Turba premit, fides tangit*;' such was the clay applied to the sightless eyes, useless, it is true, without faith, yet not void of a Divine gift, since without it the miracle was not wrought."—p. 75.

"The Fathers regard the two sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist as each communicating Christ for its own purport: neither contains Him in substance but each is endowed with a special gift, whereby His, spiritual Presence is both pledged and conveyed to the fit receiver. The reality of this gift does not depend on the faith of the receiver, any more than on the worthiness of the minister, but on the commission and authority of Christ. It is not less really present because the unworthy communicant receives it not, any more than the sun is absent because a blind man cannot see it. The judgment pronounced on those who 'discern not the Lord's Body' implies its Presence, though it is a spiritual not a corporal Presence. Clear, however, as the distinction seems between a Divine Person and a Divine quality, it is to be regretted that many Protestants, and some, it may be feared in our own Church, are still as unable to receive it as the Romanists themselves. The Romanists will have the living Person of Christ to be veiled 'under the forms of bread and wine.' With no less inconsistency, the ultra-Protestant can see nothing but an empty figure in that which Christ consecrated to the Real participation of His Body and Blood. Between the extremes the Church of England keeps the middle path of primitive truth. For Christ, she bids her children prepare the tabernacle which He loves, in the heart. To His one Sacrifice on the cross she refers all our propitiation. Yet with deepest reverence would she handle and on her knees receive, the Holy Gifts, which are to us the Body and

Blood of that all-reconciling Sacrifice. For these are not symbols only, but symbols which the Holy Ghost has touched, and to the faithful receiver verily and indeed what they represent."—p. 77-78.

In the fifth section, Mr. Trevor examines and combats the "new Objective Theory" which has sprung up of late years. He meets the new theory with cogent arguments, but in no unfair or bitter tone. As far as it is directed against that presumptuous craving after new definitions of Divine mysteries, beyond what our Church ventures to assert as all sufficient for the guidance of her members, and into which no human intellect can penetrate, it meets with our hearty concurrence. In commencing, the author very justly laments that a new theory of the Presence should be attempted, when the Sacrament was becoming so much more devoutly realized and frequented:—

"After so many painful disputations, it was to be hoped that a new theory of Sacramental Presence would never again be attempted. The Church of England had especial reasons for accepting the exhortation of her most judicious divine, 'Let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard, *let them take their rest*.'¹ The Blessed Sacrament had risen to a degree of reverence among our people, not surpassed in any Church since the primitive ages. Its celebration was becoming daily more frequent and devout. The cavils of the Puritans were forgotten; the rationalistic explanations of the eighteenth century were almost everywhere superseded by higher and holier expositions of Catholic truth; and at no time since the Reformation was the Liturgy so loyally rendered, both in doctrine and ceremonial. At such a time it is peculiarly distressing that the hope of still higher unity, in this central bond of light and love, should be imperilled by new scholastic definitions."

He next complains of the new term "Objective," as indefinite, and uncertain whether it might be intended to mean the corporal or spiritual Presence:—

"What the 'Real Objective Presence' precisely means no one has distinctly explained; but as the word is *not* to be found in *any of our elder divines*, nor any equivalent to it in the fathers, it cannot escape the suspicion which justly attaches to every innovation on the terminology of the Church. We are not now to learn that new and unauthorised words imply new and unauthorised conceptions.

"The new term is put forward in supersession of the recognised distinction of *corporal* and *spiritual*, and at first sight it is not clear to which of those antagonistic terms it is most closely allied. Its authors wish to mark more emphatically the *reality* of the sacramental Presence,

¹ "Ecol. Pol. v. lxxvii."

but when interrogated whether it is a *corporal* or *spiritual* reality, their language is found ambiguous and inconclusive.

"The term itself is a metaphysical one, imported into English theology within our own recollection. It was coined by the German philosophers to indicate an object existing independently of the observer, in opposition to an idea within his own mind, which they call a *subjective* impression. The metaphysicians, however, are themselves divided on the truth of this distribution."¹

"However this may be, it is certainly a very novel and unskilful attempt, to subject the *Divine* Presence to this metaphysical distribution. God is present with all His works, and all things live and move in Him; yet He is neither contained in matter, nor subject to mind. When the soul seeks communion with its Maker, His Presence is not the offspring of imagination, but the Real Presence of a different and higher Personality. And when we contemplate Him in His own perfections, He is still none the less in ourselves. Hence, the metaphysical ideas of objectivity and subjectivity are radically inapplicable to the sacramental Presence; the introduction of the words can only tend to substitute some vague indeterminate conception, in place of the recognised ideas connected with the old theological terms 'spiritual' and 'corporal.'² Such conceptions are always fluctuating; an inaccurate terminology is necessarily ambiguous, and ambiguous words easily exceed the arbitrary limits originally assigned to them."

"One of the first to write of the Objective Presence was Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his 'Doctrine of the Incarnation.' (1848.)"

"When spiritual presence is spoken of, there are two notions which may suggest themselves. Such presence may either be supposed to result from the action of the mind, which receives an impression, or from the action of the being who produces it. The first would be a subjective and metaphorical, the second is an objective and real presence. . . . A real presence is when there is some object external to ourselves which produces upon us those effects which result from its propinquity. And such presence may be said to be spiritual, as well as real, when the medium of communication by which this external object affects or is present with us, is not material contact but spiritual power."³

"Here the words 'objective' and 'subjective' are plainly superfluous. The doctrine maintained is simply the old Real and Spiritual Presence;—*real* because the effect of an object external to ourselves; and *spiritual*, because the medium of communication is 'not material contact, but spiritual power.' Such a Presence the archdeacon ascribes to the sacrament of Baptism, no less than to the Eucharist, and he follows Hooker in deriving it from our Lord's Human Nature *in heaven*, as the channel of mediation between God and man. This is

the doctrine of all our old divines, and of the fathers before them; and there was no occasion for new metaphysical terms to express it.

"Since then, however, the word '*spiritual*' has been dropped, and '*objective*' is joined with *Real*, as if denoting some *additional* conception. Moreover, the '*Real Objective Presence*' is not now predicated of both sacraments alike, but of the Eucharist only. And in fine we are told that Hooker was 'not a believer in the Real Presence,'¹ (meaning the Objective,) although the same writer, in the preface to his greatest work, some twenty years earlier, after doing justice to the 'limitations under which the doctrine of the Real Presence is to be received,' writes that 'whatever notion of the Real Presence does not in effect interfere with this foundation of the faith, that, the genuine philosophy of Hooker, no less than his sound theology, taught him to embrace with all his heart.'²

"It is clear, then, that the meaning of the new term has undergone some considerable development within our own time: nor is this surprising, seeing it never had any scientific footing to stand upon. Such fluctuations may occur without the observation of the mind that submits to them; it was doubtless such an unconscious process that induced the mutilation of the *really Catholic lines*,

"O come to our Communion feast!

There present in the heart.

Not in the hand, the Eternal Priest

Will His true Self impart."

The posthumous substitution of 'as' for 'not,' in the third line, not only spoils the poetry and vigour of the whole stanza, but makes an expression which *few intelligent Romanists would like to endorse*. After this, it is no wonder that a later disciple should avow that '*Objective*' not only means what used to be called '*corporal*,' but includes the tenet of transubstantiation itself; it being quite a mistake to suppose there is any difference between the Anglican and Roman Churches on the Doctrine of the Real Presence!'"³

The author then proceeds to consider at length the manifesto addressed to the late Archbishop of Canterbury by twenty-three clergymen as a "profession of faith;" but for this we must refer the reader to the book itself, premising that the argument against some of its assertions will be found well worthy of a careful study. The strong manner in which he deprecates all innovation on the terminology of the Church in these high mysteries, will no doubt be distasteful to those who adopt this new theory. Indeed the fact of our author holding steadily to the "*via media*" of the old High-Church English theology, as against both extremes,—that of the Zuinglian view, regarding the

¹ "The unhappy disjunction of submissive from objective, of idea from appearance, of history from speculation, has brought our national mind into great confusion."—*Baron Bunsen Letter*, June, 1865. *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 412."

² "It is to be regretted, therefore, that an Oxford Divinity Professor should permit himself to defend a subjective presence against the objective. The novelty ought to be firmly resisted."

³ "Doctrine of the Incarnation, p. 433.

¹ "Keble's Euch. 2. doration."

² "Echl. Pol. Pref lxxxi. Mr. Keble selects the reality and exclusiveness of sacramental grace as a point of superiority in Hooker over Jewel, yet Bishop Cosin considers Jewel to hold the Real Presence."

³ "Kiss of Peace."

sacred elements as "bare signs," on the one side, and the gross materialism of the Tridentine definition on the other,—has, as might have been expected, brought upon him the unmerited censures of the party organs on both sides,—his views being deemed "Popish" by the one, when they are accused of being Calvinistic by the other. But this is only the melancholy result of the strong party spirit and self-willed defiance of Church authority, now so prevalent; which is already dividing the English Church into two opposite camps, and threatens ere long to rend her asunder!

After thus elaborately defining and vindicating his position, Mr. Trevor, in the four following Sections, proceeds to produce his testimony from Scripture and Antiquity. The 6th Section is devoted to "the teaching of Holy Scripture," and it is a part of the work which we especially commend to our readers. A question of primary interest is here suggested, and the incidents of the Last Supper are dwelt upon in a tone of deep reverent feeling:—

"It has often been wished that we knew the words in which the Lord blessed or consecrated the elements . . . Many have lamented the want of these benedictory words; but perhaps it has not been sufficiently observed that St. John does, in fact, supply a solemn prayer of thanksgiving and blessing, uttered at the very time of the Eucharistic institution. What if in this prayer the Evangelist, who contributes nothing else to the Eucharistic narrative, should have supplied a portion of the consecratory Benediction? A *consecration* it undoubtedly is; one link of connection with the Eucharist is supplied in the words, 'lifted up His eyes to heaven;' for this sentence, though not occurring in either of the narratives of the Supper, was always religiously preserved in the ancient Liturgies. In this prayer, which throughout is eminently priestly, our Lord consecrates Himself to His Heavenly Father, on behalf of His Church, speaking of the work which was given Him to do as already 'finished;' and challenging the glory due to Him in return. He prays for those whom He had kept in the Father's name, that God would keep them through the same when He Himself should have returned to Him. They are to be kept in communion with Himself, and through Him with the Father, 'that they may be one, even as we are one. I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one.' Such were certainly some of the utterances of our Great High Priest, just before, or after, the delivery of the bread and wine as His body and Blood; and they speak of that communion with Him which the Sacrament was designed to impart. He has closed the Old Testament with the last Passover, and now stands before God to initiate the New Testament with the Blood of the great Sacrifice, regarded as already 'finished.' He is going out to the Agony, and the Betrayal, and the Passion. It is a night to be much remembered unto the Lord of all the children of the

spiritual Israel. Christ our Passover is sacrificed; for, although a few hours must intervene before the consummation, it is now that He 'lays down His life of Himself:' . . . It is in the chamber of the Passover that He spontaneously devotes Himself 'to do the will of God.' . . . The hour is come; the Mediator of the New Covenant is passing from the paschal sacrifice to its fulfilment in the Kingdom of God. And first He initiates a sacrificial Memorial of the impending Sacrifice of Himself."

On the subject of the ancient liturgies, Mr. Trevor is very full and careful. The 7th, 8th, and 9th sections are devoted to the consideration of the Eastern and Western liturgies and the Fathers. This part of the work will appear valuable to many from the copious citations it contains. He points out a distinction between the Eastern and Western forms of consecration, which those would do well to consider who insist upon the oblation of the *consecrated* elements as "essential to a true sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ." The oriental liturgies (followed on this point by the modern Scottish and American) recognize three elementary parts in the consecration:—1. The recital of the words of Institution: 2. The Oblation: 3. The Invocation of the Holy Spirit, to make the elements to the faithful partaker the Body and Blood of Christ:—

"Consequently the oblation is always of the *unconsecrated* elements, designated by the words of Institution to be the memorials of the Passion, but not yet invested with the character of His Body and Blood. They are offered as the bread and the cup (so named in the oblation) to commemorate this Sacrifice, and to be sanctified as the means of communicating it to the receivers. Then the Holy Ghost is invoked to descend upon these symbols, and make them the true Body and Blood *for the purpose of communion*."—p. 155.

Mr. Trevor does not mean that the words of Institution were not a necessary part of the Consecration, for he elsewhere shows "that the Greek Fathers attribute the sacramental virtue at one time to the words of Institution, and at another to the Invocation;" proving that both were included in the full idea of consecration. The Roman liturgy alone (as he shows) placed the sacramental change wholly in the words of Institution; and further, now makes a *double* oblation,—first, of the unconsecrated elements, and secondly, of the consecrated host, regarding the latter as a true sacrifice of Christ Himself. This is both a liturgical error and doctrinal corruption, peculiar to the Romish Mass. In regard to our Reformed Liturgy, Mr. Trevor contends that:—

"The real essentials to the Eucharistic Sacrifice are

consecration and communion, and there was no call to desert the Western form for the Eastern, even if the more ancient. The consecration of the bread and wine into the mystical Body and Blood of Christ was still, therefore, held to be complete on the recital of the words of Institution, though the effect was now ascribed to the prayer, and whole action, rather than, as in the Roman Canon, to the utterance of the five words by the priest."—p. 233.

"It is certain that the action of the Holy Ghost is implied in all consecration, and if the omission of an express petition for this blessing be a liturgical loss, it is one which all the churches of the Roman obedience suffer with us."—p. 238.

In the 9th Section, "the testimony of the Catholic Liturgies is to be corroborated from the remains of the contemporaneous Fathers," and the author at the commencement very justly indicates the precautions to be observed in appealing to this source of testimony:—

"The Fathers are sometimes referred to as infallible oracles, whose lightest word is to silence all dispute. Others discard them as private individuals, of no greater weight than modern theologians. Controversialists have recourse to them, as children rush to a heap of stones in quest of a missile to throw at an opponent, but they never dream of accepting their authority against themselves. The Romanist overrules all by the authority of the Papal See, the ultra-Protestant by his own interpretation of Holy Scripture; each finds enough to sustain his own pre-determined view, but neither can deprive his adversary of the same advantage. It is evident then, that no great question can, or ought to be decided by a mere *catena* of the Fathers. . . . They expressed their conscientious convictions of the truth as revealed in Holy Scripture, and taught by the Catholic Church; but not being inspired, they are no infallible guides on either point. . . . One reason which makes the testimony of the Fathers less conclusive than might be supposed, is that they wrote before much controversy had arisen on the Eucharistic doctrine. This is doubtless the condition most favourable to piety and devotion; but it fails to produce exactness of thought or language. . . . Their testimony is sufficient, if we do not press them beyond their knowledge: it fails only when we try to wrest it to support conclusions which they never thought of. . . . The decay of letters, after the triumph of the barbarians in the west, favoured the growth of superstition. Practices, at first innocent, or even laudable, became abused in course of time: and figurative and mystical language was confounded with literal. . . . Their great value is as *witnesses* to the interpretation and teaching of the Church in their own day. This is a matter of fact on which they could not be mistaken; and to know how the Scriptures were understood in the earliest ages, is our surest guide to the original and genuine interpretation. This evidence, however, manifestly depends on the *consent* and *antiquity* of the witnesses adduced. . . .

"When the Church of England appeals to the old godly doctors of the most uncorrupt ages," she waives neither

the supremacy of Scripture, nor her own authority as witness and keeper of Holy Writ. She does not propound the Fathers as an authority to her children, much less erect them into a court of appeal from her own sentence. . . . She cites them to prove that in the primitive churches Holy Scripture was the supreme rule of faith, that the several churches interpreted it with equal, independent authority, that each decreed its own rites and ceremonies, and that the Catholic agreement subsisting between all is retained, in all things necessary or important, in our own doctrine and discipline. This is all that is requisite to establish her claim as a living branch of the Holy Catholic Church: and that claim once established, her voice, and *hers only*, is the voice of the Church to her loyal children."—p. 182 to 184.

The work concludes with a careful review of the Anglican Liturgy from the Reformation downwards; and there is a genuine heartiness in the tone in which our author vindicates the Catholicity and beauty of our present order of administration:—

"The moral and spiritual unfitness of the multitude for 'the most perfect form of adoration to the Almighty' has been the common difficulty from the third century downwards. How Chrysostom dealt with it has been already seen (p. 139.) The Tridentine Churches cut the knot by directing the priest to offer it by himself in the presence of a prostrate, but non-participating audience. The Calvinist fell back upon prayer and sermon, in which the officiating minister is still the sole performer, the people joining only in the hymn. Standing between these vicious extremes, the Anglican Liturgy refuses either to desecrate or to withdraw the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It not only maintains the Holy Eucharist in its character of the chief means of grace; but it persistently presents it as the supreme act of worship in the Christian congregation. It does not harden and debase the non-communicant, by a fictitious participation in the sacrifice of another, but after preparing the altar and the sacrifice in the presence of all, and exhorting all to their duty, it proceeds to the complete act with as many as are ready, in the exercise of their Christian priesthood, to eat of the holy things in the holy place."—p. 222-223.

"Twice purified in the scorching fires of the Reformation and the Rebellion, it is now stamped by a national acceptance of two centuries as the great religious settlement of the English people—the deed of union between Church and State at home—the heart's bond of countless wanderers in foreign lands, and the daily manual of our mission churches throughout the world. The old Romish taunt of isolation has passed away; the Liturgy, once stigmatized as the peculiarity of a little island, now reverberates in many languages, and gathers at this day around the throne of grace more Christian souls than any other in 'the most perfect form of adoration to the Almighty.' To disturb this settlement would be to shake English Christianity to the foundation: hence all parties in Church or State deprecate above all things any alteration in the Liturgy. Yet what is it but alteration which is aimed at, when

repeated formularies are commended in preference to existing ones? or when it is attempted to over-ride the present ritual with the provisions of pre-Reformation canons? The Liturgy does not merely consist of the words prescribed to be uttered, but of the whole action of the sacramental service. The Church's doctrine and the national settlement arrived at in the Book of Common Prayer, may be even more vitally affected by variations in the received method of celebration, than by an alteration of the prayers themselves."—p. 256-257.

We trust that the lengthened review we have now taken of this valuable treatise will enable our readers to appreciate its design and scope, and induce them to obtain the work for themselves. They will not repent of the stores of religious thought and Eucharistic learning which will thus be placed, in a very moderate compass, within their reach. We conclude with the following devout and eloquent peroration, in which Canon Trevor gives indeed the best possible summary of the object and character of his book :—

"The solemn remembrance before God of the One

Eternal Sacrifice; the Real Spiritual Presence of the great Bishop of Souls, feeding His Church with the Bread of Life which cometh down from heaven; the Blessed Communion, lifting these soiled and yearning hearts to the glorified humanity on high; and the dedication of body, soul, and spirit, as a living sacrifice, incorporate in His, and by Him presented in Himself to His Father and our Father; *these* are the truths of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. They find their best expression in full and frequent celebrations, in the united voice of prayer and song, in the priestly blessing, and the Eucharistic eating and drinking of all present. These have a fragrance and majesty far above perfumes and vestments. They constitute a ceremonial which is at once national, Scriptural, and impressive. Instead of lingering in the Levitical court of the sacrifices, vainly grasping at shadows that have passed away, they lead the Christian forward, clergy and people together, to the very Presence above the Cherubim. They enable us all, as priests and kings unto God, to eat of the most holy in the holy place; for the memorial, which we there eat and drink for the remembrance of Christ, is to us the very sacrifice—His BODY broken and His BLOOD shed, unto forgiveness, remission of sins and immortal life."—(p. 264.)

APPENDIX TO SECT. I. ON SACRIFICE. EXTRACTS 1 AND 2.

1. THE EUCHARISTIC FEAST, UPON THE ONE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST.

If the Eucharist be a feast, it is a feast upon some other thing than the elements. But that it is a feast, no rightly-instructed Christian will deny. The whole Church of Christ has ever regarded and celebrated it as a feast; and St. Paul distinctly teaches us to call it by this name.¹ What, then, is the subject of the feast? It is that only, which the elements "are," signify, symbolise, and represent. We eat the bread, but partake of the body of Christ; we taste the wine, but drink of the blood of Christ. Upon Him only, upon His body given, and His blood shed, is our feast. We feast upon His Sacrifice, and not upon its symbols. And inasmuch as He died once, and death hath no more dominion over Him and He ever liveth; our feast is, not upon any repetition of His sacrifice, nor any offering of it by us; but upon His one only sacrifice of Himself. . .

It is the thankful acknowledgment and commemoration of this Sacrifice which is now alone required; and in this commemoration we offer, as it is said by many of the Fathers, not only a reasonable service, but far nobler, and richer sacrifices, than ever fell before the knife of the Jewish priest, or ever fell placed upon the altar.

The perfect sacrifice of Christ none but Himself

could offer. He laid down His life of Himself, for no man could take it from Him. And as no man could take it, when He said this; neither can any man now take it and offer Him up. I cannot but think that it is either a most dangerous abuse of words, or blasphemy against our Lord Jesus Christ, to speak of offering Him up to God. To offer up the Son of God, is to do that which He Himself declared no man could do, and which, therefore, no man ought to pretend to do. I am quite aware that some who use this language really mean by it, only that they plead our Lord's sacrifice before God in their behalf. But why do they use words which signify infinitely more, and thus give countenance to those who do mean almost all that the words plainly express? I would not be uncharitable; but as the effect of a pretension to offer up Christ Himself to the Father, is to magnify the office of those who do so profess: it is possible that they may have a reason in the effect of such language, which they do not feel in its truth.

We have, then, no material sacrifices imposed upon us: neither can we offer such sacrifices with the hope of being acceptable to God. But we have *spiritual* sacrifices with which we are sure He will be pleased. [From "The True Doctrine of the Eucharist."—By the late Canon T. S. Vogan, D.D.—Part II. Chap. 9, pages 474, 5.—*A comprehensive and very learned treatise on this subject.*—Longmans 1871.]

2. SACRIFICE IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.*

SACRIFICE is the first act of worship recorded in the Bible, and it is prominent in the celestial visions which so remarkably connect the close of revelation with the beginning.¹ There is no reason to doubt that it was instituted at the fall of man, as the sacrament of the covenant of redemption by the Seed of the woman, and was always the appointed type of "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."² This is the most obvious explanation of the faith by which "Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain³." In this view, the skins of the victims might be the first "garments of salvation;" serving to impute or communicate the sacrifice, before the grant of animal food was made⁴. The sacrifice, properly speaking, was the whole act of worship; its substance was the religious devotion of the worshippers; but the name is also given to the material gift by which it was expressed. In this first sacrifice we read of neither altar, fire, nor priest; all that is written, is that God had respect (1) to Abel, and (2) to his offering; i.e., in S. Augustine's phrase, first to the invisible sacrifice, and secondly to the visible sign prescribed for its oblation. . . .

Nothing can be more unscriptural than to set a gulf between the Old and New Dispensations. Our Lord and His Apostles were Jews, born and bred under the law, which He came to fulfil, and which they found to be a school-master to bring them unto Christ. They observed the Levitical rites, in conjunction with the evangelical, till they failed by the removal of the Temple. Their place was taken in the New Jerusalem by answering rites, originated under their wing. The Levitical worship passed into the Christian without solution of continuity. It was the unbelieving synagogue that lost altar, priest, and sacrifice; the Church succeeded to the true enjoyment of all.

If the New Testament were designed to abolish a rite which pervaded the entire worship of the Old, and without which no religion had ever been known to exist, the change would surely have been made by express prohibition, or at least by removing the principle on which Sacrifice was founded. . . . As for the principle of sacrifice, it has been shewn to be twofold, first, as an external sign of inward devotion, and secondly, as a symbol of the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The first is plainly continued in the Christian Sacraments, which are visible and material signs of grace and worship, ordained by Christ Himself for perpetual observance in His Church. The other is far more apparent in the New Testament than the Old. We are baptized into the death of Christ, and the Eucharist is the shewing and communicating of that Great Sacrifice.

When the early Church is accused of revert-

ing to the shadows of the law, in continuing to her Sacraments the scriptural name of Sacrifice, it has to be shewn, either that the death of Christ was not in the scriptural sense a true sacrifice, or how the visible rite, ordained for its remembrance, has lost the ancient title. The death of Christ is acknowledged to be the One true Sacrifice, accepted by God for all mankind. We do not explain away the old legal sense of sacrifice to substitute some new and purely spiritual process; but we believe, without a metaphor, that we are really redeemed by the Blood shed on the Cross, and that Christ ever lives in human nature to make intercession for us, in the power of that all-sufficient atonement. That is to say, we believe Him to be our Sacrifice and High-Priest, in the true and highest sense of those words in the Old Testament. So far, at least, sacrifice is not abolished, but perfected in the Gospel.

It remains to be asked why, if Christ be literally and truly our Sacrifice, the means of union with Christ must be so called only in a new and metaphorical signification? The sacrifices of the Law, as expounded in the Gospel, were symbolical representations of the Sacrifice of Christ; ordained to unite the worship of men with that One Eternal Propitiation before God. This is also the exact purport of the Holy Eucharist. That they were types, and this is a memorial, is merely a difference of time, which cannot be of the essence of sacrifice, since it was equally a rite of Patriarchal and Levitical worship. The material symbols are changed under the Gospel, as they were under the Law, but this is not enough to abolish the nature of sacrifice. To argue that when the True Sacrifice has been offered, no other can be added, implies that some other was added in the Levitical worship. . . . The Old Testament sacrifices stood, in this respect, on precisely the same footing with the Christian Sacraments. If the Scripture calls them sacrifices, though only relative to the Cross, there can be no impropriety on this account in continuing the same name to the Christian ordinances. . . .

Both in the Old and New Testament, then, the only sacrifice of absolute inherent virtue is the Sacrifice of the Cross. All others are relative to this one true propitiation and satisfaction for sin, and are effectual only through faith in the covenant sealed in its blood. Sacrifice is simply a symbolical act of worship, differing only in form from vocal prayer and praise. The Old Testament itself classes them in the same category. "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." The incense, the manual gesture, the offered gift, the spoken words, are but forms and expressions of spiritual worship. Neither one nor the other could ever have a separate value in Revealed Religion.

We offer nothing to God that is not already His; we tell Him nothing that He does not already know. The acknowledgment of His all-sufficiency is the very root both of the sacrifice and the prayer.

* The following extracts form part of a new chapter (Chap. 11 pp. 16, 34-9), added by Dr. Trevor to the second and enlarged edition of his work.

¹ Comp. Gen. ii. 8, 9 with Rev. xxi. 1-3. ² Rev. xiii. 8. ³ Heb. xi. 4. ⁴ Isa. lxi. 10; Ps. cxxxix. 9, 16; 2 Cor. v. 4.

SECT. II.—EUCCHARISTIC SACRIFICE—
"THE CHRISTIAN PEACE OFFERING."

By the late Very Rev. DR. GOULBURN.

WE commence this Review of his treatise, being a Supplement to Dr. Goulburn's "*Lectures on the Holy Communion*,"¹ with the Author's prefatory remarks, in which he urges the duty of our meeting the questions now agitating our Church, in reference both to Eucharistic doctrine and practice, in a spirit of watchful defence of the truth, and an uncompromising resistance to the first approaches of error.

"To put forth a new edition of a work (however humble its pretensions) on the English Communion Office, without any explicit notice of the beliefs and practices which are growing up amongst us in connexion with the Eucharist, and finding a ready acceptance with many devout minds, seems to the author to be in itself an act of moral cowardice, and a withholding from his readers of that guidance which, as readers, they have some right to expect from him. He feels moreover that all questions of this kind are of deepest interest and importance. In a most instructive and valuable paper,² on the subject, written shortly before his death, Dr. Biber has shown that 'our spiritual life and communion in Christ, by the power of His Resurrection, in the Sacrament of His last Supper, is the true bond of Christian Unity—the true "Eirenicon." If this be so, what a surpassing interest must attach to the doctrine of the Eucharist, and to those practices in connexion with it, which are not purely ceremonial or ritual, but (like the practice to be commented upon the next and following Chapter) carry doctrine with them, and are its outward exponents. May it not indeed be said generally, without exaggerating the importance of the subject, that the doctrine of the Eucharist which any man holds, is very much the key of his theological position? The profound Hooker begins his consideration of the Sacraments by a disquisition on the two natures and one Person of the Son of God,—a clear indication this, that in the mind of that great thinker, these sacred symbols were not (as some, with the characteristic shallowness of our time, conceive of them) mere appendages and adjuncts of Christianity, but had their roots grappled into its most fundamental doc-

trines. This being the case, we cannot be too jealous of the purity and integrity of Eucharistic doctrine. And a very evident corollary follows. We cannot be too jealous of the purity and integrity of Eucharistic practice. Devotional habits which seem on the surface plausible and attractive, and which are doubtless adopted with the view of doing reverence to Christ's ordinance, and securing a higher estimation of it, may yet have the seeds of corruption latent within them, and be fraught with danger. So the writer believes it to be with the three practices of Fasting Communion, Non-Communicant Attendance, and Auricular Confession. They are practices known by him to be already widely prevalent, and which it is sought by the warmer advocates of them to erect into universal rules of devotion. But whether he regards the grounds on which they are rested, or the results to which they may be expected to lead, he cannot but view them with serious alarm. Let it be remembered that the more precious any gift of Christ is, the more certain it is (such is the evil in the heart of man, and such is the jealousy of our choicest treasures which the Devil shows) to be depraved, or, at least, misused. It is matter of history that this has been the case with the holy Eucharist. This Sacrament, Christ's best and holiest legacy to His Church, at once the epitome of the Gospel, and the means of applying its best blessings to our souls, has been erected by the doctrine of Transubstantiation into an object of idolatrous worship; one of its chief features has been profanely struck out of it by the withholding of the Cup from the laity, and the validity of the ordinance has been thereby (if we cannot say, annulled, yet) seriously imperilled; and the whole ordinance has been, by these deviations from true doctrine and correct practice, unspiritualized, materialized, carnalized, sensualized. Surely, we ought to profit by the experience of the Church. The human mind having already in times past gone so far astray on this great subject, we should be very watchful over our minds for the future, lest any teaching should insinuate itself into them out of harmony with that of holy Scripture and the Primitive Church. Such teaching should be resisted in its earliest approaches; for we may be very sure that, however specious and plausible it may be, it cannot fail to be mischievous."

Dr. Goulburn prepares his readers to approach the great question of Eucharistic Sacrifice by first offering a summary of the doctrine of sacrifice in general, as set forth in the Levitical Law.

In reference to the use of the term "*Altar*" as applied to the Lord's Table, the Altar of Burnt-offering is called "*the Table of the Lord*," as for example in the verse from Malachi

¹ See Part IV. 1st Division.

² See 2nd Edition, Part XII., Treatise 3.

which heads the chapter, "Ye offer polluted bread upon Mine altar; and ye say, Wherein have we polluted Thee? In that ye say, The table of the Lord is contemptible."⁸ "The idea involved in the passage," the Dean tells his readers, "is one common to heathenism, as well as Judaism; that the God, who is the object of men's worship, Himself partakes of the food which is offered upon His altar, and consumed by the sacred fire that burns thereon. In accordance with this idea, the word 'altar' is exchanged for a phrase, which more clearly indicates Jehovah's participation in what is offered to Him; it is called 'the table of the Lord.' St. Paul did not originate that expression. He found it in the inspired Scriptures of the Old Testament. The altar of burnt-offering had been called the 'table of the Lord' by Malachi, just as by Ezekiel⁹ the altar of incense had been called 'the table that is before the Lord.' And himself speaking by the Spirit of God, he applied it to the table at which among Christians the Holy Supper is celebrated. 'Ye cannot,' he says, 'be partaker of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.'¹⁰ Thus a name, originally belonging to the Jewish altar, is borrowed by the Apostle to designate a Christian board of Communion. This would be surely rather a hazardous mode of proceeding, and one which might lead to erroneous inferences, if in no sense whatever the board of Communion were an altar."

After thus tracing the Old Testament use of the word "table" as a synonym of "altar," and pointing out the thread of connection which it affords between the Commemorative sacrifice of the New Dispensation and the prospective sacrifice of the Old, our author ably and clearly discusses its use in the Book of Common Prayer. He shows that though the use of the term "altar" was unquestionably lawful and agreeable to Christian antiquity, yet the compilers of the book did not consider it expedient, in consequence of the abuse which it had so long sustained at the hands of the Romish Church, to adopt it; a caution which, for the reasons then existing, the Dean considers is no longer necessary. Before we come to the doctrine itself of which the term "altar" is the indication—that of Eucharistic sacrifice,—another preliminary question has to be considered; for before we can answer the question—In what sense is the

Eucharist a sacrifice?—we must ask, what is a sacrifice? Now Dr. Goulburn well defines the idea of sacrifice, as "man offering to God something acceptable to Him, in the way either of self-dedication, or grateful acknowledgment, or finally of expiation." He then proceeds to set forth the three classes of sacrifices in which these three ideas were embodied. "It is a very common (but very crude) notion, that all sacrifice is of a propitiatory character, and directed to the expiation of sin. Those who have studied the various offerings prescribed by the Levitical law will take a larger view of the subject. They know that, although the law prescribed sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, the characteristic idea of which was expiation, yet that it prescribed also other varieties, burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, peace-offerings. In short, as we have already seen in a former chapter, there were three distinct ideas attaching to the three great classes of offerings, the Burnt-offering, the Peace-offering, and the Sin-offering. The first was that of self-dedication;—man offering to God the acceptable sacrifice of himself, his soul, his body, and all that is his. This was the idea of the burnt-offering. The second was the idea of thanksgiving;—man offering to God the acceptable sacrifice of a grateful acknowledgment, in return for His mercies. This was the idea of the Peace-offering. The third was the idea of expiation;—man offering to God an atonement for sin; an acceptable sacrifice to the justice and holiness of God, as the two former were acceptable to His love in Creation and His love in Providence."

The next step of the argument is to point out the inability of fallen man of himself to offer any one of these three forms of sacrifice acceptably to God. The whole passage in which this is affirmed is beautifully expressed, and well worth a thoughtful perusal. It thus concludes:—"In short, the Fall, incapacitating man as it does for perfection, has made every offering, which he lays upon God's altar, if judged in itself and by itself, 'polluted bread.' God, in virtue of the purity of His nature, cannot accept that which is polluted; and man is polluted through and through, in every department of his complex being—in spirit, soul, and body—by sin."

Our author then shows, in what will probably be regarded as the ablest part of his whole treatise, how these several forms of sacrifice were all

fulfilled in the person of the Redeemer :—" God sent His Son into the world, to be born of a pure Virgin, and so to take upon Him a pure and untainted human nature, in which, as the sun is reflected in the pure dewdrop, and all the glories of the prismatic colours displayed, might be manifested all the perfections of the Only Begotten of the Father. He, and He alone, of all that ever lived, rendered to God every sacrifice which can be demanded from man. His self-dedication was absolutely perfect, and therefore absolutely acceptable. Hear Him making the vow of self-dedication, when He says, on coming into the world, 'Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God.'¹ He gave Himself up to God,—His heart all aflame with love and zeal,—and thus offered the Burnt-Offering. He gave Himself up to men, to teach them, to labour for them, to bleed, to agonize on their behalf, and thus offered the Meat-Offering. Amid all His labours for man, and His buffetings and contradictions from man, He was continually lifting His eyes to heaven, and blessing His Father for all His dispensations. 'In the midst of the church will I sing praise unto Thee,'² was one of His purposes, fore-announced before His Incarnation, fulfilled in His life on earth, and even now in the course of fulfilment. And thus He offered the Peace-Offering for thanksgiving. Finally, He was implicated, as having made Himself one with us (not indeed in sin, but) in sin's worst and heaviest penal consequences. The second Man, the Lord from Heaven, died under a cloud, to expiate the sins and shortcomings of the first. Not only was the form of physical death, which He underwent, most cruel and most ignominious, but some mysterious anguish, which, partly from that familiarity with sin which so blunts our sensibilities to it, partly from the circumstance that the relations of sin are beyond the reach of our faculties, pressed down His human soul in the last hour, and seemed to shut out, what was to Him the last ray of comfort and hope, the light of His Father's countenance. And thus He offered the Sin and Trespass-Offerings."

Thus was the Lord's sacrificial office on earth accomplished; "and now," asks our author, "what does He? He has passed upwards into the heavenly temple, not made with hands, and has become, as the Epistle to the Hebrews ex-

presses it, 'a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.'³ If He be a 'minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle,' He must have a ministration to fulfil, priestly functions to discharge. What are they? It is absolutely necessary to right apprehensions of the subject that we should seize this point."

The Sin-Offering, made once for all, He still pleads, and as our Great High Priest, stands within the veil of the supreme Holy of Holies, ever living to make intercession for His people. His Burnt-Offering and Meat-Offering—representing His Sacrifice of self-devotion both to the Will of God and to the good of man—being completed as soon as he expired, cannot be repeated again. "But, like the former, though made once for all, may be, and is, pleaded by Him *now*. He asks that it may be remembered on behalf of, and imputed to, His people—that God, regarding them through the medium of Christ, may see Christ's righteousness in them." Thirdly, what does He at present as regards His Thank-Offering? This, unlike the others, "admits by its very nature of being offered continually—of being protracted through the ages of eternity." But not until the descent of the Holy Ghost had restored to the Christian Church the presence of an absent Saviour, and established a perpetual connection between the Ascended Head and His members upon earth, were "things in a condition for the great 'Sacrifice of peace-offerings for thanksgiving,'—a Sacrifice to be made in the sanctuary of Heaven by the great Minister of the Sanctuary, the echoes of it being caught up in every Communion Feast ('this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving') which is celebrated in the Church upon earth."⁴

And thus the Dean gathers up the observations of this important preliminary chapter :—"Let us settle it in our minds that there is and can be no true priest, *in the highest sense of that word*, but Christ; and that there is and can be no other offering but His (whether of self-dedication, or of expiation, or of thanksgiving), which is in the least degree acceptable to God independently and on its own ground. None,—whether in Gospel times, or in the times of the Law. We will not run away with the very com-

³ Hebrews viii. 2.

⁴ This subject will be found very fully treated in Part XII. Sect. 2, by the late Dr. Biber on "The Sacrificial Worship of Christ's Church on Earth."

¹ Heb. x. 5—9. and Ps. xl. 6—8.

² Heb. ii. 12, and Ps. xxii. 22, 25.

mon, but very shallow and mistaken notion, that the blood of bulls and goats really did something effective towards the putting away of sin, and that the descendants of Aaron offered sacrifices more real and more availing than the Christian Church offers at the present day. This, besides being itself a great mistake, will introduce into the whole subject such confusion of thought, that we shall be quite unable to see our way through it. A Levitical sacrifice was a divine institution, as being prescribed in God's Law; and doubtless, to those who took part in it merely on the ground of its being a divine institution, much more to those whose eyes were opened by the Holy Spirit to catch a glimpse of its true significance, (and probably they were more than we think for), it must have been in its measure a means of grace; but in itself it was absolutely without efficacy and worthless; it borrowed all its virtue and value from the Sacrifice of Christ, to which it made, by the manner of its construction, a prospective reference. It was one of the instruments which it pleased God to make use of for applying to His people under the Old Covenant the merits of the Sacrifice of Christ. The sacrifices made by the Christian Church under the New Law, though offered under clearer light, and instruments of a much larger grace, are in themselves equally impotent. Make what you will of them, they can never rise higher than divinely-instituted means, whereby the virtue and merit of what Christ did and suffered for us is communicated to the faithful soul. Sacrifices are this in a lower and feebler degree. Sacraments are this in a higher and fuller degree. The most fundamental difference between the two (putting aside the difference of their outward form, which after all is NOT fundamental) is merely this, that the Levitical sacrifice is prospective, the Christiansacrament retrospective. The one spoke to Hope; the other speaks to Memory. The slain victim stimulated and nourished devout anticipations; the broken bread and outpoured wine stimulate and nourish devout recollections. Are not hope and memory great powers? does not man live by them in the future and in the past? Well, it pleased God, in constructing ordinances for His Church at various stages of her existence, to lay His consecrating hand upon those powers, and quicken them into active operation. The sacrifices of the Law were to make the one only Sacrifice live in the hopes

and desires of the faithful in bygone generations. The Sacraments of the Gospel are to make the same Sacrifice live in the memories of the faithful in the present generation. Both are no doubt much more than this. They are respectively anticipations and commemorations made in the presence, and under the immediate sanction, of the Most High. They have a Godward and higher aspect of worship, no less than a man-ward and inferior aspect of edification. They do not preach merely; they are instruments of impetration, adoration, praise, communion. But the only basis of both is what we have described, the one Offering of Christ in its several aspects. And it is a basis which establishes a real connection and identity of principle between worship under the Law and worship under the Gospel, between the altar of the old Levitical ritual and the table of the Lord under the new and better Covenant."

We venture to think that this clear and scholarly explanation of the idea of sacrifice in its three-fold aspect will do much to remove the haze and indistinctness which surrounds the subject in many minds. More especially will it enable them to grasp the idea of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as they may never have done before.

SECT. 3.—OUR "LIVING" SACRIFICE.

The concluding chapter of the work is devoted to the crowning question, "In what sense is there a sacrifice in the Eucharist, and in what sense is the Eucharist itself a sacrifice?" The answer is sought by pursuing the triple line of thought already partly worked out. "First, what is done in the Eucharist as regards Christ's Sin-Offering; secondly, what is done as regards His Burnt-Offering; and, thirdly, what is done as regards His Peace-Offering for thanksgiving and the fulfilment of His vows."

First, then, what is done in the Eucharist as regards Christ's Sin-Offering? We may, the author reminds us, plead this in simple prayer, as in fact we do by presenting our prayers, "through Jesus Christ our Lord." But it is pleaded in a far higher sense in the Holy Communion. "That is done in regard to it, which Christ Himself does in Heaven, it is pleaded before God, and pleaded efficaciously. And observe the method of this Eucharistic pleading. In the Holy Supper, we make it, according to His own appointment, by a representative and

commemorative action, constructed purposely in such a manner as to show forth His death before God and man. The bread formed of wheat, bruised in the mill in order to be converted into human sustenance (compare the texts, 'Bread corn is bruised';⁵ 'He was bruised for our iniquities,'⁶) is solemnly broken under the eyes of God and man, to represent the fracture of the body of Christ for our sins by the impact of the nails, lance, and thorny crown. The wine, formed of grapes which are trodden in the wine-press (compare, 'I have trodden the wine-press alone';⁷ 'He treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God,'⁸) is solemnly poured out to represent that shedding of Christ's blood, without which there could have been no remission.⁹ This action, when performed in faith, pleads with God for forgiveness and acceptance, just as, in a lower degree, prayer offered in the faith of Christ's name pleads with Him. Before dealing with the symbols of bread and wine in the prescribed manner, we rehearse before God, and so put Him in remembrance of the fact that Christ, the Gift of His tender mercy to man, 'made' upon the cross, 'by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world.' Thus we plead in the Eucharist the Sin-Offering of Christ, offered once for all. And we plead it effectually, first, because the way in which we plead is the way of His own appointment; secondly, because His heavenly Intercession, when He observes us keeping His appointment, lends virtue and gives weight to our pleading."

The Dean then continues:—"If it be asked whether in this sense the Eucharist be a sacrifice, it must be answered in strictness of speech, No. It is not a Sin-offering itself; but only the commemoration of a Sin-Offering, effective through faith and the virtue of Christ's Intercession."

In the second place our author asks, "What is done in the Eucharist as regards Christ's Burnt-Offering and Meat-Offering,—the self-devotion to the glory of God and the interests of man, which characterized His life upon earth? This Offering, like the preceding, cannot be repeated; it can only be pleaded. And it is pleaded, when in the Prayer of Consecration we make mention of Christ's 'one oblation of Himself,

once offered,' as being 'a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' For had not His self-dedication been thorough, hearty, entire—had not the devotion of His life come up to the extreme of God's requirements,—His oblation of Himself could not have been 'full, perfect, and sufficient,' the victim offered for the sins of men would not have been without blemish and without spot, and so could not have endured the strict scrutiny of God's judgment. But though the perfect devotion of Christ's life, whereby He offered both the Burnt-Offering and Meat-Offering, cannot possibly be made a second time, and nothing remains either for Him or for us but only to plead the merits of it, yet in respect of this devotion, it is open to us to do, what we cannot do in respect of the Sin-Offering,—that is, to imitate it in our humble measure—to devote our lives, as far as the honest intention and purpose of them is concerned, to the same great ends of God's glory and man's welfare. And this devotion will be most acceptable to God, *not independently or on its own ground* (for it must always be flawed by the corruption of our nature), but on the ground of Christ's meritorious oblation of Himself, if it be made from loving gratitude for the mercies of redemption, that gratitude, which only the Holy Spirit, the living thread of connection between Christ's Spirit and ours, can enable us to yield. . . . This is the sacrifice to which St. Paul exhorts us in the beginning of his twelfth chapter to the Romans; 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God,' (those mercies which must be embraced by faith in the first instance, before God will accept from us any sacrifice), 'that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.' And the words, in which our own Communion Service instructs us to present this offering, are drawn from the above passage of the Epistle to the Romans, with only a slight enlargement of its phraseology:—"And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee." Here, then, there is a sacrifice in the Eucharist, though it is not a sacrifice of Christ, nor of the Body and Blood of Christ. And yet it is a sacrifice; for both St. Paul and the Book of Common Prayer all it so; even a sacrifice of burnt-offering under the New Law of the Gospel. Under the Old

⁵ Isa. xxviii. 28.
Rev. xix. 15.

⁶ Isa. liii. 5.

⁷ Isa. lxiii. 3.

⁹ See Heb. ix. 22.

Law burnt-offerings consisted of cattle without blemish, wholly consumed upon the altar. The New Law has substituted for these the living bodies of Christians, yielded in all their members, by an act of self-dedication, to the glory of God and the service of men. Such an offering can only be yielded by a heart inflamed, as Christ's was perfectly, and as ours through the working of His Spirit may be imperfectly, with the love of God and man."

With regard to the sacrifice of *almsgiving*, Dr. Goulburn, while recognizing it as an accessory of Holy Communion, very wisely warns his readers that it is quite distinct from the Eucharist itself. Still, as a lesser sacrifice attendant upon the great one, it must not be excluded in the present discussion. We are referred to the example of Cornelius as showing that alms, no less than prayers, "may come up for a memorial before God." Also St. Paul distinctly recognized alms as a sacrifice under the Gospel when "he called the things sent to him through Epaphroditus from the Philippians, 'an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.'¹ And in the Epistle to the Hebrews the sacrificial character of alms (assuming them of course to be offered in the faith and love of Christ's Name) is expressly recognized: 'To do good and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'² The Dean then alludes to the English Communion office, in the earlier part of which there is a distinct recognition of this particular sacrifice: "'The Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the people' are to be humbly presented by the Priest and placed upon the holy Table; after which the Bread and Wine, and then he is directed to use these words: 'We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty.'" "Here, then," he observes, "there is a second sacrifice made in the Eucharist, distinct from the sacrifice of the Eucharist, the sacrifice of our substance, which necessarily accompanies the sacrifice of ourselves. We may call it, if we will, the sacrifice of the Meat-Offering under the New Law. For the Meat-Offering foreshadowed Christ's devotion to the interests of men, as the Burnt-Offering foreshadowed His devotion to the cause of God. And alms are for the relief of our fellow-creatures."

The next division must be quoted entire as it is the distinguishing part of the work.

"But, thirdly, what is done in the Eucharist as regards Christ's Peace-Offering for thanksgiving and for the fulfilment of His vows? Here at length we come to the Eucharistic Sacrifice proper, as distinct from the sacrifice of our souls and bodies, of our prayers and alms, which are made in the course of the Eucharistic Service. It has been already said that our Great High Priest in Heaven, He who, in the strict and highest sense of the word, is our *only* priest, deals with His Thank-Offering in a different manner from that in which He treats His Sin-Offering and His Burnt-Offering. His life cannot be—needs not to be—lived over again. His death cannot be—needs not to be—died again. Neither Sin-Offering, nor Burnt-Offering does He, nor can He, repeat; He only pleads them efficaciously before the Throne of Grace. But His Thank-Offering, in the nature of things, is capable of being repeated. And he does repeat it continually. Nor does He repeat it singly and alone. What Christ does in Heaven, His Church does upon earth; nay rather, it is not as if He were in one place far remote, and His people in another; He does it not only for them, but with them and among them, standing in their midst. For though 'the natural body of our Saviour Christ is in heaven, and not here,'³ yet, in virtue of His promise, 'He is in the midst of the two or three who are gathered together in His Name,' and is with His true disciples 'always, even unto the end of the world.'⁴ He walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,⁵ which are His Churches; His ascension having exempted Him, if I may so speak, from the condition of a local presence, to which He was subjected upon earth, and having given Him that ubiquity as Son of Man, which He always had as Son of God;⁶ and His Spirit being that living thread of connection between Himself and His people, which draws Him down, with His retinue of angels, into the midst of their assemblies. In these assemblies He is Precentor as well as Priest, leading and conducting, though unseen by the bodily eye, their

³ Matt. xviii. 20. ⁴ Matt. xxviii. 20. ⁵ Rev. ii. 1.

⁶ This expression is liable to be misunderstood. It is used by the Author in the Epistle to the Ephesians iv. 10, "That He might fill all things;" and it is not intended to convey a meaning opposed to the "declaration" after the Communion Service, that "the natural Body of our Saviour Christ is in heaven and not here."

sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. This He vowed before His Incarnation that He would do ; ' In the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto thee.' ⁷ And this He does at every Communion Feast, as well as at the assemblies of His people for lower and less blessed exercises of devotion, in pursuance of that vow.

" But what is there, then, distinctive in the Communion Feast, which differences it from, and gives it a higher rank than, other assemblies of the Church,—makes it, not only *a*, but *the*—the distinctively Christian sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the sacrifice which bears on it Christ's own stamp and signature ? It is that provision is made in it for bringing the worshipper into direct and close communion with the object of his worship. In order to join worthily in the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (or, at least, as worthily as it is given to flesh and blood to do), the worshipper must be united to Christ, the sacrificing Priest. This is effected in the old way, the way which was recognized in the Church under the Law, and which is still recognized in the Church under the Gospel. The eating of a sacrifice was held to bring the eater into communion with the being to whom the sacrifice was offered. As the Apostle intimates, when speaking of the Lord's Supper, recognizing its correspondence under the Gospel with the Levitical sacrifices of the Old Dispensation, and unfolding to us the communion with Christ, which is enjoyed by a faithful participation of it. ' Behold Israel after the flesh : are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar ? . . . the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God : and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils : ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.' ⁸

" In accordance, then, with this view of the effect of eating a sacrifice, it was decreed that men should still have communion with God by the eating and drinking of the consecrated symbols of His Son's Passion and Sacrifice. There was still to be in the Church a material offering, the 'Peace-offering for thanksgiving' of the New Law, which should be consumed by the worshipper, and which, being received in penitence and faith, should bring him into immediate

communion with the one great Priest, the one great Leader of the Church's worship. Great modifications of the outward form of the offering were to be made, corresponding to the change of the Dispensation. Bloody sacrifices were abolished ; and an oblation of bread and wine, the strengthening, restoring, exhilarating food of man, and in some respects more instructive in its symbolism than animal sacrifices could be, were substituted in their stead. . . . The Peace-Offering of the New Law, unlike that of the Levitical ritual, was to be wholly consumed by the worshipper."

We are glad the Dean avoids the misconstruction which otherwise might have been placed upon this passage by following it up with some valuable remarks on the Eucharistic oblation. "The unconsecrated Bread and Wine are, and were recognized by the earliest Fathers and Liturgies as being an oblation, or offering of the fruits of the earth, made out of our substance, to God, in acknowledgement that we are nourished and preserved by His bounty. But they are not an offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, nor indeed (since, at the time of offering them, they have not yet received consecration) have they yet become even the authorized symbols of His Body and Blood. It is a most instructive circumstance that in all the earliest Liturgies which have been preserved to us, the oblation or offering of the elements is made (just as in our own Liturgy) ⁹ BEFORE AND INDEPENDENTLY OF THE CONSECRATION. And immediately *after* the oblation, and the prayer that God would accept it, follow words to this effect : ' Send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, on this sacrifice, that he may exhibit (*ἀποφάνη*) this bread, the Body of thy Christ, and this cup, the Blood of thy Christ ; that all who shall partake of it may be confirmed in godli

⁹ The following note is here inserted by the Author, and we observe with much pleasure, the terms of high praise in which he refers to the treatises forming Part XII. of the 2nd Edition of this work, [Ed.]

" I am indebted for this observation, as also for the passage of the Clementine Liturgy ('admitted to be the best representative we have of an Ante-Nicene Liturgy') quoted further on, to the Rev. John Le Mesurier's most valuable treatise on 'The Scriptural and Primitive Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice,' written for 'Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated,' Part XII. (2nd Edition, Oxford and London : J. Parker and Co.), a serial which contains many words in due season, and is likely to do good service. Dr. Biber's papers in the same Part are also of great interest and importance."

See Appendix, Note A., 1st part.

⁷ Heb. ii. 12, and Ps. xxii. 22.

⁸ I Cor. x. 18, 20, 21.

ness, may receive remission of their sins, and may obtain everlasting life.' This petition clearly shows two things; first, that in those early days the Bread and Cup *were* regarded as a sacrifice; secondly, that they were *not* regarded as a sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. For *after the sacrifice has been offered*, the Holy Ghost is invoked over it, to make it to the faithful receiver what therefore it was not before."

"Our Blessed Lord, after instituting the Holy Supper, and apparently before He left the 'large upper room furnished,' which was the scene of the Institution, offered up the great High-priestly Prayer, which is recorded in St. John xvii. Then, before quitting the chamber (it is thus that the events of that solemn evening best arrange themselves) He sang with His disciples a Hymn,—in all probability the latter part of the great Hallel (or Hymn of praise) usually sung at the Jewish Passover, and consisting of six Psalms, the one hundred and thirteenth to the one hundred and eighteenth inclusive. That there should be, then, certain public devotions after the Communion seems to be a practice traced upon the primitive Institution, and quite accordant with our Lord's example.

"Our Lord's Prayer in the chapter referred to is called the Great High-priestly Prayer. It consists of an intercession for His disciples to the end of time. But this intercession, though a most important feature of the prayer, does not seem to be the centre or nucleus of it. Christ's Intercession is grounded on what He has done for His Church. Accordingly, in the heart of this Prayer He mentions His consecration of Himself (more correctly, I should say, He consecrates Himself) for the work of Atonement, which on the following day He was about to take in hand. 'For their sakes,' says He, 'I sanctify' (consecrate, set apart) 'Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the Truth.' Here is the great High Priest devoting Himself to offer on the morrow the sin-offering in His own Person; taking up into His mouth the language which had been put there long ago by prophetic anticipation: 'Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God.' This is His oblation of Himself, His soul and body, to be a 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' And now what do we find to be the key-note of our first Post-Communion Prayer? Is it not the presentation of the Christian's reasonable Service, — the oblation of himself, '*his* soul and body,'

to be 'a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto God?' This oblation is indeed in no sense (like that of Christ) *propitiatory*. It is made, and is acceptable, only on the ground of Christ's finished work, in the merits and virtues of which the faithful communicant is a sharer. We have just been united—inwardly by faith, outwardly by the Ordinance—with a bleeding and a dying Christ, a Christ wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. Being truly united to that meritorious Death, we too in Him have died,—have died to sin in its condemning guilt, and in its domineering power. And the old man in us having died, we offer the new man or better self unto God, feeling that He now not accepts us only, but constitutes us a royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to Him through Jesus Christ. Being members of this royal priesthood, we must have somewhat to offer. The somewhat is ourselves. And accordingly we offer ourselves, re-echoing, while we do so, the precept of the Holy Apostle: 'I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service,' and re-echoing also, in our measure, and according to the vast difference of our position in God's Kingdom, Our Lord's consecration of Himself at the first institution of the Communion: 'For their sakes I sanctify Myself.' Let us see to it, then, that we leave the Holy Table in a spirit of self-sacrifice; and let us strive that after every Communion this spirit may more and more take possession of our hearts, and struggle into an outward expression in our lives. Sacrifice is the very soul of true religion. The Sacrifice of Christ is the very centre of Christianity; and the sacrifice of the Christian is the legitimate consequence of the Sacrifice of Christ,—the development in each individual member of the Divine Life which is in the Head. As our Blessed Lord, after instituting the Holy Supper, consecrated Himself to do God's Will on the Cross, and to make a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for our sins; so let us also, after partaking of the Rite, by which the benefits of His Offering are conveyed to us, yield ourselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead, and our members as instruments of righteousness unto God.

"There is another leading topic of our Lord's High-Priestly Prayer, which finds its echo also in our Post-Communion. It is a prayer not only of dedication for Himself, but also for the

unity of His followers. 'Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name' (literally, in Thine own Name—in the acknowledgment of it) 'those whom Thou hast given Me, that *they may be one*, as we are.' 'Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that *they all may be one*; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.'

"We have spoken of holding the awful and attractive perfect ions of God before the eyes of our minds, and of thus walking in the Light, and having fellowship one with another. The same idea repeats itself with a very slight modification in the Hymn 'Gloria in Excelsis,' with which the people's share of the Office concludes. It is a very ancient Hymn, frequently mentioned by Chrysostom as forming part of the Communion Service, and used apparently by the primitive Christians as a Hymn for Morning Devotions. The blossom out of which this beautiful flower unfolds itself is the Song of the Angels at the Nativity, of which the whole Hymn is an expansion. This song was first

sung at Bethlehem,—a village whose name means the House of Bread—a name not without deep significance; for it was here that the living Bread was first found, which came down from Heaven;—in other words, it was here that Our Lord was born. His Body He gives in this Sacrament to be the food of our souls; and therefore at the celebration of this Sacrament, in which His Body is represented and conveyed, we appropriately sing the Song of the Nativity: 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men,' and enlarge upon it with appropriate sentiments of devotion. The whole piece falls into three Paragraphs,—a division pointing to the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, each of whom is confessed in the final clause. The third Paragraph again rises into the language of praise, ascribing glory to the Blessed Trinity, and especially to Him who, under the Mediatorial Kingdom, is the Central Figure of the Sacred Three, and the Representative of God to the creatures; 'Thou only art holy; Thou only art the Lord; Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.'"

SECT. 4.—THE "ONE PERFECT SACRIFICE."—(*An Editorial Review.*)

THE ALL-SUFFICIENCY OF THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST, ONCE OFFERED ON THE CROSS.—A SHORT COMMENTARY ON "THE ONE OFFERING:"—*a treatise by the Rev. M. F. Sadler.*

Since the fifth Part of this serial work, containing a treatise on the Sacrificial nature of the Holy Eucharist, by the Rev. J. Le Mesurier, was commenced our attention has been directed to a work recently published on the same subject, entitled "The One Offering," by the Rev. M. F. Sadler, Rector of Honiton. Mr. Sadler's writings hitherto have so generally contributed to the vindication of Anglo-Catholic principles that anything coming from his pen justly claims our attention, and there is much in this treatise with which we fully concur. We notice, for instance, in the second chapter (page 6), his clear statement that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist extends over the *whole* Service. He remarks that the feature in our Com-

munion office "which especially distinguishes this Service as that which Christ ordained is the setting of the elements on the table with prayer, *i.e.*, the offering of them to God, the Consecration—including the breaking of the bread, and the taking of the cup as Christ took it,—and the consumption by priest and people of that which has been consecrated. Now all these things are done in our service, not as if they are performed for the mere edification of the people, but as if they are parts of the worship of Almighty God." This is the point which is especially urged in Part V., in answer to the question,—in what sense is the Eucharist a Sacrifice? We cannot but think, however, that Mr. Sadler has, to say the least, used language which requires explanation; that he has not shown himself sufficiently alive to the perversion of the primitive doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, against which it is the object of the treatise by Mr. Le Mesurier carefully

to guard ; and that his book will tend rather to confirm that perversion than to check it. On this account, a few remarks on the language used by the author in reference to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, especially the use made of the term "offering," will not, we trust, be deemed uncalled for on our part.

Mr. Sadler himself draws marked attention (pages 10, 162, 168) to the fact that Holy Scripture tells us very little of the nature of Christian worship, and that the view he advocates of the Eucharistic Sacrifice finds little or no support from plain statements of Scripture, but can be perceived only by deep spiritual insight, and elaborated only by pious deductions from indirect Scriptural intimations.

On this admission by the author, two observations are very obvious :—

I. Such pious deductions need to be continually tested and rectified by whatever Scriptural statements are plain, and by such patristic teaching as comes nearest in time to Scripture. — The importance of this consideration has been strongly urged in the treatise above referred to.²

II. Since the sacramental feeding on Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist—which, be it remembered, is not a whit less mysterious or full of blessing than its sacrificial aspect—is not left in Holy Scripture to pious inferences, but is emphatically stated with all plainness, it seems beyond question that we should never allow the sacrificial aspect to overshadow the sacramental.

We would point out in the next place, that the greater part of Mr. Sadler's arguments appear to be addressed, not merely to those who disregard the efficacy of consecration, and who "believe that in the sacrament there is no distribution except of *mere emblems*,—such as the Presbyterians in Scotland, or the Wesleyans in England,"³—but to members of our Church who loyally adhere to her teaching, believing that what we offer in the Eucharist is "our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;" yet reject the unscriptural tenet of an offering of the Body and Blood of Christ by the priest, in or under the form of the consecrated elements, which disregards the true purpose of consecration, the sacramental reception by the faithful communicants. For we "show forth the Lord's Death"—which is our

memorial thank-offering (or Christian sacrifice)—"as oft as we eat that Bread and drink that Cup."

Mr. Sadler seems to forget that a deep sense of the unspeakable greatness of God's gift promised on *reception* is one chief reason of the jealousy felt by many of the undue pressing of the sacrificial view, whereby reception itself has been thrust into the shade, and even treated as a matter that may be left entirely to the option of the worshipper who attends the service. For it is but too evident that error has run into opposite extremes in reference to this holy Ordinance. In the one, it has culminated in treating the Lord's Supper as a *mere* memorial feast; in the other, it has gradually eliminated from the rite more and more of the people's part,⁴ until at length the Priest is seen "offering up the Body and Blood of Christ upon the Altar;" in which act of worship the people are supposed to take part, without reception at all! What is this but turning an ordinance of Christ's institution into a new rite of man's devising?

It becomes a duty, therefore, of primary importance for those who inculcate the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice, to see clearly themselves, and show distinctly to others, where this divergence from primitive truth begins. It is difficult to learn from Mr. Sadler's book whether there is *any* statement of the sacrificial view at which he would demur, so long as it keeps clear of maintaining (what no right-minded person can possibly hold,) that it is a *repetition* of Christ's Sacrifice. And yet, after a perusal of the book, we feel the more strongly confirmed in the view taken by Mr. Le Mesurier in his treatise on the subject,⁵ that the first departure from scriptural and primitive language—and so the first germ out of which error has developed itself into the present Romish system of false doctrine—is found in the expressions, such as used by Mr. Sadler, that Christ is now continually "OFFERING Himself in heaven," and that "in the Holy Eucharist we *offer* Christ's Body and Blood to God."

We do not of course mean to imply that the many good men in times past who have used these terms⁶ have necessarily intended in their use anything not strictly orthodox and primitive. Nevertheless, looking back on the matter his-

² Part V. Sect. I.

³ See Treatise, &c., page 141.

⁴ See Part V., Sect. 1., page 241. 2nd Edition.

⁵ See Appendix, Note A. 1st part.

⁶ See Appendix, Note A. 2nd part.

torically, it can scarcely be denied that the term "offer," as thus used, is not only un-scriptural and un-primitive, but so inaccurate, as to lead logically to error.

I. To begin with the consideration of the work of Christ now in heaven. Is it a fitting description of this work to say, that Christ is continually "offering" Himself to the Father? ² It is true that Mr. Sadler so far qualifies this by saying that such offering is "independent of time," ³ "continuous," ⁴ "eternal." ⁵ But this is just the question. Is the continuous and eternal *pleading* a sacrifice, *once* offered, aptly described by a *continual* "offering?" Mr. Sadler dwells much on Christ being a "Priest for ever," ⁶ and therefore that He cannot "cease to offer," ⁷ for the apostle says, that a priest "must have somewhat to offer." But on these words—*ὅθεν ἀναγκᾶν ἔχειν τὸ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ προσ-ερέγκει*⁸—let us first refer to Bengel's note as to their literal meaning,—"*ἀναγκᾶν*, *necessum*; scil. *ἦν*, *erat* nam sequitur *aoristus*, *προσερέγκει offerret*." The apostle here speaks *not* of an abiding necessity of a continual offering, but that it was necessary that He, when He ascended into the heavens, the true Holy of Holies, should have somewhat to offer; even as the high priest sprinkled the blood of the sacrifice on the mercy seat, when he entered into the most holy place. St. Paul is so emphatic in his repeated declarations, that the offering of Christ was "*once for all*," ⁹ that it is surely—to say the very least—dangerous and unwise to adopt the same term to express what is *not* once for all, but *continuous*? This continuous pleading of our risen and ascended Saviour is expressed in Scripture, *not* by the term "offering," but by another, (*ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*) "to appear in the presence of God for us." ¹⁰ No words can better harmonize with these than Mr. Sadler's own:²—Christ's "very presence" in heaven "pleads His past atoning death." But see how St. Paul—*so far from identifying* this expression with that of "*offering*"—sets the two over against each other in the sharpest and most emphatic contrast. "*Nor yet that He should offer Himself often*, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must He often have suffered since the foundation of the

world; but now *once* in the end of the world hath He appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And as it is appointed unto men *once* to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was *once* offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation."

Canon Ashwell's comment on this passage is strikingly to the point:⁴—"Then must He often have suffered,' (verse 26,) that is, 'have often suffered death.' The meaning being, that if Christ had had to repeat the presentation of His own blood before God in heaven, then He would also have had to repeat His death and passion on earth. This clause is intended, as an additional enforcement of the doctrine of the 'one offering,' as laid down in chapter vii., 27."

II. Let us next consider the propriety of the use of the same term, not merely to *our* sacrifice of praise, or "Thank-offering," but as applied to the *Res Sacramenti*—the Body and Blood of Christ, spiritually received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

It has been already shewn by Mr. Le Mesurier⁵ that the expression of the "offering of Christ's Body and Blood" in the sacrament is not found in any writer, before the time of Cyprian. The extracts from the Fathers given by Mr. Sadler⁶ entirely confirm this statement; the only extract of an earlier date which might seem to look the other way being that of Hippolytus.⁷ "And she [Wisdom] prepared her table, the knowledge of the Holy Trinity promised, and His precious and pure Body and Blood, which daily at the mystical and Divine Table are consecrated, being sacrificed in remembrance of that ever-to-be-remembered and first table of the Divine and mystical Supper.—(On Proverbs ix., 1.)"

Now to one point in this passage we would draw special attention. The word rendered "being sacrificed" is *θυόμενα*, a word corresponding with Prov. ix., 2, on which the writer is commenting, *Ἐσφαξε τὰ ἑαυτῆς θύματα*—"She hath killed her beasts," and the very same as is used in Matth. xxii., 4—*οἱ ταῦροι μου καὶ τὰ σπιστὰ τεθυμένα*—"My oxen and

² P. 40-42. See Appendix, Notes A and B. ³ P. 40.

⁴ P. 54. ⁵ P. 42. ⁶ P. 49. ⁷ P. 43. ⁸ Heb. viii., 3.

⁹ Heb. x., 10; vii., 27. ¹⁰ Heb. ix., 24. ² P. 46.

⁸ Heb. ix., 25 28. See the Letters which follow the Appendix, p. 390-98. ⁴ S.P.C.K. Commentary.

⁵ Part V., Sect. 1. See Appendix. Note A. 1st part.

⁶ P. 169-174. ⁷ P. 172.

and my fatlings are killed." So again we read^s of Joseph's feast to his brethren — ἀφάξον θύματα, and^o of the food Nabal had prepared for his sheepshearers, — τὰ θύματα μου ἂν ἐθύκα — "My flesh that I have killed."

Bearing such passages in mind, is it too much to say that the rendering "being sacrificed," — (though we are aware it may claim even Professor Blunt in its support,) is hardly accurate, and that the true meaning of θύματα in this place is rather — "being prepared for food," — being, as it were, *slain afresh for a feast?* Of the general bearing of the whole passage there can be no doubt whatever, that it speaks not of our making an offering to God, but of *His providing a feast for us, and our feeding thereon.*

Thus, whether we consider the terms in which Scripture speaks of the present work of Christ in heaven, or the manner in which the earliest Fathers write of the Church's Eucharistic service upon earth, have we warning against speaking of the liturgical pleading and giving thanks for Christ's Death before the Father, as "an offering of His Body and Blood," or "of Himself to the Father." And is such warning, we would ask, without deep significance and weighty reason? Is it not an inaccuracy of language to speak of "offering" that which has already been *once for all offered?* And like other inaccuracies of language, has it not, when once admitted, led to a train of errors which, if not necessarily, at least not unnaturally flow from it? If Christ's Body and Blood are to be "offered" to God at each celebration, then must they each time be *re-produced* before they can be offered. Thus the offering becomes bound up with the one act of consecration by the Priest; and the more this offering to God of the consecrated Bread and Wine as "the Body and Blood of Christ" is magnified, the less importance becomes attached to other parts of the service, especially the reception by the people, and those portions in which the people take part.

We are not, of course, admitting the legitimacy of all these deductions, or the propriety of drawing a series of apparently logical deductions in regard to what is confessedly above reason. Rather would we ever warn against the danger of what may seem logical deductions from even revealed premises on such sub-

jects. But in enumerating the above stages of thought we are but stating deductions which have been both manifestly made and sadly acted on, and which are again being acted on at this day. And we would earnestly point out that each downward step, as proved by historical evidence, is a wider and wider divergence from the divinely ordered type. It has been shewn in Part XII. that in the early liturgies the oblation was made while the elements were yet mere symbols, being as yet unconsecrated; and that the act of consecration is connected, according to those same liturgies, not with the sacrifice, but with the blessing on reception.¹

The Dean of Norwich, in his recent "Appendix," to his Commentary on the Holy Communion, (reviewed in the previous part of this Supplement,) has shewn how carefully our Eucharistic office has guarded primitive truth by making mention of "oblation" *before* consecration, and of "the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" at the *end* of the *whole* service, showing that it is the *whole* service, *including of necessity reception by the worshippers*, which is the appointed memorial before God.

But Mr. Sadler seems unconscious that there have been such divergences as are here mentioned from primitive Eucharistic doctrine and practice, and regardless of the dangers to which they inevitably lead. He speaks of the act of "Consecration," for instance, as "the sacrifice of praise" (page 109), and even adopts as "Catholic truth" Dr. Neale's statement (page 87), that we offer in the Eucharist Christ's "Immortal Body"!

We must now bring our few remarks on this treatise to a conclusion; but we cannot do so without expressing the regret which we have felt in being obliged to remonstrate so strongly against the views maintained, and the terms employed by Mr. Sadler, as being liable to mislead on the subject of Eucharistic Sacrifice. As we before observed, the language used by the

¹ In Part VII, 1st & 2nd Div., it is shown at large that non-communicating attendance is alien from primitive practice and that "we commemorate Christ's sacrifice, when we partake of that bread and that cup which represent Him offered for our sins upon the cross. This is the prescribed mode, the only prescribed mode, of that commemorative action; unless we eat and drink we do not 'show his death.' In short, by the very nature and appointment of the rite, we cannot 'join in the sacrifice without going on to the Sacrament;' for without that which is here termed the Sacrament, the e is no proper representation of the Sacrifice of Christ." Page 289.

Author in reference to this doctrine cannot but be regarded as bearing a very striking contrast to the emphatic declarations of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, asserting the *oneness* and completeness of the Oblation made upon the Cross. "Christ was *once* offered to bear the sins of many:"—"We are sanctified through the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ *once* for all:"—"For by *one* offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified:"—"Now . . there is no more offering for sin." And other passages to the same effect might be adduced, showing this purpose to be the special aim of the Apostle's argument throughout. Even the title chosen for the book—"The One Offering"—would appear to be a protest against the line of argument contained in it.

In our review of Dr. Trevor's valuable treatise, forming Part V. (2) of this work, we have borne testimony to the Catholic doctrine, that the Memorial Sacrifice in the Eucharist is inseparable from Participation. This leading doctrine of Holy Scripture—the "shewing forth the Lord's Death," (our thank-offering, or *commemorative* sacrifice) "*as often as we eat of that bread and drink of that cup*"—is plainly indicated in our consecration prayer, wherein we pray to our Heavenly Father, that "we may partake of the Body and Blood of Christ" on "*receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, . . . in remembrance of His Death and Passion.*" The great principle of Christian worship,—its essentially sacrificial character, in being acceptable at the Throne of Grace, only through the Sacrifice and Intercession of Christ our High Priest—has also been ably maintained by the late Dr. Biber in the second treatise of Part V. And in regard to these fundamental truths, there is much, we gladly feel, that we hold in common with the Author of the treatise on which we have here briefly commented. But this only tends to increase our regret that we are constrained to differ on an important point of Eucharistic doctrine, from one who has so zealously laboured in the same cause with the eminent authors who have taken part with us in this work, to vindicate our "Church's doctrine," and to prove it to be founded on "Bible Truth." We trust, therefore, that our remarks, offered as they are with the sincere desire of vindicating the Truth, and in the spirit of

Christian charity, will not be misunderstood by Mr. Sadler.⁶

The distinction between the doctrine of the Sacrifice of Christ "*once for all* offered on the Cross" and "*ever pleaded* by Him in Heaven for us," and the assumed theory of "a continuous offering" of that Sacrifice,—as by Christ in Heaven "so by the priest on earth,"—however slight may appear the difference in words, is one in which there is a vital principle at stake. Although contrary to the plain meaning of Holy Scripture, this modern theory of "a continuous sacrifice" serves to give a support to the equally unscriptural dogma (in its literal meaning), that in the Eucharist "the Body and Blood of Christ"—as also Christ Himself in His glorified Person, "objectively present"—are "offered by the priest," in, or "under the form of" the consecrated bread and wine. And what is such a presumptuous assertion, but the same in principle and purpose as the sacrifice of the Mass, in which "Christ is said to be offered by the priest for the quick and the dead,"—so emphatically condemned by our Church as "a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit"? This dogma, unknown to the Primitive Church for three centuries, was maintained in the "manifesto" addressed to the late Archbishop of Canterbury by certain clergy, as a statement of their belief. The fallacious propositions of that document (which was so guardedly worded as "to be susceptible of two meanings") have been already commented on in the 2nd Edition of Part VI.³ For a full consideration of the new theory of a continuous Sacrifice, and the erroneous doctrines resulting from it, we must refer the reader to the learned and exhaustive treatise by the late Dr. Vogan, on "The true Doctrine of the Eucharist," (Part II., chap. 8,) a short extract from which is given in the Appendix.⁴

It is with much satisfaction that we acknowledge, before concluding, our obligation to the former Bishop of Winchester⁵ for the valuable testimony, contained in his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, to the historical fact asserted by us in Part V. (1.) respecting the divergence from Primitive Eucharistic doctrine apparent in the writings of the Fathers about the 3rd century. This testimony (recently brought to our notice) is contained in the ex-

³ Hebrews ix 28; x. 10, 14, 18. ⁶ (From 2nd Edn. 1878.)

⁵ Also in Appendix to Part IV., page 272.

⁴ See Appendix, Note B.

⁶ Dr. Wilberforce.

tracts, given in the Appendix, from the historical commentary on Art. 31, and it strongly supports our argument against certain views maintained by Mr. Sadler. The Bishop very ably shows, also, the right sense in which we may understand the strong and fervent language subsequently employed by the Fathers to express the sacrifice in the Eucharist; and that it cannot justify the attempt to quote them in support of materialistic theories, then un-thought of, or modern false doctrines for which they are certainly not responsible.

Our duty is now fulfilled.—We have endeavoured in Part IV. and V. and in this final Section 4, to vindicate the true doctrine of "Eucharistic sacrifice" from modern theories and errors, as the highest act of Christian worship, commemorative of, and dependent on the One Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross—never to be offered more, or presented anew,⁵ but

ever pleaded by Him,—who "is entered into Heaven now to appear in the presence of God for us," and who "ever liveth to make intercession for us." We have raised our earnest protest—and may we never cease to do so—against every theory or tradition of man which derogates from the all-sufficiency of the great Atonement of our Saviour Jesus Christ,—“who made upon the Cross (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to *continue*, a *perpetual memory* of that His precious Death until His coming again.”

⁵ It has been attempted recently to affix this meaning to the word "represent," i.e., a *re* offering or *re-* (renewed) presenting of the original, instead of a "likeness" or "figure" of it; thus necessitating a *re-production* of the One Sacrifice. The word is thus used—"the *Re*-presentation of the Death of Christ"—by Mr. Sadler (page 81), conveying an entirely altered meaning to its ordinary signification.

THE LAST ADDRESS OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE TO HIS CLERGY.

The valuable report has happily been preserved, of what passed at the last meeting of the Bishop with his Clergy shortly before his death. Such grave words of counsel and admonition on those important questions which are the chief cause of our present trouble and disunion, come to us as a legacy of solemn warning, not only to the Diocese of Winchester, but to the whole Church of England. We therefore gladly insert this interesting document from a copy which was privately printed, as an appropriate conclusion to the fifth part of this Serial work.

[*Preface to the Report.*—This report of the memorable address delivered by the late Bishop of Winchester to the Rural Deans of the Diocese at Winchester House, July 15, 1873, has been carefully prepared by comparison of notes taken at the time. It is printed in compliance with the earnest desire of many who were present, and many more who were absent, that the last counsels of Bishop Wilberforce should not be lost to the Church. At the close of the conference, in reply to the unanimous and earnest request of the assembled Clergy, the Bishop consented to write out and print what he had spoken, if while it was still in his memory he could possibly find time for the purpose. Four days afterwards the end came, and he rested from all his labours!]

The following report is now printed as a substantially accurate representation of an Address, which is not more deeply interesting as the latest utterance of

our departed "father in God," than it is valuable for the wise and loving and loyal counsels which it gives for our guidance in these perilous times. It has been the aim throughout to preserve the very words recorded in the notes, rather than to run the risk of sacrificing accuracy by presenting them in a more studied form.]

I do not doubt, my reverend brethren, that the extreme views and extreme practices which are springing up around us, are as much a source of regret to you as to myself. In bringing the subject before you to-day, I am acting against the advice of some whom I greatly respect. But I have thought it the most manly and straightforward course, to face the question and take counsel with you as to the mode in which it is most desirable to deal with these things. The whole subject which I have felt it my duty to bring before you is one which costs me the greatest anxiety, and gives me perpetual sorrow of heart. The life of a Bishop in these days is embittered by this question coming up again and again: "How to resist the rapid growth of these errors without falling into the snare of putting back the inner life which exists beneath?"

I. Great prominence is given to the subject of *Confession*. The tendency of the doctrine now put forward on this subject is to exalt the use of Confession into a necessity of the Christian life. Now I have no doubt in my own mind what is the true teaching of the Church of England on this point. It is that Christ has lodged with His Church the power of par-

ticular cases, for souls specially burdened with sin, besides this primary doctrine laid down and insisted upon by our great Reformers, there is a direction to make particular confession, as the mode of obtaining relief. But this is an essentially different doctrine from that which it is now sought to establish, viz., that habitual confession is almost necessary for the leading of the higher Christian life. This leads on rapidly to the old habit of believing that private confession of sin before the Great High Priest is insufficient, and that without confession to a priest a man cannot be sure of pardon, and especially cannot draw near to God in the Holy Sacrament.

Now of this, I will say, that this system of Confession is one of the worst developments of Popery. In the first place, as regards *the penitent*, it is a system of unnatural excitement, a sort of spiritual dram-drinking, fraught with evil to the whole spiritual constitution. It is nothing short of the renunciation of the great charge of a conscience which God has committed to every man—the substitution of confession to man for the opening of the heart to God—the adopting in every case of a remedy only adapted to extreme cases which can find relief in no other way.

Then in families, it introduces untold mischief. It supersedes God's appointment of intimacy between husband and wife, father and children; substituting another influence for that which ought to be the nearest and closest, and producing reserve and estrangement where there ought to be perfect freedom and openness.

And lastly, as regards the person to whom confession is made, it brings in a wretched system of *confessing*. But far worse than this, it necessitates the terrible evil of familiar dealing with sin, specially with sins of uncleanness, thereby sometimes even tending to their growth, by making the horrible particulars known to those who have hitherto been innocent of such fatal knowledge, and so poisoning the mind of priest and people alike. A fact which has of late been very painfully brought home to me.

II. To turn to *Ritual*. There is great danger in men going on to add ceremony to ceremony, and introducing, by little and little, practices which, before the Reformation, were connected with great spiritual errors. This danger is that the outward expression of errors cannot be restored without the errors themselves coming in likewise. People can see this readily enough, and therefore these things give great offence. They alarm those who are jealous of our position as a Church, protesting against Romish corruptions. This offence is great and real. But at the same time this seems a lower ground than we ought to take in dealing with the question; we are not so much to consult the feelings of those who take offence, as to

regard the simple issue, "What is the truth of God in this matter? and how are we to deal with those who take, as we believe, distorted views of it?"

III. Another great evil is the effect of these extreme views upon the *tone of preaching*. They tend to produce a one-sided preaching: a preaching which exalts the corporate religion of the Church, rather than the individual life of each soul which desires to draw near to God. The natural result is, to deaden the internal and deeply spiritual part of the public ministry.

These are, to my mind, manifest evils and dangers. But, in dealing with them, be careful not to be *unfair*. Nothing is ever gained by unfairness. There is no good in it, but much evil. There is this evil, that it produces a reaction; and, therefore, using strong language just helps forward the cause against which it is directed. Do not let us deal with Confession as if there were no such thing as the opening of a soul to a fellow creature, or to a minister of the Gospel, with a view to obtaining relief under a special burden of sin, by a ministry specially appointed for the purpose. Do not let us forget, in dealing with extravagances of Ritual, that many of these extreme practices have been developed out of the depths of earnestness on the part of those who have introduced them; that this growth of error is connected with a remarkable revival of religious life; that the men who have led the way in this movement are living devoted lives, self-sacrificing lives, are themselves living near to God: and that the movement is associated with the height and depth of their own love. But, as a natural consequence, their lead has been taken up and followed by lower men, catching up the echoes of their holiness, and uttering a cuckoo cry for things which others have elaborated out of their own spiritual experience.

Nor, again, let us lose sight of the fact, that this religious movement has been marked by a great increase of public services, public prayers, and celebrations of the Holy Communion; by a greater reverence for holy things, a stronger desire to realize the presence of Christ in His Church, a fuller appreciation of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and a more distinct belief in His work on earth:—not, perhaps, so much in His action upon individual souls, as in His presence in His Church, acting through the channel of its ordinances.

Remember, that all errors which have spread and become formidable rested upon some truth. If not, they could not for a moment survive the light of day or the light of discussion. So the history of error is always the same. First, the *expression* of a truth; then, the *exaggeration* of that truth; lastly, the *distortion* of that truth. If there were no truth in it, no earnest man could be misled by it. But, from the

fact of a truth underlying the error, two conclusions follow:—First, there is a danger in receiving it, lest you encourage the error in cherishing the truth: secondly, there is a danger in resisting it, lest you resist the truth in discountenancing the error.

Now, whenever there has been a development of the spiritual life—frequently running on into error, yet still a development of *life*,—whenever there has been a struggling after some truth which has been left behind, and which is perceived in the distance—men's minds will begin to be moved towards it. And in all such cases, the history of the Church shows that *simple repression* has only done harm. At one time it has checked the spiritual life itself; at another time it has simply alienated the people in whom that life was stirring. Sometimes it has caused the loss of the great awakening; sometimes it has hardened it into a heresy. . . .

It is easy to say, "Let there be an iron rule: use no kindly words: put it down. Don't let us be troubled with such a movement as this; sit upon it: smother it: never mind what hearts you may break in the process. . . . Let us have a decent untrobling unity which shall be diversified only by its intense breadth. Let there be room for every sort of negation. Let the laity believe in anything or nothing, and let the services be such that none can be offended." This is the language of the world. But what is the voice of Christ? Surely, it would bid us to deal tenderly with everything in which *life* is: to see where the error lies, where it begins, and to separate the error from the truth. These men, loving Christ as they do, cannot we draw them with us to see more as we see? to unite in a common acknowledgment of one Lord, one faith?

The first is an easy process, and the second is hard. I have found it no easy matter to maintain this, which I hold to be the only unassailable position in the present controversy. I am attacked on all sides. On the one side I am called a false friend, accused of betraying a cause which I once upheld: on the other I am said to be unfaithful to my own Church and a concealed Papist. I cannot say that I do not feel such attacks. It is impossible not to be pained by them. Of course one feels it, and cannot but feel it. It is hard to bear; but after all it is *nothing* when weighed against the testimony of one's own conscience; it is *nothing* to make one recede from the course which one believes to be right, or to shake one's resolution by God's help to maintain it. *Especially if we have ever before our eyes the great Judgment seat, and think how soon we may be called to give up our account!**

"Well, then, if we ought to endeavour to draw these men to us, and lead them with us, instead of repelling them from us and thereby confirming their errors, my advice to you is this:—

First, in regard to Confession. (1) Be distinct in your declaration against *enforced* Confession to a priest. Testify against it, whether as enforced by rule, or only by influence. (2) Declare distinctly against the *frequent repetition* of Confession; anything like the habit of periodical Confession. (3) Be distinct in repudiating the notion of Confession as *necessary*: as if pardon is not as complete and full to him who confesses to God, as to him who confesses to man; or as if there is not as certain forgiveness to be found in the real and heartfelt acknowledgments of the General Confession, followed by the General Absolution, as in any private confession and particular declaration of pardon.

But, on the other hand, do not deny or ignore the truth that the Reformers did maintain and hand down to us the doctrine that there is a ministry of reconciliation, specially committed by Christ Himself to His ministers, for such as cannot otherwise find peace and comfort. That those who cannot quiet their own conscience may come and open their grief to the minister of the Word of Christ, believing that the grace of the Holy Spirit will through that ministry relieve and establish their burdened soul.

Secondly, in regard to Ritualistic observances. There is a growing desire to introduce novelties, such as incense, a multitude of lights in the chancel, and so on. Now these and such things are honestly and truly alien to the Church of England. Do not hesitate to treat them as such. All this appears to me to indicate a fidgetty anxiety to make everything in our churches assimilate to a foreign usage. There is a growing feeling, which I can only describe as an "ashamedness" of the Anglican Church, as if our grand old Anglican communion contrasted unfavourably with the Church of Rome. The habitual language held by many men sounds as if they were ashamed of our Church and its position; it is a sort of apology for the Church of England as compared with the Church of Rome. *Why, I would as soon think of apologizing for the virtue of my mother to a harlot! I have no sympathy in the world with such a feeling. I abhor this fidgetty desire to make everything un-Anglican. This is not a grand development, as some seem to think. It is a decrepitude. It is not something very sublime and impressive, but something very feeble and contemptible!*

At the same time, there is such a thing as a legitimate thirst and desire for a higher ritual, and a more majestic service. Do not ignore this. Let it be seen that you know and understand what it is that they want, and that if this is all, they need not go out

* These remarkable words were noted by a friend of the Editor's who was present, but were not included in the printed report.

of our own Church to get it. Do not aim at carrying the opposite views to their extreme development as a protest against the Romanizing views which you condemn. Do not deny that which is legitimate; only deny the excess. . . .

One thing more. Avoid all bitterness of language or of spirit in dealing with those from whom you differ. Remember that the one thing which helps forward infidelity more than anything else is the division which exists amongst believers, and the bitterness which is often engendered by it. Men are scandalized especially by the bitterness shown in religious newspapers, and in speeches at religious meetings. They say, 'See how ready they all are to tear one another to pieces. It is only the accident of the Establishment which keeps them together. Among all these conflicting views and sects what are we to believe and follow?'

Therefore my advice is,—deal gently with your opponents—try to understand them;—raise the standard of worship;—get rid of *badges*;—let there be no parties but the two ultimate extremes. . . .

Thirdly, In reference to *Fasting Communion*. It is difficult to estimate the mischief which is resulting from the action of the High Ritualistic party in this matter. It is true that nothing can be more important than coming to the Holy Communion with the whole heart and soul in a proper frame for giving undivided attention to the services. Fatigue, distractions, fulness of food, all tend to destroy the benefit of the ordinance.

* * *

[The Bishop here states his strong objection, for this and other reasons, to *Evening Communion*.]

It is not in a light sense that I say this new doctrine of Fasting Communion is dangerous. (1) The practice is not advocated because a man comes in a clearer spirit and less disturbed body and mind, able to give himself entirely to prayer and communion with his God; but on a miserable degraded notion that the consecrated elements will meet with other food in the stomach. *It is a detestable materialism!* Philosophically, it is a contradiction, because when the celebration is over you may hurry away to a meal, and the process about which you were so scrupulous immediately follows. *The whole notion is simply disgusting.* (2) The Patristic quotations by which the custom is supported are misquotations. S. Chrysostom's saying on the subject applies to the full mid-day meal, not to the light repast of our ordinary breakfast. It is put on the moral grounds that after a feast there will be fulness, and during a feast there will be jesting and talking, all which constitute a moral unfitness for so high a ceremonial.

Fourthly,—Then what a dangerous consequence results in *non-communicating attendance*. Not even to

speak of other reasons, it brings us back to the great abuse of coming to the Sacrament to be spectators instead of partakers, and so we have the condition of things arising in our communion which already prevails in the Church of Rome. I heard of a Roman Catholic priest triumphing greatly in the fact that he had *two male* communicants. I went to the Church of the Madeleine, at Paris, at 5.30 a.m. several times, in order to observe what was the practice. It was always the same thing, the priest communicating alone, or one or two women occasionally joining him—the whole attendant congregation satisfied to remain looking on.

That this custom is creeping into our Church is not an accident; neither is it brought in for the purpose of making children better acquainted with the service. That would be a great help. I have found the benefit of it myself when my own father used to take me to Church and leave me in his seat to read hymns which he had selected for me, while he himself communicated. That, I say, was to me a very great help. But this is recommended under quite a different impression. It is under the idea that prayer is more acceptable "at this time of the sacrifice;" that you can get benefit from being within sight of the Sacrament when it is being administered. It is the substitution of a semi-materialistic presence for the actual presence of Christ in the soul of the faithful communicant. *It is an abomination*, this teaching of non-communicating attendance as a common habit.

It is a corollary on the practice of fasting communion. If you cannot fast till midday, and must not communicate without fasting, then you are to be present and expect the benefit, though you do not comply with the conditions of the Sacrament. Thus the Roman theory is creeping in. The sacrificing priest stands between your soul and your God, and makes atonement for you!

It only remains for us to say of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, that in looking back upon his wonderful career, all must acknowledge that seldom a good man has been so great, or a great man has been so good. The public character of a great man ought to be dear to all of us, and rank among the richest of a nation's possessions. "Let us guard such jealously. Let us judge it charitably. Let us view it generously. No one can follow the manifold traces which the late Bishop of Winchester has everywhere left upon our current history, without being struck with his untiring energy, his devotedness, his great legislative, his great administrative ability—the power, the eloquence, the lore. Such a career will earn for itself a page in the history of England—a page in the human history of the 'One Catholic and Apostolic Church.'"

"HIS WORKS DO FOLLOW HIM."

APPENDIX. I.

Note A.—1st Part, pages 377, 380-1.

The Primitive Doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice.

The following extracts are from the Bishop of Winchester's Exposition of the Articles (inserted with his Lordship's kind permission). In his commentary on the 31st Article,—“Of the one oblation of Christ, finished upon the Cross,”—Dr. Harold Browne shows clearly what was regarded by the Church, as the sacrifice in the Eucharist, until about the middle of the 3rd century; and that there was a marked divergence from the Primitive doctrine in the language used by the Fathers on the subject, subsequent to the time of Cyprian. This statement of the evidence afforded by early church history on the point in question, entirely agrees with the views maintained by us in the 1st Section of Part IV. and in the present Part V. (1) After quoting Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian and other Fathers, the Bishop thus proceeds:—

“In all these Fathers, then, we find no certain reference to any offering in the Eucharist, except the offerings of bread and wine in the way of gifts or oblations to the service of God; as the fine flour and the meat or bread-offerings were presented by the Jews, and with them a sacrifice of prayer and thanking. The use of the word *θυσία*, *sacrifice*, gives no contradiction to this statement; for besides that it is the rendering of the Hebrew *mincha* by the LXX. translators, it has been clearly proved, that the word by no means of necessity implies an offering of a slain victim, though such was its primary signification; but that it is also applicable to all other kinds of offerings, and oblations, whether it be in classical or biblical Greek. Very early we have express mention of a Christian altar. But we can infer no more from the use of the word *altar*, than from the use of the word *sacrifice*. A sacrifice (*θυσία*) implies an altar (*θυσιαστήριον*). If the offering of the bread and wine, as first-fruits to God, be esteemed a sacrifice, then that whereon it is offered would be esteemed an altar. If the offering of prayer and praise be a sacrifice, the soul, from which they rise up to God, would be the altar. We need not question that these early Fathers, as undoubtedly those after them, believed that the bread and wine offered to the Lord were offered in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, and so, that the Eucharist was a commemorative sacrifice. But it is remarkable that even this view of the Eucharistic sacrifice does not expressly appear before the time of Cyprian. If the earliest Fathers really believed, that Christ in the Eucharist was offered afresh for the sins of the quick and the dead, it is certainly a most extraordinary example of silence and reserve that, for two centuries after Christ, they

should never once have explained the sacrifice of the Eucharist in any manner, but either as an offering of first-fruits to God, like the *mincha* or fine flour of the Israelites, or else as an offering of praise and thanksgiving and spiritual worship.”⁴

NOTE A.—2nd Part, page 380.

An Explanation of the sense in which the later Fathers regarded the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

In the concluding extracts Dr. Harold Browne proceeds to consider the question,—in what sense we may interpret the strong expressions used by the later Fathers subsequent to the 3rd century, in reference to Eucharistic Sacrifice?

“From the time of Cyprian, however, it is a fact too plain and notorious to need demonstration, that the Fathers speak of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, with special reference to the Body and Blood of Christ, commemorated and spiritually present in that holy Sacrament.”⁵ After remarking that the Romanists claim this fact in support of their theory of a true sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, and showing the fallacy of such an argument, the Bishop observes very fairly, “that we cannot at once dismiss the whole question, without further enquiring in what sense the Fathers did see in the Eucharist the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, for the propitiation of our sins. Their language, from the time of Cyprian, is both too uniform and too strong, for us to doubt, that it had a pregnant significance. The Eucharist undoubtedly succeeded to, and corresponded with, the Passover. The latter was the type; the former is the memorial of the death of Christ. One typical of the great sacrifice; the other commemorative of the same. The one was the great federal rite of the Jews: the other is the great federal rite of the Christians. In this view the Fathers much considered it. And so, as they viewed the Passover as a typical sacrifice, they viewed the Eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice It is admitted by most persons, that the Lord's Supper, if not a sacrifice, is yet (spiritually, of course) a feast upon a sacrifice. Now the sacrifice feasted on is undoubtedly the Lord Jesus, the Lamb of God. Our ordinary idea of offering a sacrifice, when that sacrifice is a living victim, is that it must be slain when it is offered. But the early Christians appear to have understood that, although Christ was once for all slain and so did once for all offer up Himself to God; yet, that every time His sacrifice is commemorated, and that sacrifice spiritually fed upon, we do, as it were, present before God, plead before the Father, the efficacy of that great Offering, the all-prevailing merits of His precious Blood. The same is true, more or

⁴ See Page 738-9.

⁵ Page 740.

less, in every act of devotion. No well-instructed Christian ever prays to God, without pleading the Atonement and the death of Christ. So, in effect, at every prayer we present to the Father, the Sacrifice of His Son. But more especially, and with most peculiar significance, we may be said to plead His merits, to present His efficacious Passion, and so in a certain sense, to offer his all-prevailing Sacrifice before the mercy-seat of God, when, with the consecrated symbols of His Body and Blood before us, we approach the Table of the Lord, to be fed by Him with the food of everlasting life."

"In this sense then, most especially, the Fathers seem to have esteemed the Eucharist, not only a sacrificial feast, but also a sacrifice. It was indeed a *metonymy*. The Eucharist was a remembrance (*ἀνάμνησις*) of the great Sacrifice on the Cross. And so it was called by the name of that, which it recorded. But it was not only a remembrance to ourselves, it was also esteemed a special mode of pleading it before God; and therefore it was named a sacrifice. And as the Sacrifice of the Cross was the propitiatory sacrifice, so this too was called a sacrifice of propitiation, both because of its recalling that great propitiatory Sacrifice, and because by enabling us spiritually to feed on, and to take the blessed fruit of that Sacrifice to ourselves, it was the means of bringing home to our souls the pardoning efficacy of Christ's death, the propitiation for sins which He has wrought."⁶

We conclude with a quotation from Bishop Bull, (very clearly affirming the same doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice as here maintained,) in a passage in which he sets forth the teaching of the early Church and the Church of England, in contrast with the corruptions of the Church of Rome. "In the Eucharist, then, Christ is offered, not hypostatically, as the Trent Fathers have determined, (for so He was but once offered,) but commemoratively only: and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of Him. For every sacrifices directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the holy Eucharist, therefore, we set before God the bread and wine as 'figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us, and of His precious Body' [they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy], and plead to God the merit of His Son's Sacrifice once offered on the Cross for us sinners, and in this sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessings on us."

⁶ Exposition, &c., page 742-3.

The following note is from "True Doctrine of the Eucharist," by Dr. Vogan. Part II. pp. 327, 444-47.

NOTE B, pages 381, 383.

Eucharistic Sacrifice:—the "Real Objective" Theory.

"According to the late Archdeacon Wilberforce, (Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist; ch. xi. p. 347), 'the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice' has no 'substratum,' but in alliance with 'the doctrine of the Real Presence.' . . . 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice,' or 'The Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist,' is now the consecrated bread and wine, having under them the real presence of our Lord's glorified humanity; the elements remaining in their own nature and substance, but having under their form the real objective presence of the body and blood of Christ."

"In the Tractarian and Roman systems, the *Res sacramenti* is the body and blood of Christ: and this *Res sacramenti* is, in the former, the principal part of the Eucharistic sacrifice; but it is the whole of the sacrifice in the latter: that is to say, that in the Tractarian system the body and blood of Christ are considered to be in the bread and wine; both the outward and inward part being the sacrifice; and in the Roman system, there is no more bread and wine after consecration; the accidents only remain, and the sacrifice is of Christ Himself, not with the elements, but only under their species. The difference between the two systems is of no real importance . . . so long as Christ is believed to be really present in what either is, or appear to be, bread and wine. One system annihilates the *sacramentum* by change of substance; the other regards it as but the husk and shell and shadow of the reality within. But with regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice, it is to be considered, that it is not simply the body and blood of Christ which are believed, or rather imagined, to be respectively in the bread and wine, but our Lord Jesus Christ Himself: and that the sacrifice is not merely of his body and blood in the bread and wine, or in their species, but our very Lord Himself. It is not the body of Christ given for us, which is said to be in, or under the species of bread, nor the blood of Christ shed for us, which is said to be in or under the species of wine; but 'whole Christ,' in or under both bread and wine; Christ, body and soul, living and glorified; Christ, both God and man.

"It will be sufficient to observe of this doctrine, that it makes the sacrifice offered by us in the Eucharist, to be our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. And if the sacrifice be real, if there be any real and true meaning in the words which express it; then, He that is glorified with the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, suffers in every Eucharist that is celebrated; and He that is 'alive for evermore' is ever dying. The Impassible is ever being slain! The Immortal dies!—The doctrine either means this, or it means nothing."

APPENDIX II.

CORRESPONDENCE IN REFERENCE TO THE
DOCTRINE MAINTAINED IN PART V. TREATISE 2.

A question has been raised by a friend of the Editor's in reference to Dr. Biber's treatise on "The Sacrificial worship in Heaven offered by Christ our High Priest," with the desire that it may be fully considered by some of the authors who have contributed to this work, and have given their attention to the subject.

As the question thus raised and answered in the following letters is not only one of deep interest, but has a direct bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist, and the erroneous theories connected therewith, it is important that it should receive such a full and learned consideration as here given to it, with the view of eliciting and vindicating the Truth. We have therefore deemed it desirable to publish the correspondence, with the consent of the writers, as a second Appendix to this 5th Part. This has unavoidably caused some further delay in the completion of the volume.

With regard to the objection made against the doctrine of sacrificial worship by the friend above mentioned, (whom it will suffice to indicate by the letter 'X,') we would observe that we most firmly hold the article of the Faith on which his argument is grounded, viz., the Session of our Blessed Saviour at the Right Hand of God, on His Ascension into Heaven. What we do *not* concur in is the exclusive inference deduced from it. We hold as firmly as our friend, that on Christ's Ascension into Heaven, His one Sacrifice for sin "was accepted with a perfect acceptance—so perfect as to leave no more room for Sacrifice to atone." These are essential truths which at once condemn the assumed theory of a repeated, or continuous offering of the One perfect Sacrifice on the Cross; but they do *not* exclude the continuous Intercession of our Mediator and Advocate, by virtue of "the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant," or the continual "sacrifice of Praise" offered by Christ, our High Priest, "in the midst of His Church," for which we have the authority of Holy Scripture.

It appears that 'X' has not duly recognized in his letter the *two parts* of Christ's High-Priestly office revealed to us,—the God-ward, and the man-ward: that our Great High Priest is Himself the way of access for us to the Father in prayer and praise—which is the leading feature of St. Paul's argument,—as also that He is a Dispenser of inestimable Gifts unto men, and "saveth them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him." This man-ward aspect of the work of Christ for us in Heaven (as is well shown by Mr. Le Mesurier, in his answer to 'X') is in no way opposed to the God-ward aspect (set forth in Part V.), in which Christ

appears as our Advocate, interceding for us, and presenting our prayers and thank-offerings, with His own, at the Throne of Grace.

This, we feel sure was the doctrine intended to be maintained by Dr. Biber, though it may be open to question, whether he has been sufficiently careful in the use of terms to express his meaning.

The line of argument taken in the letters in answer, it will be seen, is a defence of the doctrine of sacrificial worship, as plainly taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and other parts of holy Scripture, in answer to the doubt raised by 'X' against it. The advantage is thus gained of the doctrine being vindicated from objections in an opposite direction to those extreme sacerdotal and sacrificial views against which we have protested in our comments on Mr. Sadler's book.

In commenting as we then did upon the unscriptural theory of a continual or repeated offering of the One, perfect Sacrifice of Christ, either by Himself in Heaven, or by His Church on Earth, we of course spoke of the Sacrifice of His Atoning Death, His Sin-Offering on the Cross, which was offered "once for all." But the denial of any possible repetition of His all-sufficient Sacrifice by no means excludes the ever-to-be-repeated offering of our own prayers, praises, and self-devotion, through our High Priest and Mediator, and *accepted for His sake*; and the *perpetual pleading* of His one, only, meritorious, and efficacious Sacrifice, through which alone our "eucharistic sacrifices" can be accepted of the Father.

The reality of our sacrificial worship in *this sense*, as exercised by us, and having its blessings sealed to us especially, and in the fullest measure in the Holy Communion, is the Truth which has been earnestly contended for in these pages, and is defended in the following letters, as one of the highest privileges of the Christian Church.

We subjoin the letters referred to.

Letter addressed to the Editor.

"My dear Mr. Sharpe,

"In Dr. Biber's interesting paper, there is one statement which I cannot help commenting upon, as it contains, in my judgment, a very serious, though very common error—though, perhaps, I may misunderstand the writer. He says at p. 326, col. 1:—
'The true worship is offered in heaven by the Great High Priest on behalf of His Church—and it is of its very nature a sacrificial worship, through the Lamb that was slain, but liveth for evermore, and is presented in heaven as the Everlasting Sacrifice by the

Everlasting High Priest'; and again, at p. 327, col. 2 middle:—'Christ now and for evermore appearing in the presence of God for us with the Everlasting Sacrifice.' Now this seems to say that our Lord is continually presenting the Sacrifice of His Death before the Father as a Priest for us. This is the Roman doctrine of the 'sacrificium jube,' held by Dr. Pusey, and by the 'Old Catholics' at Bonn. At all events, Dr. Biber's words teach that Christ, as a Priest, is continually offering a Sacrificial worship in Heaven for us. But how is this consistent with Scripture, which represents Christ, not as standing before the Father offering, but as sitting, by Divine command, at God's right hand—an accepted Friend, in the place of favour, where sitting He intercedes for us, having the ear of God, and gaining favour and gifts for men? Dr. Biber's own quotations in the notes prove this:—p. 326, n. 9, 'We have such an High Priest, who is set on the right hand,' &c.; 'having an High Priest over the house of God,' not a Priest before the altar of God sacrificing, but over the house of God dispensing—a Priest of *good things to be*, i.e., a Priest not of sacrifices to God, but of gifts to men, in fact, a Priest after the order of Melchizedec, of whom Andrewes said (quoted by Mr. Le Mesurier, p. 320, n. 2), 'sacrificium nullum obtulit,'—(he should have said, more correctly, 'sacrificium nullum offerre videtur'). He is revealed to us not as sacrificing anything to God, but as dispensing in God's name to men. And that is Christ's work now. On His Ascension He presented the Sacrifice. It was accepted with a perfect acceptance,—so perfect as to leave no more room for Sacrifice to atone; and then 'the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit,' that is, Stand no more for ever to offer, but sit, an accepted Friend, henceforth. 'Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedec'—the Priest that does not sacrifice, but that gives the Feast,—a Priest of *good things*, a Priest *over the house*, &c. This is St. Paul's argument, not mine. 'Every priest standeth,' &c.,—'but this Man after one offering sat down for ever' (Hebr. x. 11, 12). Where do we find that Christ now offers an everlasting Sacrificial worship for us? Is it drawn from the words, 'Now to appear in the presence of God for us'? But the word is very strong, *ἐμφανισθῆναι*,—'to have once made an appearance in the Presence of God for us.'

"I should like to have this point discussed, for it is a very important one. It involves a full refutation of the Sacrifice of the Mass. I should like to have it discussed, for I think we shall never get our Eucharistic views right, until it is made clear one way or the other. I wish some of the divines with whom you are in communication would give their opinion on this question, 'Does Holy Scripture teach that our Lord Christ offers Sacrifice or worship to God the Father in heaven?' I am sure you perceive that if my position could be made good, and be boldly as-

serted before the Church by the moderate High Church party, we might see a stop put to the errors which now vex the Church, the heart of which lies in the Sacrifice of the Mass,—doing on earth what Christ is supposed to be doing in heaven, presenting His Body and Blood in continual oblation to the Father.

"Believe me, my dear Mr. Sharpe,

"Yours very faithfully,

" — — — "

Letter in answer from the Dean of Norwich.

May, 1876.

My dear Mr. Sharpe,

Many thanks for the sight of "X's" able and interesting letter. I am sorry that I cannot quite see "eye to eye" with him on either of the points which he raises.

In answer to his question "Does Holy Scripture teach that our Lord Christ offers sacrifice or worship to God the Father in heaven?" I should be disposed to say that Scripture undoubtedly teaches that Christ ever pleads the efficacy of His once-offered Sacrifice for us, if types are to be in any measure trusted. Did the Holy of Holies represent heaven? Did the high priest's going into the Holy of Holies to sprinkle blood eastward on the mercy-seat 'seven times'¹—blood previously and elsewhere shed—symbolize any action of Christ's in heaven? If so, what action? Must it not be the pleading of the Sacrifice once made—of His Sin-Offering, and His Burnt-Offering with the Meat-Offering?

Nor do I see my way to subscribe to "X's" translation of *ἐμφανισθῆναι* in Hebr. ix. 24. It is not in the perfect tense,—in which case his rendering, "to have made an appearance in the Presence of God for us" would be correct,—and the tense would indicate (what he maintains) that the appearance in God's Presence, which our Lord made once for all (as he says) at the Ascension, continued still in its blessed effects and results (the perfect having just this force); but it is the *aorist*. This tense, as it does not define the point of past time at which an action is done (whence indeed its name of *aorist*), is frequently used to indicate an action done at several points of past time; and indeed sometimes, especially in the infinitive mood, seems to merge the idea of *past* altogether, and to denote a present action.

Passing from the tense of the verb to its sense, let me remark that, like its English representative "appear," *ἐμφανίζομαι* has a technical as well as a popular sense, and is no doubt used here as a technical term. It is a term of law, used of an advocate who *appears* in court for or against an accused person, as when a judge asks, "Who appears for the prosecution" (or for the defence)? Thus, in Acts xxiv. 1, the high priest

¹ A perfect number of times. Lev. xvi. 14.

with the elders and Tertullus ἐπεφάνισαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου,—appeared before the governor (presented themselves in his court) against (in prosecution of) Paul. The application of the word, therefore, to the Saviour in heaven indicates His office of Advocate (1 John ii. 1), which He ceaselessly carries on, inasmuch as the sin, the effects of which the advocacy counteracts, is ceaseless. And what is the plea of this Advocate, which he urges ceaselessly? *His own Sacrifice*. And to plead His Sacrifice is—not indeed to make it over again—but to present it. And because He does thus continually present it, He is symbolized in the heavenly vision of Rev. vii. 6 as a Lamb *standing* as it had been slain,—where the word *standing* (ἱστηκός ὡς ἱσθαγμένον) is not without its significance. The Lamb of the vision is in truth a Divine-human Advocate; and no advocate ever sits when he is pleading.

Besides, "X." seems to have overlooked the very important word *νῦν*. Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν ΝΥΝ ὑφανισθῆναι. What is the *νῦν*? Surely, as our A.V. gives it, "now." The term will doubtless embrace the whole of the present æconomy,—the "now" of the dispensation of Grace. Yet the writer of the Epistle would chiefly have in his mind the point of time at which he was writing; and this was many years after the Ascension, and the first presentation of Christ to God "for us."

No doubt it is a blessed and precious truth, that "Christ is represented as *sitting* at God's right hand, in the place of favour, an accepted Friend." But this is not to shut out or exclude the other representation of Him as "*standing*" there. St. Stephen saw Him standing (Acts vii. 55). And the use our Church has made of this representation is edifying; "who *standest* at the right hand of God to *succour* all those that suffer for Thee." A man who sits at his ease, while another is suffering under his eyes, gives no indication of a desire to help him. Therefore Christ was manifested to St. Stephen *standing*, ready to assist him,—and how more effectually could He *assist* than by interceding for him, the posture of which is surely *standing* rather than *sitting*? It seems to me that "X.," in his zeal to establish the truth of Christ's present kingdom, rather obscures the truth of its being a MEDIATORIAL kingdom,—a kingdom all the affairs of which are transacted through mediation. "HE shall be a PRIEST upon His THRONE." Here you have both ideas, the sacerdotal "*standing*," to succour, to intercede, to minister,—and the royal "*sitting*," to govern. Why strike out one half of the picture, because it seems to us to match ill with the other?

Yours very truly,

E. M. GOULBURN.

POSTSCRIPT.—I have used the word *presenting*, in the above letter, because the type of the High Priest

entering into the Holy of Holies on the day of Atonement, seems to suggest this conception. Certainly the High-Priest did present something, when he sprinkled blood on the mercy-seat. Of course, the saying that Christ presents His sacrifice, is a way of expressing the truth, which is accommodated to our limited understandings. But so, too, is the representing Christ as advocating our cause, and interceding for us in heaven. The Infinite Mind cannot forget, or need to be reminded of, all that the Lord Jesus did and suffered for us. The remotest past must be, in virtue of God's Omniscience, as constantly present to Him as the moment now clapping is to us. But the wise and reverent mode of thinking of subjects so infinitely above us, is to *conceive of them*, with all the simplicity of children, *exactly as Scripture exhibits them*. And what it exhibits in type is the picture of our great High-Priest presenting the blood of a sacrifice, which has been previously and elsewhere shed.

[The following remarks, in another letter from the Dean, refer principally to Christ's present work in His Church on earth.]

I have been led to believe that a sacrifice is offered by the Church at present, and that our Great High Priest, who is the Supreme Minister of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man, offers it. But I am far from thinking that it is a propitiatory sacrifice. There has been, I believe, and can be, only one such; and all that can be done in respect of it, whether by the Lord Himself or by His people, is to plead it with God. And this I believe He does, as our High Priest and Minister, standing in the midst of us, and we also do for ourselves in the Eucharist. But then sacrifices were not expiatory only, but clearly also self-dedicatory and eucharistic. I believe that there is a sacrifice of self-dedication, and more especially of thanksgiving in the Holy Supper; that these are real and true (and not merely allegorical) sacrifices, and that Christ offers them both, with us and for us, as the great High Priest and Minister of His Church.

I do not think that this conflicts at all with what Mr. Le Mesurier teaches. It is a different line of thought from his, but not (to my mind) a contradictory one. I quite anticipate that the issue of your own and Mr. Le Mesurier's labours will be in the end a very real benefit to the Church. You will clear men's minds, and make them cautious and considerate in the use of terms on difficult subjects. Of course, from the *ultras* you will meet with obloquy and (an affectation of) contempt. They are very apt to ignore what they find it inconvenient to answer.

There can be no question that the rhetorico-devotional phraseology of the early Fathers on the Eucharist, used in perfect simplicity, and combined in them doubtless with perfect orthodoxy of belief, was

laid hold of as soon as Transubstantiation was formulated into a dogma, to support it. The phrases were never meant for anything but poetry; but they were taken for logic. We must learn a lesson from this (the lesson which Mr. Le Mesurier teaches us), to be very guarded in our phraseology when speaking polemically.

I wish two or three of the *practices* connected with the Ordinance could be abated. I am more and more convinced that while non-communicating attendance survives, theoretical error will survive with it. The separation of the sacrificial from the sacramental element of the Rite (involved in such attendance) carries with it, I fully believe, a whole cluster of erroneous sentiments which more or less approximate to Transubstantiation. It is not so very easy to idolize what you touch, and eat and drink; but if you lift up consecrated bread and wine amid the gleam of tapers and the fumes of incense, and then sing hymns with fervour and unction, an idolatrous act is made much easier to the mind. What wisdom was there too, in forbidding *reservation*! How certainly, when hardened into a set practice, it would lead to *error*!

Ever yours very truly,

E. M. GOULBURN.

[In a subsequent letter the Dean considers more at length the question of oblation.]

... I do make a difference between "offer" and "present." When communicants say, "And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves," &c., I do not take the words to be synonymous. I fancy *offering* is (in this case), in the will of the offerer, in his mental act; *presentation* is the formal announcement of the mental act. So I should have said that, in strictness of speech, the High Priest *offered* the victim when he slew it in designed fulfilment of the Lord's ordinance, *presented* it, or (for it comes, I think, to exactly the same thing) *made the memorial of the offering*, when he sprinkled the blood before the ark.

The force of the aorist is so often to denote an action done and completed at a point of time, *as contrasted with one in progress and incomplete*, and the idea of past time often seems so entirely to have dropped out of the aorist, that I should prefer rendering Heb. viii. 3, thus:—

"Every high priest is appointed [*ἐὶς τὸ προσφέρειν*—*present infinitive*] for the [continuing and ever incomplete] offering both of gifts and sacrifices: whence it is necessary that this man also should have something which he may offer"—[*aorist subjunctive*—offer once for all and complete in one act].

If this *were* the true rendering (which I should by no means like to say, in the face of so great an authority, so devout and subtle a ponderer of the "celestial sensus," as Bengel), it would suit Mr. Le Mesurier's views and yours just as well as if the *Ἀναγκαῖον* had

been *ἀναγκαῖον ἦν*, which I am disposed to think it would have been, had the meaning been—"It *was* necessary," &c. *Ἀναγκαῖον ἦν* does occur, when a past necessity has to be strongly indicated. (See Acts xiii. 46).

Passing from the words to the great thoughts which they express, it seems to me there are two skeins of thought, neither of which, in giving judgment on the subject, must be dropped. One thought is, that Christ "has made an end of sin" (*as* predicted in Daniel). He has (virtually) swept it away, abolished it, condemned it (by His sacrifice) as a thing hateful to the Most High, so that it is now awaiting sentence of death, like a prisoner in a condemned cell.

When we look at matters thus, we regard Christ's work *potentially*, in its scope and tendency, in the end which eventually it is to bring about.

And it is in this view of the subject, I imagine, that St. Paul writes so strongly about Christ's not offering Himself often, &c. Why should He? One offering achieved the whole glorious result for ever.

But when we take the *actual* view of things as realized in our experience, *sin lingers on*, even among God's people. If *virtually* its power is broken and itself abolished, *actually* it holds its ground. Hence a felt necessity of the continual application of the one Sacrifice, not subjectively only by faith, but also by some action of Christ for us in Heaven, which I have ventured (perhaps erroneously) to call presentation of the once-offered Sacrifice, but which Mr. Le Mesurier and you (probably with greater judgment and caution) call advocacy. I entirely adhere to and embrace *your* term, though I have adopted another.

And I think that both you and he are entirely right (after all the Church's painful and humbling experience in this matter) to be very rigorous in excluding all terms, which were perhaps used rhetorically by the Fathers, but cannot possibly be admitted as exact delineations of God's truth, not even in sermons, much less in treatises avowedly polemical. My only *doubt* is, whether advocacy *alone* quite reaches the idea of *priesthood*, or a priestly function, and (as I observed before) it is said, "He shall be a PRIEST upon His Throne."

Ever yours truly,

June, 1876.

E. M. GOULBURN.

Letter in answer to "X" from the Rev. J. Le Mesurier.

My dear Mr. Sharpe,

The question raised by "X." is an important one and should not be left unanswered. I, therefore, proceed to reply to it in accordance with your request.

Now here at once let it be said clearly, that there is no difference between us as to the truth that Christ is a Dispenser of gifts to men.

That He is so, I, of course, fully admit, as abun-

dantly taught in Scripture; and, moreover, that it is one side of His *Mediatorial* work, which is *far too little* thought of; *i. e.*, I fear that it is too little remembered that, under the Christian Dispensation, the gifts that are bestowed on us of the Father are given us *through* Christ, our Mediator.

When we read of His "saving to the uttermost," His being the "Author of Eternal Salvation," His being "the Mediator of a Covenant with better promises," which include the writing of the *Law* on our hearts by His Spirit, we have reference to this part of His work.

I agree also with "X," that the word "sat down" (Heb. x. 12) is *contrasted* with the repeated standing and repeated offering of earthly priests,—though I have generally taken the "for ever" (as Bishop Wordsworth does, quoting ancient authorities), as connected with the preceding words, rather than (as a large number of modern authors) with "sat down": but this we need not stay to discuss.

But this "dispensing gifts" is the part of Christ's Mediatorial and High-Priestly office which looks man-ward—from God to man. The point we have to consider is whether "X." gives sufficient prominence to the other part of that office which is God-ward—from man to God. This part is recognized by "X." He speaks of Christ as "at God's right hand—an accepted Friend, in the place of favour, where, sitting, He intercedes for us, having the ear of God, and gaining favour and gifts for men." But looking at this passage in itself, and also at the subordinate place it holds in "X.'s" letter, we are constrained to ask, Does this at all adequately set forth the God-ward part of Christ's High-Priestly office? Does "X." assign to it a prominence at all equal to that which it holds in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

For observe, that this part of Christ's High-Priestly work comes *first in order*. "He saves to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him" (Heb. vii. 25). Our *coming unto God through Christ* precedes His dispensing His Gifts. And it is on this point that the typical system of the Levitical law spoke most fully; and that *type* under the old dispensation has given place to *reality* under the new.

For what is the question which the Apostle dwells on in this Epistle, when arguing from the ancient Law? Is it not this? How may sinful men have access unto the All-holy God, especially in *worship*? And the answer is,—Not by the types of the law, but by the realities of the Gospel. And those realities are the Sacrifice of Christ, *ONCE FOR ALL offered*, but of perpetual and eternal efficacy (Heb. x. 14, and, as I read the stopping, 12), and the *abiding Priesthood* of Christ (Heb. vii. 3, 28). This is the very point of contrast. The Jewish system was a parable, according to which (καθ' ἣν) "gifts were offered which could not make him that did the service perfect, as

pertaining to the conscience" (Heb. ix. 9), but though "the Law" thus "made nothing perfect," the bringing in of a better hope did, by *which we draw nigh unto God* (Heb. vii. 19).

Now, of course, there can be no difference of opinion that it is through the sacrifice of the Death of Christ that access has been opened, by which we may thus draw nigh. Christ entered Heaven by His own Blood (Heb. ix. 12); and the same Blood—the same rent veil of His broken Body, is the new and living way by which we can alone draw near (Heb. x. 19—22).

The only question is,—What is our Lord's *present* ministry, now that He ever liveth at the right hand of God, in respect to our thus drawing near? And to answer this, we are expressly told that we draw near, not only through Christ's Blood,—*i. e.*, His once-offered Sacrifice—but through Christ Himself, now living. "*Through Him* we come to God" (Heb. vii. 25); "*through Him* we offer our sacrifices" (Heb. xiii. 15), and moreover, that "He now appears in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24), and "ever liveth to make intercession for us." (Heb. vii. 25.) Nothing can be clearer than that this is a present and continual exercise of Christ's High-Priestly office; that it is not man-ward, but God-ward for us; and that it holds so central a position in the economy of Grace, that it is inseparably bound up with "His saving to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him."

This is confirmed by Hebr. x. 19—22. Here is our very access to God in worship described. It is plainly through the *Death* of Christ (vers. 19, 20), and by our being spiritually sprinkled by that once-offered Sacrifice (ver. 22), that we can approach. But between these two references to the Sacrifice of Christ's Death mention is made of our 'having' now our Lord Jesus Christ 'an High Priest over the House of God' (in that Temple of God, which He himself builded, and which is His own. This gives the force of 'over,' as in Hebr. iii. 6. But none the less He is represented as filling the office of High Priest in respect to Temple worship.) And the mention of the High Priest in connection with the efficacy of the Sacrifice, shews that the abiding Presence of our Great High Priest in Heaven is an essential part of the Divine Economy towards the abiding efficacy of His once-offered Sacrifice in opening and keeping open the way of access to God for the worship of His people.

Now before trying to arrive at exactly what is the connection between this perpetual ministry of our *Ascended* High-Priest, and His once-for-all offered sacrifice, I would make one observation between the position which "X." controverts, and that which Dr. Biber really maintains,—for, if I mistake not, these two are far from identical. "X." understands Dr. Biber to say, that our Lord is continually presenting the "sacrifice of His Death before the Father, as a Priest for us."

Now it is true, that in a passage, not actually quoted by "X.", Dr. Biber (p. 327, 2) does speak of the "great sacrifice" of Christ's death being "everlastingly presented in Heaven,"—using, I imagine, in this place, the word "present" (as has been carefully explained by others), *not* as equivalent to "offer," but as meaning "solemnly to plead," and "bring," as it were, "to God's remembrance,"—yet in the passage quoted by "X." in which "present" and "offer" seem used interchangeably, the "Everlasting Sacrifice" which is offered is not the sacrifice of Christ's death, but the worship of the Church—the perpetual sacrifice of Praise and Prayer. Dr. Biber's words seem to necessitate this interpretation. It is "worship through the Lamb that was slain." Christ's death cannot be offered through the Lamb; but it is "through the Lamb that was slain," that the worship of the Church is, and can alone be unceasingly offered to God, as an acceptable sacrifice.

And this is a most important distinction. That which is, strictly speaking, offered to God, is the sacrifice of the Church's worship:—that through which it is offered, is the once-for-all offered—the ever-efficacious—the only meritorious and atoning sacrifice of Christ's Death.

And then, if we ask what part does Christ's *present* ministry fulfil in this perpetual offering, seeing it is offered "through Him," and "with His continual Intercession"—so far as we are permitted to bring down heavenly things to human thought and human language—there seem but two forms in which the answer can be given,—the two really merging into one. Either (1), that Christ, as our High-Priest in Heaven, urges the plea—the one plea of the sacrifice of His Death—on which alone we sinners can draw near to God: or (2), that He, as it were, receives from us our worship, and offers it (still on the same plea—for there is no other) to the Father.

Both ways of shaping the answer seem to have Scriptural sanction.

I. "Christ ever liveth to make intercession for us—(*ὅς τὸ ἐντυχάνειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*)" Dr. Scott (Vol. ii. 411) says, *ἐντυχάνειν ὑπὲρ*, which we render "to intercede for," signifies "to advocate" or "plead" the cause of another; as on the contrary, *ἐντυχάνειν κατὰ* doth always signify to *accuse*. Rom. xi. 2; 1 Maccab. viii. 32; x. 61, 63; xi. 25.

Now as the passage, 1 John ii. 1, 2, speaks of the advocacy of Christ, as the pleading for the forgiveness of sinners the propitiation of His Death, so here, the advocacy of Christ cannot but be the pleading for the acceptance of sinners' prayers, *the same* propitiation. This same aspect of Christ's present intercession is confirmed by the expression, "Blood of the everlasting covenant" (Heb. xiii. 20). Christ's Blood is not only Blood once poured forth, but it is the seal of an abiding and everlasting Covenant. Of that Covenant,

Christ is the Mediator, and as Mediator, He intercedes. Must not His Intercession be a perpetual pleading for us of that Everlasting Covenant which has been sealed by His own Blood?

II. And so, also, the second form in which the answer may be given, finds its sanction in the passage (the force of which has been shewn by Dean Goulburn):—"In the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto Thee" (Ps. xxii. 22; quoted, Heb. ii. 12). They are (in prophecy) the words of Christ upon the Cross, as He looked forward to His deliverance from His sufferings by His Resurrection and Ascension; and they are applied by St. Paul to Him, in close connection with His being our "merciful and faithful High-Priest" (Heb. ii. 17). Christ says, as it were upon the Cross, that when His sacrifice has been offered and accepted, and His work of suffering over, He will ever, in the midst of His Church, sing praise unto God. The passage speaks of Praise alone; but when we think of what is said of Christ's Prayers (Psalm ii. 8), we may extend the thought also to Prayer. And in interpreting "in the midst of the Church," we are not unmindful that the Church embraces Heaven as well as Earth. And thus, as we meditate on these words, we behold, by faith, Christ at the Right hand of the Father,—but still One among His brethren—our merciful and faithful High-Priest—gathering up the Prayers and Praises of His Church, and offering them with His own, and as His own, to the Father, through His own once-for-all offered and accepted Sacrifice.

I trust that what I have said may be found a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the question proposed. At all events, "X." will see that there is no contention between us as to one part of Christ's High-Priestly office, but that there may be danger of understating, or not keeping enough in sight, the other part.

For it is this part, which looks God-ward, which affords confidence in prayer, and gives prayer its power—which is the ground of faith and hope when we sinners come before God. It is the thought of Him who urges His availing plea in the place of our unworthiness—the remembrance of both what He has done and still does that we may "*come unto God THROUGH HIM*"—the blessed assurance that He is *THE WAY*, as also the Truth, and the Life.*

Before concluding this letter, I would draw attention to what may be regarded as a direct evidence of the sacrificial character of Christian worship. If we seek any confirmation of the view recently set forth by Dr. Goulburn, that our Saviour, as High Priest, does—even Himself "in the midst of His Church"—continually offer to the Father the prayers and praises of His Church, it may be found in considering the part which the High Priest took in the Jewish daily Temple Service.

* St. John xiv. 6.

His service on the Day of Atonement was once only every year. In the antitype, the corresponding service of our Great High-Priest was "once for all." But there was a daily Jewish service in which he frequently took part: as there is a continual fulfilment of His High-Priestly office by our Lord Jesus Christ now. What this was, we learn from Ecclesiasticus, chap. L.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that the High-Priest did not take part in burning the incense; this was done by another priest,* as though to shew that no fresh act of the Great High-Priest is needed, in order that the incense of the merits of His once-offered sacrifice should be (as, so to speak, it ever is) unceasingly ascending before God. But when the incense had already been cast on the altar of incense, and was there burning,—

Then "the High-Priest" (we read), "when he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar [of burnt offering], made the garment of holiness honourable. When he took the portions (*μῆλη*) out of the priest's hands [*i. e.*, the limbs of the burnt offering†], he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Libanus; and as palm trees compassed they him round about. So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations (*προσφορὰ*) of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel. And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering (*προσφοράν*) of the most High Almighty, he stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape,‡ he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the most High King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High [*ἡς μνημόσυνον ἔναντι ὑψίστου*]. Then all the people together hastened, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High. The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody. And the people besought the

Lord, the most High, by prayer, before Him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished His service. Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in His name. And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High."*

Such were the ministrations of the High-Priest with which St. Paul and the Hebrews he addressed must have been familiar;§ which were (I presume), being exercised in the Jewish Temple at the very time he wrote. Where, then, can we find so trustworthily an elucidation of his meaning when he speaks of our "High-Priest over the House of God:" that spiritual House and Temple in which, specially when we "assemble together" for public worship at the Holy Eucharist, we, as worshippers, draw near "in full assurance of faith," in which Christ as our High-Priest, "in the midst of His Church"—even of us whom "He is not ashamed to call His brethren"—both *offers up to the Father the prayers and praises of His Church*, and also *sheds on her His Blessing*?

What passage can shew more distinctly these two parts of our Lord's High-Priestly office, or teach us more emphatically that neither the ministrations of Christ's ministers, nor the "offerings" or prayers or praises of His people, can avail aught, unless offered *through and by* our great High Priest, who is at once both "in the midst of His Church," and also "at the Right Hand of God"?

In conclusion, I would say, that on this subject I should not have ventured to have written as I have (whether in this letter, or in my paper in Part V.), except as commending what I have said to the calm consideration and judgment of my brethren; and in the belief that God will ever bless the serious, yet temperate discussion of such points as these, if conducted with the one object of arriving at clear views of the truth,—and that what is unintentionally in error, He will mercifully counteract, and what is according to Truth He will bless, that it may prevail.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Sharpe,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN LE MESURIER.

Bembridge Vicarage,
August, 1876.

* Eccles. L., 11—21. Dr. Edersheim says (p. 141), "This part of the service was *not unfrequently* performed by the high-priest himself." So apparently he did not always perform it; but when he did take part in the daily services this was the part he took.

§ Simon, the son of Onias, died B.C. 195 (Prideaux's Conn., Vol. III. p. 149, 182), and Ecclesiastions was first translated into Greek and published, A.C. 132 (Prid. Conn., Vol. III. p. 62.) Dr. Edersheim's account is taken apparently from the Mishna (Temple and its Services, p. 133, note).

* See "The Temple and its Services," by Dr. Edersheim (Chap. VIII., specially p. 141—142), which throws much light on this passage in Eccles., though he does not refer to it. The order of the service given by him is not quite the same as that described in Ecclesiasticus.

† These he received at the priest's hand, and cast into the fire burning on the altar of burnt-offering (Temple and its Services, p. 141). The idea of the burnt-offering, it will be remembered, is "self-dedication"—"a man offering to God the acceptable sacrifice of himself, his soul, his body, and all that is his."—(Dr. Goulburn. See Supplement, p. 424).

‡ The (meat and) drink offering, expressive of thanksgiving—"a man offering to God the acceptable sacrifice of a grateful acknowledgment in return for His mercies,"—and perhaps the most literal prefigurement of the "pure offering" of bread and wine in the holy Eucharist.—(See Dr. Goulburn, as above.)

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART VI.—(*First Division.*)

CONFESSION.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.¹

I have no help but Thine ; nor do I need
Another arm save Thine to lean upon ;
It is enough, my Lord, enough indeed ;
My strength is in Thy might, Thy might alone.

Mine is the sin, but Thine the righteousness ;
Mine is the guilt, but Thine the cleansing blood ;
Here is my robe, my refuge, and my peace—
Thy blood, Thy righteousness, O Lord, my God.

H. BONAR.

" Seeing then that we have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, . . . let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need."—HEBREWS IV. 14, 16.

INTRODUCTION.

A general impression prevails among all those who have the welfare of the Church of England at heart, that we have now reached a crisis in her history, full of anxiety and peril for the future. Her established position as the National Church of this country, is not only assailed by unrelenting foes from without, more eager than ever for her downfall, but the outcry against her is being re-echoed by a disloyal party within her pale, whose undisguised object is the mere escape from all legal restraint to the free indulgence of their self-will in matters of ritual, ceremonial, or vestments. At the same time, the obvious want of more power of self-government in the Church for the correction of unsoundness in doctrine, and those abuses in practice, which are openly persisted in by some of her clergy, in defiance of Episcopal authority, is a source of grave misgiving to many sincere Churchmen, from the want of confidence it causes in the integrity of her teaching. Without the means of ensuring respect for her laws and au-

thority from all her members, of whatever school of opinion, and without the power of repressing false doctrine, heresy, and schism within her own bosom, which the Church inherits by Divine right, she will assuredly be rent asunder by faction, and as a ship without helm, drifting helplessly at the mercy of the waves, be in danger of stranding on the deceitful shoals of superstition, or perishing on the rocks of infidelity.

Truly we might say with the Apostle, "We are troubled on every side: without are fightings, within are fears!" By far the most anxious thought for the future, which weighs on the minds of those of her children who love her best, is whether the Church of England will still prove faithful in her day of trial—as by God's grace she did in days of old—to that sacred trust committed by her Divine Lord to her charge,—the preservation of His Truth "whole and undefiled," as revealed to her in His Holy Word, and the propagation of that Truth in its primitive purity throughout the world. May the promised blessing to one of the chosen tribes of old be hers, and let it be her motto—"As thy days, so shall thy strength be."

This is a time then when words from a recognized leader have an influence and weight be-

¹ From "Present Dangers of the Church of England."—Seven Addresses, 1877 (now out of print). Portions of 1st and 6th Address,—see Part III. p. 221—25. (With an extract from this 2nd Address.) *With the Bishop's permission.*

yond what would ordinarily attach to them. The vast mass of deep and anxious thought now swaying to and fro in the Church, prone, even by its own earnestness, to lean either to the right hand or to the left, is craving for the directing light, for the guiding voice of some Master in Israel, accredited alike by piety, learning, and moderation.

Such a voice has indeed spoken, and we confidently believe that many will thankfully listen to its wise counsels and earnest warning at the present time, upon a subject whose importance is manifested by the wide-spread alarm that has been caused at the re-introduction of the practice of Auricular Confession in our Church by many of the Clergy, and by the strong protest that has arisen throughout the country, against being subjected anew to a system fraught with so many evil results—as testified by history—and alien to the teaching and practice of the Reformed Church of England.

I. THE TERM “SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION”—CONSIDERED.

In a previous Address I have specified the three dangers which, now especially, are threatening and even imperilling the existence of the National Church. One of these I stated to be sacerdotalism; or, to use a simpler, and what may seem to some a less repulsive definition—the growing tendency on the part of some of the ministers of our Church to assert their priestly powers and prerogatives beyond that general line and standard which seem to be prescribed by our formularies, recognized by all our greatest Divines, and alone consonant with the declarations of Holy Scripture, or with those principles and inferences which can clearly be deduced from it.

This tendency has of late shown itself in the attempt to re-introduce what is by some boldly spoken of as that which our 25th Article repudiates—the Sacrament of Penance, and by others, more ambiguously and evasively, as “Sacramental Confession.” This alien practice, it is now perfectly plain, is being steadily and I fear I must add stealthily re-introduced, or as some would prefer to say, revived, in the Church of England. Further, it is now also clear that this re-introduction or revival has the support of at least one distinctive organisation, and that those who advocate it are not in the least prepared to submit to the judgment of those set over them in the Lord, or to what one of the supporters of the

system arrogantly and unbecomingly speaks of as “the voice of uninstructed authority.”

We therefore find ourselves confronted with a system which we are plainly told shall be, if possible, re-introduced into our Church—a system which, independent of all other considerations, is calculated to enhance and consolidate the power of the priesthood, and by consequence, dangerously to alienate the whole body of the laity of the Church, and, in the sequel, to precipitate that separation of the Church and the State, which will inevitably and inexorably follow any general development of priestly assumptions on the part of the clergy of the Reformed Church of England. On this subject no reader of history, no quiet observer of the deeper feelings and almost instincts of the people of this country can feel any doubt whatever. Friends are looking forward with anxiety; foes with increasing satisfaction; as both well know that when confession becomes generally advocated and pressed forward, and with it the sacerdotalism of which it is the outward manifestation, then the last sands of the Established Church will be running, and the end very near at hand.

Every reason, then—self-preservation as well as higher reasons—seem certainly to suggest to us that it is our duty calmly and temperately to face this question, and to settle, on broad and sober principles, on the general tenour of our formularies, the light afforded to us by Holy Scripture, and a calm consideration of the characteristics of our composite nature, whether Sacramental confession either is or ought to be regarded as a part of the doctrinal heritage of the Church of England.

First, however, as far as it is possible to do so, let us settle what we mean by the expression I have just used. What is “Sacramental Confession?” It is a term,¹ as our own Houses of Convocation remind us, unknown to the Church, and from that very reason more difficult fairly to define. I suppose, however, that we shall not be wrong in deeming it to mean the habitual and detailed confession of sins to a priest with a view of receiving priestly absolution, and of so becoming better fitted for a faithful and true partaking of the Holy Communion, and of attaining to a higher standard of spiritual life. This perhaps falls short of the meaning that very many of its supporters assign to it. Very probably that which a calm and wise writer on

¹ See Report of the Committee of the Upper House of Convocation presented July 23, 1873.

this subject has declared to be the grammatical meaning of the term, viz., "confession as one part of a sacrament,"¹ is really the meaning that many would readily accept, though such an acceptance really involves a denial, or at any rate an explaining away, of the 25th Article. Very likely our gloss is not co-extensive with the full meaning of the expression; it is, however, quite enough for our present purpose; it is fair to our opponents; it avoids side-arguments as to the number of the Sacraments, or the definition of the word Sacrament, and it can be dealt with in plain and intelligible argument.

Let us, then, consider this to be the question before us which we will now endeavour to answer. "If this be Sacramental Confession, is it the doctrine of the Church of England? and if it is not, ought it to become so, and can its re-introduction be morally or psychologically defended?"

In arriving at our answer let us clear the ground by observing, first of all, that if Sacramental Confession be what we have defined it,—if it is necessary for a worthy receiving of the Holy Communion, and does certainly open the way to a higher life, it does become morally compulsory. It is something that really ought to be required. Ought not life to be a progress onward in holiness? Is not our sanctification the very will of God Himself? Is it not then an unworthy evasion to speak of Sacramental Confession as not compulsory? Compulsory it is not in this sense,—that any Priest of our Church could be legally justified in refusing the Holy Communion to any one who had not confessed, or could even publicly preach and teach that it was necessary and indispensable to salvation. Thank God, we have not yet come to this; and in such a sense as this it may still be spoken of as not compulsory. But if the strongest encouragement be given to it,—if societies are formed to support and further it,—if in our missions, when the soul is agitated and anxious, it is presented as the only safe remedy,—if it is privately pressed upon the young and the sensitive during their preparation for Confirmation,—if our very children are instructed in some of

the disloyal and unscriptural books for the young now freely circulated in many a parish (I have one such now before me as I am writing these words) that, however painful, Confession must be made to Christ's Priest "because God desires it," and because concealment of sins from the Priest involves the certainty of being consigned to "the everlasting fires of hell," if death overtakes the concealer,—if all this is taught, as it is taught, earnestly and persistently, then I solemnly declare it to be a plain and even wicked evasion to say that Confession is not required and is not to be understood to be as morally compulsory.

It is so; and here exactly it is that we find this novel teaching in conflict with our Prayer Book and formularies, and, what is far more serious, with the very mind of Holy Scripture, so far as that mind can be collected from its complete and most significant silence. "I do not find," says the sober and thoughtful writer to whom I have already referred, "anything, from beginning to end of the New Testament, which can prove or intimate that this is the mind of Christ, or was understood by the Apostles to be His intention. Very clear places there are which enjoin confession of sins to God, but not one place to prove or intimate that Confession in any case must be made to the Priest, in his sacerdotal capacity, in order to obtain forgiveness of sins."²

This, then, is the plain and most serious aspect of this matter. While it has been admitted (for it could not be denied) that Confession is not compulsory in the system of the Church, in the sense in which it is compulsory in the Church of Rome, Confession has nevertheless been pressed both in public and private exhortations constantly and cogently. And not Confession merely, in the general sense in which it seems mainly alluded to in the exhortation in the Communion Service, but Sacramental Confession,—Confession to be followed by and designed to procure absolution. Without this absolution it has been implied, aye and I fear far more than implied, that there is no security for the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin. "If you desire earnestly," says one of the current manuals, "some assurance of God's pardon, you must, as the Church directs you, make use of the ministry of reconciliation. You must, as the Church directs you, go to some Priest in whom you feel confidence, and open your grief,

¹ Vogan, *Remarks on Catholic Practice, Confession, and the Real Presence*, p. 32 (London, 1873). The ambiguous nature of the expression, and therefore its unsuitableness for use in controversy, may be illustrated by the fact that Bingham, in his sermon on "Absolution" (*Works*, vol. viii., p. 360, London, 1844), uses the term "sacramental absolution" as meaning the power of administering the two sacraments to such as are qualified to receive them—a meaning far indeed from what now appears to be associated with the term.

² Vogan, *Remarks on Confession, etc.*, p. 40 (London, 1873).

that is, tell him all your sins." "*You must.*" If language means anything this certainly is compulsion in a very undisguised form. This is the unscriptural teaching which is swelling the numbers of the poor anxious creatures who are now resorting to the Confessional. Ever in their ears the stern voice that tells them that no confession,—whether by the bedside or in the House of God, whether in the comprehensive words of the daily service, or in the earnest and even passionate words in the Holy Communion,—will be of any real avail unless it be whispered in the ear of the listening priest; ever the dreadful teaching that post-baptismal sin must remain, always remain, red as scarlet, until it be made white by sacramental absolution, and by the judicial utterance of—however highly claiming to be accredited—poor, mortal, and fallible man.

This, then, is the true aspect of the sad and dangerous influence that is now seriously augmenting the numbers of those who resort to habitual Confession, and is bringing us all, whatever our views may be on the question generally, to realize this certain fact and truth—that if the system is to be continued there must be a complete disciplinary change in the penitential provisions of the Reformed Church of England. In plain words, I mean that there must be some provision made, similar to that made in the Church of Rome, by which the scandals that might arise from every young Priest setting himself up as a confessor might in some degree be avoided. It was from a dim feeling of this kind that, some years ago, the notorious petition on this subject was presented to the Upper House of the Convocation of this Province, and that the advisability was pressed upon our Bishops,—these, I believe, were the terms of the petition—"of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors, in accordance with the provisions of—Canon Law."

The answer to this petition was as instructive as it was conclusive. It did not enter for one moment into the desirableness or undesirableness of entertaining such a request. It simply said in effect that "we have no such custom," and that if any doubt could be entertained on the subject it would be dissipated by a calm consideration of the formularies of our Church, and of not only the language but the changes of language, distinctly and deliberately introduced, in the second and subsequent editions of our Book of Common Prayer. And this answer we know

has been very recently re-affirmed by the Upper House of Convocation, and generally assented to by the Lower House, and now constitutes the declaration of the living voice of this Province of the English Church, so far as that Province can be considered to speak through its ancient and constitutional Synod. . . .

When we revert then to the question with which we commenced as the substratum of the present Address, Is the teaching of Sacramental Confession compatible with the doctrine and discipline of the English Church? we see that we have, indirectly and inferentially, yet no less completely, answered it in the remarks that have been already made—and the answer amounts to this: That our Church knows no such term as "Sacramental Confession," that she does not enjoin, directly or indirectly, any practice of habitual confession, and that so far as her mind can be collected from the textual changes that have taken place in the exhortation that relates to this subject, and the rubric that relates to absolution, it may further, safely and truly, be said that our Church does not encourage Confession to a Priest, nay even appears to discourage it, if we may rightly appeal to the Homily on Repentance as in any general way expressing the principles and teaching of the Church of England on this vital and distinctive question. Let any one fairly and dispassionately consider the second Exhortation in the First Book of Edward VI., and compare it with the second Exhortation in the Second Book, and the slightly changed form of words in which the resorting to the minister is referred to in our present Exhortation—let him consider duly all that is meant by the specification of "the ministry of God's Holy Word" as the means or medium whereby the penitent is to receive "the benefit of absolution"—let him also weigh well, on the one hand, the addition of the general Confession and Absolution in the Second and all succeeding Prayer Books, and, on the other hand, the omission of the words in the rubric in the First Book which authorized the uses of the judicial form of Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick in all private confessions, and yet further the new limitation by the words "if he humbly and heartily desire it" to the direction to absolve the sick, found as we find it in our last revision—let him dispassionately consider all these truly significant changes, and then finally endeavour to formulate the teaching of the Church of his Baptism on this subject. Can that formulation be other than this—that our Church, while dis-

tinctly including in her commission to her ministers the right to hear Confession, and the power to declare Absolution to the truly repentant believer, does plainly use such language and adopt such limitations as imply that, as regards the private relations of the Priest and those that resort to him, her *rule* is pastoral counsel and consolation; and that it is only when this is found to be utterly unavailing, or when sickness is casting on the penitent its shadows, that she sanctions Confession and the extreme exercise of her committed powers.

We know well that it is urged that all this may be generally true, but that when once a Church has committed such a power to a Priest to be used in the case of the sick, it must mean that the power should be used equally in the case of the whole, whenever there should seem an emergency; and that emergency is something which may be very differently estimated. With this argument, often used not only by those who support Confession, but, conversely, by those who have in the background a desire to revise away the whole system as either superstitious or as resting on claims to supernatural powers which cannot possibly be substantiated, we need not particularly trouble ourselves. If on the face of our formularies there are clear indications that the committed power was intended to be used subject to restraints and limitations, then really all reasoning and arguments that do not take these apparent restraints into consideration may be set aside as irrelevant and inadmissible. Whether there are these limitations, and if there are, whether they have or were intended to have the power ascribed to them is a fair subject for argument, but to argue simply from the fact that the Church of England admits the principle of Confession, and to maintain that the admission of the principle is quite enough to justify the Sacramental Confession that is now contended for, is simply to ignore the facts of the case, and to decline to attend to very reasonable evidence.

We seem, then, fairly entitled to claim that the first part of the proposed question has been sufficiently answered. Sacramental Confession cannot claim the sanction of the formularies of the Church of England; nay, it is even discouraged and inferentially disallowed by them.

II.—THE REVIVAL OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

But we must not wholly pass over the second part of the question. This, it will be remembered, is based on the assumed evidence of the

good that has been effected by the revival of Confession, and in fact amounts to this—whether Confession may not become the rule instead of the exception, and whether we may not at least revert to the practice that seems to have prevailed under the First Prayer Book. It is admitted, for it cannot be denied, that the principle of Confession to a Priest is recognized by our Church; why should it not, in these days of spiritual revivals and of more deep earnestness, be more universally acted on?

The broad and general answer seems conclusive—that if this extension of a system be permitted in consideration of the good that, it is asserted, distinctly flows from it, such changes must be introduced as will give us security against the abuses, the frightful abuses, which centuries of experience have shown us are inextricably involved in any general system of habitual confession. The present theory of the Church of England is on the one hand to concede to every Priest the right of hearing confessions, and the power, when all conditions are satisfied, of pronouncing absolution—but on the other practically to restrain this right and power by implying, very unmistakably, that it is only to be used exceptionally and in cases of distinct emergency. This is consistent with that attitude of moderation which every calm and unbiassed observer must recognize as the unchanging attitude of the Church of our baptism. If this theory is to be modified in reference to the present subject, then regulations by authority *must* be introduced, safeguards *must* be devised, competent and duly instructed confessors *must* be accredited, and the liberty now conceded to each ministering priest *must* thus practically be limited and regulated. This is, in fact, conceded. The startling revelations of the last few months, the very petition of the 480 priests, based as that petition was on their own anxious experiences, alike prove the utter and absolute necessity of these restrictions. In each system, in that which exists, and in that which is being introduced, one aspect of the object aimed at is really the same—avoidance of abuses, and of the dreadful shadows that ever are flung by the glare of this trying light. But how radically different are the methods of attaining the object!—the one the implied restraint of wise and charitable formularies; the other, the sort of practical limitation that results from the authorisation of accredited confessors. The one the loyal maintenance of the principle of the Reformation; the other not only a reactionary

modification of it, but, I hesitate not to say so, a clear and prelusive preparation for a return to the system of the Church of Rome.¹

I am using here no party expressions. I am not catching at the mere popular approval that still, in every meeting of clergy and laity follows the expression of these opinions; but, as I shall answer to God for these words, I do solemnly declare my conviction, that there neither is nor can be, consistently with the known laws of poor fallen human nature, any ultimate line of demarcation between the system of Confession that is now being adopted in the Church of England, and that carefully-adjusted and shrewdly-regulated system which is maintained by the Church of Rome. To make the *differentia* between the two systems the principle of non-compulsion is worse than illusory. It is really—I trust in God it is not consciously—misleading. To use the moral pressure that now is used, to hold up the nature of the blessings that come from it, to point to the holy ideal life to which it leads, is to use really a far stronger compulsion than simply to set forth the rule of a Church, which knows well, and is known to know well, the long-transmitted art of tempering the severity of rules by prudently-adjusted dispensations.

Let us, in God's name, bear to see things as they are. I know, nay I can even hear, with at least toleration, all that has of late been passionately urged by those who have had considerable home-missionary experience, in favour of an extension of the system of habitual and so-called Sacramental Confession. I know that it is urged that there are sins of youth, sins that cast their baleful shadows all along the course of a life, that can only be dealt with by the habit of early confession. I do not forget that

¹ It is ever painful to express the suspicions that are forced upon us in the progress of serious movements; but I am at last obliged to say that of late many things, and among them some of which I have had personal knowledge, have led me to fear that a sort of understanding has in some cases, actually taken place between members of the two Churches with the view of ultimate adjustment. Could there be any more potent ally to the Church of Rome at the present time than a member of our own Church, perhaps a married man, and so unable to take Orders in the Church of Rome, staying in our communion, and using all his influence to widen that communion into union or a uniate connection with Rome? Such a one might consider he was thus doing a duty to the whole Catholic Church, and if so, his action would only be the more determined and dangerous.

SECTION 2.—AURICULAR CONFESSION.

A TREATISE BY THE LATE DR. GOULBURN,
DEAN OF NORWICH,—abridged in the form of
a Review.³

Dr. Goulburn commences his consideration of this subject, by first showing how Auricular

it is said that there is nothing like the shame and sorrow of Confession to bring about a real conviction of sin, and to diminish the likelihood of its recurrence. I am aware that it is asserted to give that reality to the spiritual intercourse between the modern pastor and his people which we all feel to be so blessed and yet so rarely experienced. Nay, I will not refuse to believe that the practice of encouraging and hearing confession may exercise a sobering influence on the life of the individual clergyman, and may give a knowledge—often, however, a very corrosive knowledge—that cannot otherwise be always certainly obtained. All this I know; but I also know, independently of all that I have already urged, that on the bare merits of the question, and apart from all ecclesiastical considerations, the arguments on the other side are utterly overwhelming. Let all be said that can be said, and this terrible spiritual fact remains—that the danger of the confessor taking the place of Christ is found to be in practice irremovable. The evidence that can be collected on this subject is simply irresistible. Poor human love of power and poor human trusting in something other than Christ, both terribly co-operating, bear their daily witness to this appalling form of spiritual peril. There are a hundred other dangers—but all, really great as they are, sink into utter nothingness compared with this. Who would dare to incur such a danger when the practice of his own Church, and the counsels of the purest spirits that have lived and died in its communion have earnestly pressed home their ever-repeated warnings? Are we to build up again the things we destroyed? Are we to return to bondage from which the Holy Ghost has set us free? Are we to run the dreadful risk of making Christ of none effect by a worse than Galatian error?

No, it cannot be; it will not be. Sacramental Confession neither is nor ever will be the doctrine of our Apostolic and Reformed Church.²

² Among the many recent pamphlets on this subject in which the true teaching of the Church of England is set forth clearly and persuasively, I may mention a learned and interesting *Address* by the Bishop of Llandaff, delivered to the Archdeacons and Rural Deans of the Diocese (Rivingtons, Lond., 1873), and the following more recent sermons, all fully deserving to be referred to:—Canon Perowne, *Confession in the Church of England* (Macmillan, London, 1877); Conybeare, *Forgiveness Immediate* (Parker, Oxford, 1877).

Confession is practised in the Church of Rome. It is there declared to be an essential prerequisite to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, without having gone through which, we eat

³ From "Supplement to the Doctrine of the Holy Communion,"—3rd Chapter.

that bread and drink that cup of the Lord unworthily, and are 'guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.' " As taught in that Church, it has three distinguishing features—*Universality, i.e.*, binding on all; *Periodicity, i.e.*, to be practised at stated times, especially as a preparation for Holy Communion, Marriage, and other Sacraments; and, *Formality, i.e.*, with due method and solemnity. "When the Confession has all these features about it, *i.e.*, when it is recognized by the parties practising it as universally necessary to salvation (or, at least, to the soul's well-being); when it is offered and received regularly at stated periods; and when it is practised after a certain prescribed rule and method, and with ecclesiastical formalities, it is then Auricular Confession in full blossom. And in cases where it has the two latter features without the first,—where it is not distinctly recognized as necessary to salvation or spiritual health (in which case of course the priest himself would have to practise it as well as the penitent), but at the same time is carried on periodically and habitually as a normal practice of the spiritual life, and offered and received in set form and with the circumstantialities of a religious ordinance,—it is easy to see that in such cases it is tending in the direction of full-blown Auricular Confession, and only wants a little more development to become that. If it is once admitted that there is a very large number of persons who find stated periodic confession to a priest, made in due form, to be extremely helpful to their souls and very conducive to their growth in grace,—we may be sure that the erection of such a practice into an ordinance more or less indispensable is not very far off. And this we must not disguise from ourselves is the condition of affairs at which we, in the Church of England, have now arrived." So far from considering this practice harmless and salutary because mainly inculcated among the young, the Dean continues:—"Young people are to become old, and their moral and religious character will be stereotyped in youth. The girls of this generation are to be the mothers of the next; and who knows not the influence which a mother, if she pleases, can exercise in the formation of the religious character of her children? But even supposing that the class from which the recruits of the English Confessional are drawn were not in itself an influential class, or a class which could ever be expected to leaven public sentiment, is it not a serious fea-

ture of the case that some of our devoutest clergy, men of learning, ability, and the highest possible character, do openly and avowedly inculcate this sort of Confession, if not as absolutely indispensable to the forgiveness of sin (which for the present, at least, they disavow), yet certainly as very conducive to the health and well-being of the soul, and devote a considerable portion of their time to the hearing of it? That the practice recommended and enforced by them has already gained a good foothold in our Church is clear from the books of devotion which are circulated freely among us, books which undoubtedly contain passages of great beauty, and parts of which are very conducive to edification, while in other parts an attempt seems to be made to venture as near as possible to the margin of Romish error, and sometimes the barrier which separates us from the Roman Church and its corruptions seems to be over-leapt altogether."⁷

We are then shown a "Form for Sacramental Confession," which, as might be expected, is almost verbatim that used by the Romanists, although found in a manual of devotion for members of our own Church, of a description becoming widely used amongst us. Well, then, may our author say after this:—"We must not disguise from ourselves that Auricular Confession is becoming an established practice in the English Church."

The Dean then asks, while discussing the point of Formality, upon what authority is this practice being revived? and offers, as the only possible answer, the words in the First Exhortation to the Communion, and in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, carefully showing what a violent wrench must be applied to either of these passages to make them an encouragement to habitual auricular confession.

All our readers, we think, will agree with the Dean in his estimate of the enervating effect of the practice upon the soul:—"Then as to the periodical recurrence of auricular confession, which is a very dangerous feature of the system, perhaps its most dangerous feature, because such a recurrence must in some measure keep the soul in its inmost resorts and confidences hanging upon man instead of God, and make its piety a hothouse plant, weak and sickly, not manly and vigorous,—where is such a practice even hinted at in the Prayer Book? There is

⁷ See Appendix, Notes D. and E.

not the faintest indication in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick that the special Confession which the patient is to be moved to make, has been, or ought to have been, the regular practice of his life hitherto. And in the Communion Service we find no sort of intimation that the coming to the discreet and learned minister is to be resorted to as a normal practice of the spiritual life. It is merely a remedial measure recommended by way of meeting a temporary emergency. And let me add that this temporary emergency is not stated to be sin (though of course it may involve more or less of that), but the incapacity of a person, assumed to be well-disposed in the main, to quiet his own conscience. Scruples and doubtfulness of conscience are spiritual weaknesses and infirmities rather than sins."

But what support does Formal Confession find in Holy Scripture? Of all the passages—and Dr. Goulburn is the last man to wish to see any of them deprived of the smallest weight—to which our Church appeals in support of the Divine commission of her Ministers, not one favours the doctrine of Auricular Confession as defined above. "While Absolution is an ordinance of God, there is not a word in Holy Scripture to indicate that private Confession is." And nothing but unfair exegesis can father the custom of formal Auricular Confession upon any passage or passages of Scripture. We cordially advise our readers to study for themselves that part of the Dean's argument in which he recapitulates the practice of the Early Church in this matter, and if they will also take the trouble to study the authority which he uses, Bingham (*Antiquities*, Books xviii. and xix.), he will have no difficulty in seeing how widely we are departing from the early purity of Christianity in countenancing the practice under discussion. Very ignorant must those revivalists be, who, in the wise allowances made for special cases of conscience in our Prayer-Book, see any affinity to the distorted and cruelly exaggerated practice of the Roman Church:—"Most wise, considerate, and loving," says the Dean, "is this provision, which our Church has made for consciences either burdened or perplexed, or both—a provision which we rejoice to have in our Prayer-book, and the withdrawal of which we should feel to be a very serious flaw—a provision which it is much to be wished that many more persons would avail themselves of, as we

are assured that it would greatly conduce to edification. But to regard secret Confession to a priest as a Divine Institution, obligatory upon men's consciences, or even to make it a chronic devotional exercise, under the impression that it is very healthful to the soul, and a condition of profitable communion, this is a thing so totally different in kind from what the Prayer-book and our best divines do recommend, that it is hard to see how the attempt to confound the two things is otherwise than disingenuous and dishonest."

The part of the chapter in which Dr. Goulburn traces the desire for habitual private confession and absolution, is full of deep insight into the workings of the human heart, and illustrates admirably how every perversion of doctrine and discipline has its root in truth. So now he shows how this craving for the support of an arm of flesh is only the natural consequence of one of the profoundest wants of our being. It sounds so reasonable; it looks so salutary, that no wonder thousands are ready to follow the misleading guide: and to those who are disposed to do so, we trust these wise and gentle warnings will come with power:—"But for all its seeming, it is wrong in principle, and for that reason, when worked out, has been found to be fatally mischievous in results. It is wrong in principle, and has a fundamental flaw in it, because it is solemnly said in God's Law—'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: THOU SHALT NOT ADD THERETO, nor diminish from it'; and this whole system of Auricular Confession and Penance is plainly an addition to God's Word; it is a *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*. The utter and absolute silence of God's Word upon any such system as that now described, is itself the most eloquent condemnation of it. We need say no more than this in repudiating it:—'I look into my Bible, and I do not find it there.' For, powerful as must be the leverage of such a system upon the human conscience,—affecting deeply the condition of the souls submitted to it, as it *must* affect them (for such a practice never can be morally indifferent),—*would it not be found in the Bible, if the leverage were for good, if the system were really salutary?*"

The concluding part of the chapter is fraught with solemn, earnest expostulation addressed to those who have been subjected to the taint of this pernicious teaching. "Young men and

young women, beware of this yoke which it is sought to impose upon you, however specious the arguments by which it is recommended, and however devout, able, and learned the advocates may be, who would persuade you to submit to it!" . . . "When private formal Confession to the priest is pressed upon you as a divine ordinance, as a normal practice of the spiritual life, and an essential preliminary to a profitable Communion, then say with the Shunamite's husband,—‘Wherefore should I go to him to-day,’ when there is no ordinance to be administered by him, no ecclesiastical function to be discharged, when ‘it is neither new moon nor sabbath?’ Ah! wherefore indeed? Is not the High Priest, who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, tenderer, wiser, more loving than any human priest can be? If, by His constantly-accruing mercy and grace you are enabled in some good measure to discipline yourself, and are gaining a growing control over evil tempers and appetites, is not this walking alone better ten thousand times than walking on crutches?"

In concluding our notice of this part of the work, our readers will pardon us if we set side by side the golden-mouthed Orator and Bishop of the fourth century, with the devout and eloquent Divine of our Church in the nineteenth. First, then, for St. Chrysostom:—"I beseech you make your confession continually to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow servants, neither do I constrain thee by any necessity to discover thy sins unto men; unfold thy conscience before God, and show Him thy wounds and ask the cure of Him. . . . And He says to thee, ‘I do not compel thee to go into the public theatre, and take many witnesses. Confess thy sin in private to Me alone, that I may heal thy wound, and deliver thee from thy grief.’" Let us now listen to the heart-stirring appeal of the modern Divine. "What! shall Auricular Confession be (as some, even in our own Church, pretend) a practice essential to our spiritual health and well-being, a practice without which we cannot long keep straight, or go on right,—and shall we suppose that the wise and tender Father, who loved us so affectionately as to give His Son for us,—the Good Shepherd who gave His life and shed His blood for the sheep, and watches over them with a solicitude of which the strongest parental anxiety for a child is a very dim and

poor figure,—the Holy Comforter, who in the sacred Word hath revealed to us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, and surely hath kept back nothing that was profitable to us—have not made it known to us for our guidance and our good, have left for the discovery of man a beneficial and salutary practice of devotion, and which was certainly never recognized as obligatory by the Christian Church for the first ten centuries of her existence? It is inconceivable. The very supposition is an impeachment of God's care, of Christ's love, of the Spirit's wisdom." . . . "If, then, thou art conscious of sin, and wouldst have Absolution, come into the Church. Confess yourself as to that particular in the General Confession to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. Remember that the true Scapegoat, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, is in the midst of the two or three gathered together in His name. Confess thy sins, as it were, over Him, laying the sin upon His devoted head, that He may bear it away. Then listen intently, devoutly, believingly, to the announcement of pardon, or to the prayer for pardon, which His authorized minister makes over thee in His name. Take it to thy bosom, hide it in the folds of thy heart—that pardon—it is *thine*; as much designed for thee, as if there were none others kneeling at thy side to share it with thee. And thou shalt arise with a brightened conscience and a relieved heart, as an overcast sky is brightened, and a leaden landscape relieved, by ‘clear shining after rain.’"

May this earnest and sensible protest from the late Dean of Norwich, be a warning to us at the present time against the superstitious and Rome-ward tendency of those Mediæval practices which are now being revived—in defiance of all authority—by a disloyal party in our Church; some of which the English Church wholly rejected, and others restored to their original purpose—freed from the corruptions that had marred them—at her Reformation in the 16th century. The loyal attachment to the principles and teaching of our Church, which is a leading feature throughout his work, and the cogency of the Dean's arguments against the errors of the practices in question, afford a moral support to our own efforts in vindicating the same Anglican principles, which we are glad to acknowledge.

PART VI.—(*Second Division.*)

THE DOCTRINE OF MINISTERIAL ABSOLUTION.

A PASTORAL LETTER BY THE LATE RIGHT REV. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.¹

Few—whether Bishops or Priests—can have taken part in the service for the Ordination of Priests, and in pronouncing the words which are said over them at the laying on of hands on those who are ordained, without reflecting what thoughts will be produced by those solemn words in the minds of those who are ordained, and of others who are present at their Ordination.

Those words are as follows :—“Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments; in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

What do these words mean?

On the first portion of them, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” I will not now dwell. The objections which have been made by some to the use of them have been fully considered and answered by the writers whose names will be found in the note below.²

But the other part, viz. :—“Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven,” needs careful examination.

These words are derived from our Lord Himself, when speaking to the disciples after His Resurrection. (John xx. 22, 23) And by some among us the recital of them at the Ordination of Priests is supposed to invest those who are ordained, with a power which is specially, if not exclusively, to be exercised in the *Absolution* of penitents *confessing* their sins *privately* to the Priest; and, after such Confession, receiving the forgiveness of sins from him in the utterance of a special form of Absolution, in the following terms, or some equivalent to them :—“*I absolve*

thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—Amen.”

The consequences of such a construction of those words demand serious consideration.

On the one side, some who resent the enforcement—and even deny the use—of *private* confession, have been induced by that construction to express an earnest desire to alter the Ordination Service of the Church, and to expunge those words from it.

This wish has been recently uttered by some in the Church of Ireland; and consequently a serious misunderstanding, if not an open schism, appears to be imminent between the Church of Ireland,³ rejecting those words, on the one side, and the Churches of England and America, and our Colonies, retaining them, in their Ordinal, on the other.

But this is not all.

Whether the words in question are expunged from the Ordinal of a Church or no, they can never be erased from the Gospel of St. John; and they have ever been regarded by the Church as having a special reference to the Ordination of Christian Priests in every age; and if the construction put upon them by some, as above described, be true, no removal of them from the Ordinal will affect that construction, but rather will give it a sharper edge, by reason of the implied recognition of that construction even by those who greatly dislike it.

Yet further, if that construction be sound, then they, who are ordained Priests, will feel it to be their duty to urge all men to resort to private Confession; and they will think that the words said over their own heads at the most solemn hour of their lives, have been uttered in vain, and have been mere idle and empty sounds, unless they earnestly exhort their hearers to come to them for Confession.

Therefore we must expect that youthful Priests, in the fervour of their piety and zeal, will feel much distress of mind, as if they were unfaithful to their trust, and untrue to Christ, Who has given them their priestly Commission,

¹ From a copy presented by the Bishop to the Editor,—(now out of print.)

² Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, v. lxxvii., 5-7. Bp. Andrewes *Sermon on St. John*, xx. 22, 23. Works iii., 260, v., 82, ed. Oxford, 1813. Bp. Cosin, *Sermon vi.*, Vol. 1, p. 103, ed. Oxf. 1817. Dr. Nicholl's *Notes on the Common Prayer on the Ordering of Priests*, Lond., 1712.

³ See for example, the Rev. Canon Reichel's Speech in the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, p. 25, Dublin, 1873.

and as if they were guilty of hiding the talent entrusted to them at their Ordination, if they do not immediately betake themselves to hear Confessions, and if they do not all in their power to constrain all in their flocks, aged and young alike, to come to them as their ghostly fathers and spiritual physicians, for their souls' health, and to confess all their most secret sins to them, in order to receive forgiveness at their hands.

The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. In order, therefore, to ascertain the sense of those words used in the Ordination Service, we must enquire into their force as spoken by our Blessed Lord Himself to His ten Apostles on the Evening of His Resurrection from the dead.

First, then, those words preserve us against the stern and unmerciful heresy of the Novatians, who asserted that sins committed after baptism are irremissible; and those words assure us that Christ has left in His Church power to forgive sins; and therefore in the Creed it is said, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," to which article were added in some ancient symbols the words, "in the Holy Church."¹

Next, let us observe that the words of our Blessed Lord declare that remission of sins is effectually dispensed by the Christian Ministry. Christ did not say to His disciples, "Whosoever sins ye *attempt* to remit;" nor do the words, literally rendered, mean "Whosoever sins ye remit;" but, as speaking of a thing already effected, He says, "Whosoever sins ye *shall have remitted*, they have been remitted unto them;" and, therefore, the Latin version of those words is not "*Quorum remittetis peccata*," but, "*Quorum remisieritis peccata*."

Hence it is evident, that the work is not done by the Priest, except ministerially, and as an instrument in the hand of God, and by power and authority received from Him. For, "Who can forgive sins but God only?" (Mark ii. 7). "To Thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins," we say in our Communion Service; and it is a common thing with the Fathers of the ancient Church to prove the Godhead of Christ from the fact of His forgiving sins.² And S. Ambrose³

¹ See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. ix.

² See S. Irenæus, v. 17; S. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* Orat. iii; S. Augustine, Sermon 99, "Homo non potest peccata dimittere; illa quæ sibi a Christo dimitti credidit, Christum Deum esse credidit;" S. Jerome in Matth. ix; S. Chrysostom in Matth., Hom. 29. See Ussher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, p. 79, and Bingham, Book xix. 1.

³ S. Ambrose, *de Spiritu Sancto*, iii. 18; S. Augustine, Sermon 99, "Spiritus dimittit peccata; Spiritus Deus est."

also proves the divinity of the Holy Ghost from the words of Our Lord, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, etc., they are remitted unto them." For, (says S. Ambrose,) "Behold here, that sins are forgiven through the power of the Holy Ghost; men contribute their ministry for the remission of sins, but they do not exercise any right of power therein. They do not remit sins in their own name, but in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Ministers *pray* for the forgiveness, but the Godhead *grants* it. Their part is to obey; but the gift is from God." And Saint Chrysostom similarly says, in his homily on our Lord's words in St. John, "The whole work of forgiveness is of Divine favour and grace. It is God alone who gives what the priest dispenses; and however far our human philosophy may reach, it can never grasp the extent of that grace. I say not this in order that men may presume upon God's grace and be remiss, but in order that, although some priests may be careless, ye may not heap evils upon yourselves. And why do I speak of priests? Neither angels nor archangels can do any thing to affect the gifts which are bestowed on us by God; but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost provide them all; and the priest only lends his own tongue and hand in dispensing them."

By this true doctrine of the ancient Church we are guarded against the errors of some later times, and especially of those who have taught since the fourth Lateran Council in the 13th century, and the Council of Trent in the 16th century after Christ, that God has disabled and divested Himself of His power to forgive sins, except by the ministry of the Priest, and on terms which have been devised by men. We hold that the removal of sin from the soul is no priestly act, but the work of God alone. We do not say with the Church of Rome, that Absolution *takes away sin*, but that it assures us of God's gracious forgiveness of sin. Our assertion is that God has given the key of pardon to His Church, but that the key is God's key, and not man's, and that it has no power to open the gate of forgiveness, unless the hand which holds it is guided by God, and except the key moves in the wards of a true faith and sincere repentance in the sinner's heart.

And now let us enquire—How is this ministerial work of remission performed?

1. Christ Himself supplies an answer to this question. After His Resurrection He declared

to His disciples His Will that "Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His Name among all Nations," beginning at Jerusalem. (Luke xxiv. 47, cp. Acts iii. 19, xiii. 38). "In Christ," (says the Apostle of the Gentiles,) "we have redemption through His Blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace." (Eph. i. 7, Rom. iii. 24, 25.) St. Paul describes this work of preaching remission of sins, as "the Ministry of Reconciliation." "All things are of God (he says) who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the Word of reconciliation. Now, then, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." (2 Cor. v. 18-20.) Thus, then, the Ministers of Christ are rightly said to *remit sins*, because they awaken men from the sleep of sin, and dispose them to repentance by setting before them the terrors of the Lord for the guilty, and the promises of life eternal to the faithful, and by proclaiming in God's Name free pardon to all who repent and believe, through "the blood of Jesus Christ His Son which cleanseth from all sin," (1 John i. 7), and by preaching that Word which God, Who alone can remit sins by His own power, has appointed and commanded to be preached for the remission of sins. Thus they *remit sin*, just as Timothy is said by St. Paul to *save himself and those that hear him*, (1 Tim. iv. 16), because he ministered those things which Christ, Who is the only Saviour, had instituted and appointed for the salvation of man; and just as a Physician of the body is said to *heal a disease*, because he *applies* those medicines which the One Divine Creator and Healer has made and given for that purpose.

2. Next, the Priests of the Church may be rightly said to *remit sins*, because they minister the Holy Sacrament of Baptism which Christ has instituted for the remission of sins. St. Peter, having received a commission from Christ, preached in his first sermon this exhortation, "Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." (Acts ii. 38, cp. Acts xxii. 16, Eph. v. 26.) And, therefore, we say in the Creed, "I believe in one Baptism for the remission of sins."

I am writing, my dear friends, to those who revere the authority of the ancient Fathers of the Church, and I would remind you that the

Fathers in commenting on our Lord's words, "Whosoever sins ye remit, etc.," frequently apply them to the ministration of Baptism. Thus St. Cyprian,¹ Bishop of Carthage and Martyr, in the third century, having quoted those words applies them to that sacrament. And so St. Cyril of Alexandria.² Baptism is called by Tertullian³ "*felix aquæ sacramentum in quo ablutis delictis in vitam æternam liberamur*;" and it is called by St. Augustine,⁴ "*magna indulgentia (or principal remission) unde incipit omnis renovatio, in quâ omnis solvitur reatus et ingeneratus et additus.*"

But now it may be said, Do not Deacons administer Baptism, and if our Lord's words refer to the ministry of Baptism, why does the Church of England not use them in the Ordination of Deacons, but in that of Priests? To this question it may be replied, that those words of our Lord were addressed to the ten Apostles; and that the Apostles, strictly speaking, were not Priests but Bishops. The ancient Fathers teach, and the Church of England holds, that there are three orders of ministers in the Church of God,⁵ Bishops, Priests, Deacons. Bishops are successors of the Apostles; Priests succeed the seventy, of whom St. Luke writes⁶ (Luke x. 1-17). Deacons are successors of those whose ordination is described in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts vi. 1-6).

With reverence be it said, the reason why our Lord addressed these words to the Apostles was that the power of ministering the Sacraments, and even of Preaching, is primarily in Bishops, and subordinately in Priests and Deacons. According to the judgment of the ancient Church, the Apostolic Office,—and after it the Episcopate,—which have their origin in Christ, the great Apostle of our profession (Hebr. iii.), contains in it the primary principle and germ from which all the functions of the Priesthood and Diaconate are evolved and developed.

Thus St. Ignatius says,⁷ "it is not lawful to baptize, or to administer the Holy Communion

¹ Cyprian, *Ep.* 69, *ad Magnum*, p. 185, ed. Fell; and *Ep.* 73, *ad Jubaianum*, p. 201.

² S. Cyril, in *Joann.* c. 20.

³ Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. I.

⁴ S. Augustine, *Enchirid.*, c. 64.

⁵ See the Preface to the Ordination Services in the Book of Common Prayer.

⁶ See S. Jerome, *de Mansionibus*, Mans. vi., and *Theophylact* on S. Luke x. Bishop Andrewes says to Peter Moulin, in *Opuscula Postuma*, p. 183, and 210, ed. Oxf., 1852, and compare Vol. II., p. 63. "Everywhere among the Fathers, Bishops are said to have succeeded the Apostles and Presbyters the Seventy-two."

⁷ S. Ignatius, *Epist.*, *ad Smyrn.*, c. 8.

without the leave of the Bishop." And S. Ambrose says,¹ "although Priests baptize, yet the origin (exordium) of their power is from the Bishop;" and Tertullian,² and St. Jerome say, that neither Deacons nor Priests have power to administer baptism without the authority of the Bishop. In our own Church, Deacons have authority to baptize in "*the absence of the Priest*;" and in case of the baptism of adults, reference is to be made by Priests to the Bishop.

Let me here observe in passing, that they who preach and baptize without any sanction and commission from a Bishop, will not find any allowance of such a proceeding in the writings of Christian Antiquity.

I see no reason therefore to doubt the soundness of the opinion delivered by some of our most learned divines,³ following the ancient Fathers of the Church, that the words of our Blessed Lord, "Whosoever sins ye remit," contain a commission to administer the Sacrament of Baptism and to confer Absolution thereby.

3. It cannot be questioned that they also comprehend a power to consecrate the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which, as our Lord Himself declared, was instituted by Him for the remission of sins (Matt. xxvi. 28), and to give Absolution thereby to all penitent, faithful, and loving receivers of the Holy Eucharist who confess their sins to God. And, therefore, in our Office for that Sacrament, when we are about to confess our sins to Him and to receive those mysteries, we pray to God for grace "so to eat the flesh and drink the Blood of His dear Son, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood."

The Holy Communion is the true "Sacrament of Penance," after Baptism. It is of divine appointment for the pardon of sins. It has the essence of a Sacrament both in outward form and inward virtue; which cannot be said of the so-called "Sacrament of Penance." And

it is derogatory to its dignity, and to the honour of Him Who instituted it, to put anything else as "a Sacrament of Penance," with that title, in its place.

The doctrine of the so-called "Sacrament of Penance," as taught by the Church of Rome, is beset with contradictions; there is no consistency in her teaching as to what constitutes the form of the said Sacrament, and in what its matter consists (Hooker, VI. iv. 3. cp. Chemnit. *Examen. Concil. Trid. de Pœnit.*, c. iii.), and that Church makes satisfaction to be a part of the Sacrament of Penance (*Concil. Trident. Sessio xiv. 3*), and yet separates satisfaction from it, by pronouncing Absolution first, and by imposing works of satisfaction to be done afterwards: which is repugnant to the teaching of Scripture, and to the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church.

4. Another mode of remitting sins is by the prayers of the Priests of God. This is what St. James declares, when he exhorts the sick "to send for the elders," or priests of the Church, that they may pray over him, and his sins shall be forgiven (James v. 14, 15).

And therefore, S. Chrysostom says,⁴ combining various ways in which the Christian Priest remits sins, that they do it when they regenerate men (by baptism), and also when they do it by prayer, and he then quotes the words of St. James. And St. Ambrose,⁵ referring to our Lord's words (John xx. 23), says, "Men exercise their ministry in forgiving sins. They pray to God, and He gives pardon."

Thus, then, we may say in reply to the question, What is the force of the words, "Whosoever sins ye remit," spoken by our Blessed Lord to the Apostles on the evening of the Resurrection, after He had breathed upon them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," and spoken to the Priests of the Church of God at their ordination, that they contain a commission and a power derived from the Holy Ghost, given by the Eternal Son of the Father—to remit sin by applying those means which Christ has instituted and appointed for its remission; namely—

(1). The sincere Word of God duly preached. The declaration of remission of sins in Christ's Name to all those who repent and believe.

¹ S. Ambrose, *de Sacramentis* iii., 1.

² Tertullian, *de Bapt.* c. 17; S. Jerome, *Contra Luciferianos*, pt. ii. p. 295. ed. Bened. Paris, 1706; see Bingham, Book ii., chap. iii.

³ Such as Francis Mason, *De Ministerio Anglicano*, Book V., chap. x.; Dr. Isaac Barrow, *De Potestate Clavium*, Vol. iv. p. 58, ed. Lond., 1687; Bp. Jeremy Taylor, *Doctrine of Repentance*, chap. x. sect 4; Joseph Bingham, *Antiquities*, xix. 1, and his two excellent Sermons and two Letters to the Bishop of Winchester (Bp. Trelawny), on Absolution, at the end of his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. viii., Lond., 1829; also Bp. Jewel, *Apol.*, c. vi.; Abp. Bramhall on *Consecration*, &c., chap. xi., vol. iii., p. 167, ed. Oxford, 1814.

⁴ St. Chrysostom, *de Sacerdotio*, lib. iii. p. 88; ed. Hughes, Cant. 1710.

⁵ Ambrose, *de Spiritu Sancto*, iii., 18.

- (2). The Holy Sacrament of Baptism duly administered.
- (3). The Holy Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist rightly consecrated, and fully and freely dispensed.
- (4). The prayers of the Priesthood for the forgiveness of sins.

The Christian Priest, who faithfully discharges his duty in performing these functions of his ministry, may cherish a humble and joyful hope that the priestly commission has been given him for gracious purposes and glorious ends, and that the work of his ministry will be approved and rewarded at the great day by the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

It has indeed been said by certain writers¹ that some of these powers were given by Christ to His Apostles before His Resurrection, and had been exercised by them. For example, they had already been sent forth to preach (Matt. x. 7 ; Luke ix. 2) and baptize (John iv. 2). And therefore it is alleged, that the gift of these powers could not be implied in those words spoken by our Lord *after* His resurrection.

But, with deference to those who say this, it may be replied that, if a *general* commission to that effect had been given by Christ before His Resurrection, and a *general* ability to execute it, He would not have said, as we know from St. Matthew (xxviii. 19, 20), and St. Mark (xvi. 15), that he did *after His Resurrection*, "*Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them—Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*" Such words would have been superfluous. But the fact is, *before* the Resurrection no such command had been uttered ; no such unlimited power had been bestowed upon the Apostles ; the exercise of their ministry had been confined "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matth. x. 6), and within the narrow range of Palestine.

But after that He, Who alone has the Key of Death, and Who "openeth and no man shutteth" (Rev. i. 18, iii. 17), had opened the gate of Death by His Resurrection, He took into His hand the Key of Pardon, and unlocked also the doors of the prison-house of Sin, and put that Key into the hands of His Apostles and their successors, and breathed upon them the quickening breath of the life-giving Spirit (Rom. iv. 24 ; John vi. 63), and enabled them

to raise all, in every age and nation, from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, and gave them a charter of emancipation as free as air and as wide as the universe, and said, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them."

(5). We are now arrived at the consideration of the other means by which the Priests of God's Church remit sin, namely, by *pronouncing Absolution*.

This is done either *publicly* or *privately*.

It is done publicly by them in our daily office of Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the celebration of the Holy Communion.

It is clear that the Church regards the words then uttered as having power to convey an assurance of remission of sins to every one there present who is qualified by faith and repentance to receive it.

Let us refer to the Book of Common Prayer. There we read (after the introductory Sentences and the Exhortation, calling to repentance and acknowledgment of sin), "A General Confession to be said of the congregation after the Minister, *all kneeling* ;" and after the Confession, "*the Absolution or Remission of sins to be pronounced by the Priest alone standing, the people still kneeling.*"

A similar order is followed at the Holy Communion. "After the Confession, to be said by all *kneeling*," "then shall the Priest, or the Bishop, being present, stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution." The Church of England does not say with the Church of Rome, that Absolution is a Sacrament of the Gospel,² and confers grace, as the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper do. But it is evident that the Church of England intends that the words publicly pronounced by the Priest in Absolution should be regarded as having power to convey a comfortable assurance to those who are conscious to themselves of sin, and also of sincere faith and repentance. She expressly calls each of these forms an *Absolution* ; and her intention is to certify every penitent and faithful person there present, and confessing his sins to God, Who searcheth the heart, that God, Who alone can forgive sins, uses and blesses the ministry of His

¹ Cornelius a Lapide, on John xx. 22, and compare Bishop Andrewes on John xx. 23. Vol. V., p. 95.

² See Article xxv. and the Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments, p. 330, ed. Oxf., 1822, "Absolution is no such Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are." Cp. Hooker VI. iv. 3, who observes that it was never regarded as a Sacrament instituted by Christ for the conveyance of Grace till 13th century. See also, *Ibid.*, VI. vi. 4.

chosen and appointed servant the Priest, and gives remission of sins by means of the ministry which Christ has instituted; and that so our Lord's promise is fulfilled, "Whatsoever ye shall loose" (literally *shall have loosed*) on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; (Matth. xviii. 18), and "whose soever sins ye remit (literally *shall have remitted*), they are (literally *have been*) remitted unto them."

It is much to be deplored that these two forms of Absolution (viz., in the daily office of our Church, and in the Holy Communion) are now disparaged and despised by some among us, as if these forms were almost powerless and valueless, and had little relevance to the question of Confession and Absolution.

The great divines of the more learned days of the Church of England did not deem so lightly of them.

Let any one read what Richard Hooker¹ has written concerning the Absolution in the Morning and Evening Prayer. I will quote his words:—"It standeth with us in the Church of England, as touching public Confession, thus:—First, seeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our sins, in which confession every man, prostrate as it were before His glorious Majesty, crieth guilty against himself; and the Minister, with one sentence, pronounceth universally all clear whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not, under the general terms of Confession, represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever; and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such complements are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce His gifts. If with us there be 'truth in the inward parts,' as David speaketh, the difference of general and particular forms in Confession and Absolution is not so material, that any man's safety or ghostly good should depend upon it."

So far Richard Hooker. And is it not also true that our best divines were ever of opinion that thanks are due from us to Almighty God that He had put it into the mind of the Church

of England to place these forms of Absolution in her Office; and that, on account of the wisdom given her in this respect, she is justly an object of admiration and envy to other Churches? Is not this the language of Bishop Cosin,² of Joseph Bingham,³ of Dean Comber,⁴ and others? These our wise and pious forefathers would have felt sorrow and shame that we should unthankfully despise what they most lovingly esteemed as a precious gift of God to the Church of England, and to all faithful and penitent members of it.

We find that these forms of Absolution are now undervalued by some, for two reasons,

(1) because they are declaratory and precatory, that is, because in them the Priest *declares and pronounces* forgiveness in God's Name, and for Christ's Sake, as in the daily Office; or else that (as in the Communion Service) he *prays* for the bestowal of pardon from God on those who have confessed their sins; but does not say "*I absolve thee from thy sins*," and because in their opinion (as in that of the Trent Council),⁵ the principal force of the form of what the Church of Rome calls the Sacrament of Penance consists in the use of those words, "*Ego absolvo te*," and that consequently the use of *that* form is necessary; and further

(2) because the above words of Absolution are spoken *in public* to many persons confessing their sins to God, and not *in private* to one singly confessing his sins to the Priest.

With regard to the first of these reasons we may reply, that, if it had any weight, there was no such thing as any Absolution of sins pronounced for eleven hundred years after Christ, inasmuch as it is unquestionable that all the forms of Absolution used in the Church during that time were declaratory⁶ or precatory, and

² Bishop Cosin, *Notes on the Order for Morning Prayer*. Third Series, Vol. v. p. 443, cp. *Ibid.* p. 47.

³ Bingham, Vol. viii. p. 416, 417. ⁴ Dean Comber, *Companion to the Temple*, Part I, Sect. iv. Dr. Bisse, *on the Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer*, Sermon ii. p. 37.

⁵ Concil. Tridentin. Sess. xiv. Cap. 3, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, Pars. iii. qu. 84, cp. Hooker, VI. iv. 3.

⁶ Peter Lombard, one of the greatest Roman Catholic divines and schoolmen of the twelfth century, the scholar of St. Bernard, and professor of theology at Paris, afterwards Bishop there (A.D. 1160), and commonly called the "Master of the Sentences," affirmed that all forms of Absolution were in fact declaratory. See the remarkable words in his *Libri Sententiarum*, Lib. iv., Distinct 18, p. 375, ed. Paris, 1841. He thus speaks:—"It is evident from what has been said, that God Himself releases the penitent from liability to punishment; and He releases him then when He enlightens his soul and gives him true contrition of heart. Therefore, he is not loosed from everlasting wrath by the priest to whom he confesses his sin, but he is already

the form, "I absolve thee" (although an allowable form¹ when rightly applied), was not used till the eleventh century after Christ and has not been used in the Greek Church to this day.

This is acknowledged by the most learned divines of the Church of Rome herself,² and has been shown at large by our own writers.³

No one, who is acquainted with the practice of the Catholic Church of God for a thousand years, would venture to censure or disparage the forms of Absolution contained in our daily office, and at the Holy Communion, because they are declaratory and precatory. In doing so he would be setting himself against the Church universal, which used no other forms before the eleventh century. Robert Nelson informs us that Bishop Bull, in his last illness, preferred the use of the form in the Communion Office as most primitive and catholic. (*Life*, p. 393).

The second allegation is, that the virtue of Absolution consists in the private exercise of the priestly office on the souls of individuals in the Confessional; and that our Lord's words had special reference to that exercise.

This, then, brings us to examine the question of private Confession.

What is to be said concerning it?

First let it not be supposed⁴ that we would in the least degree disparage that sober and comforting use of "the ministry of reconciliation,"⁵ which Holy Scripture and the Primitive Church sanction, and which the Church of England

loosed by God, to whom he has made his confession." And Peter Lombard then quotes S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome to the same effect; and compares the work of Absolution to the raising of Lazarus from the grave. Lazarus was raised by Christ, Who afterwards commanded His disciples to loose him from his grave clothes, and let him go, (John xi. 44.) So it is with the penitent. And (following S. Jerome in his note on Matth. xvi.) he illustrates it by the act of the Levitical priests, who declared the leper to be clean, and to be restored to communion with the people of God; but the act of healing was the act of God, and of God alone; and "God records not so much the sentence of the priest as the heart and life of the penitent."

¹ See Bingham, xix. ii. 6.

² e.g. Morinus, *de Penitentia*, lib. viii. c. 8. The work of Thomas Aquinas in defence of that form may be seen in his works, vol. xix., p. 176. ed. Venet, 1787.

³ e.g. Abp. Ussher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, p. 89; see also Bp. Fell in his edition of *St. Cyprian, De lapsis*, p. 136; and Marshall in his learned work on the *Penitential Discipline of the Ancient Church*, chap. iii., sect. iv.; Bingham, *Antiquities* xix. ii., and vol. 8, p. 450-454.

⁴ Some sentences which follow have been printed by the Author in the Twelve Addresses delivered at his Visitation in 1873.

⁵ 2 Cor. v. 18.

commends to her children, in special cases, in the Exhortation to the Holy Communion, and in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick.⁶ We do not forget that our best divines have recommended it, in certain circumstances, and under certain conditions,⁷ and that the most celebrated foreign Reformers, Calvin, Beza, and the authors of the Lutheran "Confession,"⁸ have done the same. On the contrary, we feel persuaded that in this, as in other matters, the abuse of what in special cases and under certain restrictions is good and wholesome, holy and wise, has created a prejudice against the use of it.

The Church of England, in her Exhortation to the Holy Communion, recommends private confession of sin to those of her children who "cannot otherwise quiet their own consciences, but require further comfort and counsel." And in her office for the Visitation of the sick she says that if the sick person feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, he is to be moved by the Priest to make a special Confession of his sins.

The reasons why she does this in the former of these two special cases are clearly stated by herself in that Exhortation; and the causes why she does it in the latter are declared by Hooker,⁹ as follows—"They who during life and health are never destitute of ways to elude repentance, do, notwithstanding, oftentimes when their last hour draweth on, both feel that sting which before lay dead in them, and also thirst after such helps as have been always till then unsavoury. . . . Yea, because to countervail the fault of delay, there are in the latest repentance oftentimes the surest tokens of sincere dealing, therefore, upon special confession made to the minister of God, he presently absolveth, in this case, the sick party from all his sins by that authority which Jesus Christ hath committed to him."

But surely, to infer from these two exceptional cases, that the Church of England authorizes her Ministers to recommend private Confession as a regular practice is strangely to pervert her words, and to affirm that she intends her Clergy to feed her children with medicines which she has provided for the sick.

Again, she exhorts those who are troubled in

⁶ Compare Hooker VI., iv. 6 and 15.

⁷ e.g., Bp. Jewel, *Apol.* p. 158, ed. 1611; Hooker, VI. iv. 15, and VI. vi. 5.

⁸ Calvin, *Institut.* iv. c. 1; Beza, homil. 16, in *Hist. Resurrect.*, p. 394. 395; *Confessio Augustin.* Art. xi. xii. *Chemnit.* p. 373, 394.

⁹ Hooker VI. iv. 5.

mind, and who cannot quiet their own consciences, to resort "to some *discreet and learned* minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may have the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." But some among us would invert this order; they would constrain the people of a parish to come habitually and confess to their minister, who may be some youthful priest, perhaps neither learned nor discreet, and who may be more able to create scruples and doubtfulness in the minds of others, than to quiet them by the ministry of God's Holy Word.

And some would persuade us that the solemn words of our Blessed Lord, pronounced at the Ordination of Priests at the laying on of hands, have been spoken to little purpose unless the newly made Priest applies himself at once to exercise his ministry by hearing private Confessions and by pronouncing private Absolutions.

The Church of Rome wisely requires that a person who undertakes the difficult and responsible office of hearing Confessions should be eminent in theological science, learning, and wisdom.¹

This is a grave and serious matter. In the medical treatment of our perishable bodies, quackery is punishable by law. Surely spiritual empiricism, which may jeopardize the health of immortal souls, ought not to escape scot-free. The physician of the body is not allowed to write a prescription without having obtained a diploma: and shall any one venture to undertake the office of a Penitentiary in the Church

of God without being duly qualified and authorized to do so? Heaven forbid! I confess that when I think of devout persons, especially young women, of ardent affections and delicate sensibilities, being invited, and almost constrained, perhaps by some youthful priest, to resort habitually to private Confession, I shudder at the thought. By so doing, instead of looking up to God as their loving Father, having His ear open to their prayers, and ever ready to receive them, on their faith and repentance, as His dear children in Christ, they are led to look to a man, and to seek comfort and forgiveness of him. They put themselves under his dominion and thus submit their will, reason, and conscience to him, and rob Christ of themselves, whom He has purchased with His own Blood.² And further, by being tempted to brood over their own spiritual sensations, emotions, and symptoms, and to talk or write of them to their chosen spiritual guides, they are in danger of acquiring an egotistical spirit of self-consciousness, and of morbid and hypochondriacal sentimentalism, and to lose that healthful vigour and genuine freshness and holy beauty of soul which are produced and cherished by direct communion with God, and by looking upward to Him, and by losing self in adoration of Him, and in zeal for His glory, and in love for His presence in the heart—which is the life of angels. I shrink from the thought of the anatomical dissection of consciences to which such votaries are required to submit, and from that long catalogue of interrogatories, which may be seen in any "Manual of Confession"—as taught and practised by the Church of Rome—and which are an outrage against purity, modesty, and virtue.

It is earnestly to be hoped, for reasons such as these, that the desires and intentions of some persons to introduce the practice of private Confession into English schools, public and private, may never be realized. The condition of schools in France, where such a practice prevails, is deplored by all who know them. And it is certain that the habit of going to Confession would give occasion to levity among the scholars, by ministering topics for loose talking and jesting among them, and thus be a cause of irreverence and profaneness.

But while I say this, let me earnestly exhort and entreat my reverend Brethren to cultivate habits of *personal* intercourse with their parishioners, especially the young, in preparing them for *Confirmation*; and as members of *communi-*

¹ See the Trent Catechism, pt. ii., cap. v. qu. 49, where this rule is laid down, "Ut hujus sacramenti minister tum scientiâ et eruditione tum prudentiâ præditus sit. Judicis enim et medici simul personam gerit. Ex quo poterunt fideles intelligere, cuius maximo studio curandum esse, ut eum sibi sacerdotem eligat, quem vitæ integritas, doctrina, prudens iudicium, commendat, qui, quæ cuicque sceleris pena conveniat, et qui vel solvendi vel ligandi sint, optime noverit." Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in his "Monita ad Confessores" of his diocese, thus writes:—"Let no secular or regular priest presume to minister the sacrament of penance (in this diocese) unless he has first obtained from us a written licence and faculty to do so, as the Council of Trent prescribes; otherwise he will have incurred excommunication *ipso facto*." It would be well if priests of the Church of England, who are eager to constrain others to come to them for confession, would carefully read these "Monita ad Confessores" of one of the wisest and holiest Bishops of the Church of Rome. In the Greek Church (says Dr. Covel on the "Greek Church," p. 252) "a confessor ought to be a most learned casuist, and be at least forty years old."

² 1 Cor. vi. 20, vil. 23; Gal. v. 1.

cant classes. And let me request you to urge upon them the importance and necessity of regular *self-examination*—daily, if possible; and for this purpose, I would ask you to recommend to each of them some good Manual of self-examination; such as may be found in Bishop Ken's *Exposition of the Church Catechism*.

Private Confession is exacted by the Church of Rome, which has converted penance into a Sacrament: and she by requiring private Confession as a pre-requisite to the Holy Communion, places one Sacrament, made by herself, as a bar to the reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, instituted by Christ.¹ And whereas the Holy Spirit says, by St. Paul, "Let a man *examine himself*, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup,"² she says, "Let a man confess to a Priest and submit himself to be examined by a Priest and so let him come to Communion;" and also, whereas St. John³ says, "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins," she ventures to say that it is necessary to resort to the human minister in order to obtain pardon from God, Whose servant he is. And Confession in the Church of Rome is not so much a voluntary unburdening of sorrow on the part of the penitent, as an inquisitorial scrutiny of the penitent on the part of the priest.

Holy Scripture speaks much concerning the duty of repentance, but in no case does it require Confession, as a matter of necessity, to anyone but God.

The examples of acknowledgments of sin which are mentioned in the New Testament as being made to men, are either public avowals of public sin, as that of those who came to St. John's Baptism,⁴ and of the men at Ephesus,⁵ and of St. Paul at Jerusalem for his share in the death of St. Stephen;⁶ or else they were Confessions of wrong done to a brother, and with a petition for pardon from him, as those specified by St. James.⁷ To cite again the words of Richard Hooker:⁸ "There are men that would seem to honour Antiquity, and none more to depend on the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm that for many hundred years after Christ, the Fathers held no such opinion concerning our Saviour's words, 'Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are re-

tained' (John xx. 23); they did not gather by our Saviour's words any such necessity of seeking the Priest's Absolution from sin by secret and (as they now term it) Sacramental Confession; public Confession they thought necessary by way of discipline, not private Confession as in the nature of a Sacrament necessary." Again, he says, (VI., iv. 14): In the times of the Holy Fathers "it was not the faith and doctrine of God's Church as it is of the Papacy at the present time, (1) that the only remedy for sin after Baptism is Sacramental penitency; (2) that Confession in secret is an essential part thereof; (3) that God Himself cannot now forgive sin without the Priest; (4) that because forgiveness at the hands of the Priest must arise from Confession in the offenders, therefore Confession unto him is a matter of such necessity as being not either in deed or at the least in desire performed excludeth utterly from all pardon. No, no; these opinions have youth in their countenance. Antiquity knew them not; it never thought or dreamed of them."

Public Confession is recommended to penitents by Tertullian⁹ and by Cyprian¹⁰ and St. Ambrose¹¹ with a view of obtaining the benefit of the prayers of the Church. In the third century, as it seems,¹² in order to obviate the scandals that arose "from the multitude of public penitents," the Greek Church appointed some one presbyter to be a penitentiary in each church to receive voluntary Confessions in private, with a view to public penance, if requisite, and consequent Absolution by the Bishop. But this office was abolished by Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, at the end of the fourth century,¹³ and the successor of Nectarius, St. Chrysostom, in several places gives as his counsel to penitents to confess their sins to God; but expressly disclaims any intention or desire of making them confess to man;¹⁴ and so in like terms St.

⁹ Tertullian, *De Penitent*, c. 9 and c. 10; Bingham, Book XVII., chap. iii.

¹⁰ S. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, c. 14.

¹¹ S. Ambrose, *De Penitentia*, ii. 7; *Quid vereris apud bonum Dominum tuas iniquitates fateri?* and ii. 10. *Fleat pro te Mater Ecclesia: amat Christus ut pro uno multi rogent.*

¹² See Mr. Keble on Hooker, VI., iv. 9.

¹³ Socrates, H. E., v. 19; Sozomen, vii. 16. Cp. Hooker, VI., iv.

¹⁴ S. Chrysostom, *Homil.* xxxi., *Epist. ad Hebraeos*, Tom. xii., p. 289, ed. Montfaucon, and *De Incomprehensibili Dei naturâ*, *Homil.* v., sec. 7, Tom. i., p. 490, where he says, "I do not lead thee into a theatre of thy fellow-servants, or compel thee to reveal thy sins to men; unfold thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds to Him, and beseech Him to heal them." Cp. Bingham, Book XV., chap. viii., sec. 6, and Book XVIII., chap. iii.

¹ *Council, Lateran*, IV., A.D. 1215, can. 21; *Conc. Trident.* Sep. XIII., cap. 7, can. 11; *Catechism. Rom.*, Part II., cap. iv., qu. 43. Cp. Hooker VI., iv. 3.

² 1 Cor. xi. 28.

³ 1 John i. 9.

⁴ Matt. iii. 6.

⁵ Acts xix. 18.

⁶ Acts xxii. 20.

⁷ James v. 14, 16.

⁸ Hooker, VI., iv. 6.

Augustine.¹ At that time, Confession of secret sins to God alone was the practice of the Church.²

Public offenders were put to public penance, but the Confession of secret sins was left to the discretion and conscience of those who committed them.³

Indeed, if private Confession and private Absolution were, as some allege, necessary to the spiritual health of the soul, it must be acknowledged that the Church of God was in a state of spiritual sickness from the time of the Holy Apostles for 1,200 years; for it was not till the year after Christ 1215, that private Confession was made obligatory even by the Church of Rome,⁴ and then only once a year.

Our own Church expresses a desire⁵ for the restoration of ancient public discipline. Let us help her in her endeavours for this purpose; and in order that we may do this more effectually, let us imitate her wisdom and moderation in following the rule of Scripture and the Primitive Church with regard to private Confession.

And now, my dear friends, let me say a few words in conclusion. In the controversies on this subject, which now agitate the minds of many among us, let us endeavour, with God's help, to cherish a spirit of calmness and of love. In the strifes of earth let us lift up our hearts to the peace of heaven. Let us praise God for the blessings He has bestowed on us in the Church of England, where we enjoy, by His mercy, all things necessary for our growth in grace on earth, and for the attainment of everlasting glory in heaven. Let us bless Him for the wisdom He has given to the Church of England to pursue a middle course between two opposite extremes.

On the one side, let us shun the error of those who do wrong to Him, and injure their own souls, and those of others, by scorning those spiritual comforts which He offers by the ministry of the Christian Priesthood, deriving its authority from Christ, Who breathed on the Apostles and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost; Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them."

On the other side, let us avoid the dangerous delusion of those who do dishonour to God and to Christ, and restrain and curtail His free grace and mercy to the wounded and bleeding soul, by teaching that there is no remedy for mortal sin after baptism, but by "the Sacrament of Penance;" and that no contrition of the heart, and no confession of the lips, are of any avail, without the intervention of a spiritual guide; and that no reparation of wrong, no amendment of life, no works of piety and mercy, no fasting, no almsgiving, are of use to the penitent, except imposed by a confessor; and who bind all men upon pain of everlasting condemnation to make private Confession of every great offence that they know and remember that they have ever committed against God, and who affirm that He will never pardon our sins unless we first reveal them to a Priest, or earnestly desire to do so.⁶

Of these two errors, that which I have just described has, by an excess of reaction common in human affairs, produced the former. If, therefore, we are desirous for the sake of Christ and of His Church, that the Christian Priesthood should receive due honour from the People, let us beware of claiming more for it than has been granted to it by Christ, lest by lording it over God's heritage (1 Peter v. 3) we forfeit the reverence of those whose love is a precious talent entrusted to us by Him.

The gift of pardon for sin is from God alone. But the assurance of the bestowal of the gift is conveyed to us by the ministry of the Priesthood; the act of which, in pronouncing Absolution, is a proof to us of the reality of the gift, because the ministry of the Priesthood was instituted and appointed by Christ, and is commissioned by Him to certify us of the fact of the gift. The act of the Priest or Bishop, *standing up* in the congregation, while we are kneeling on our knees, and in *that* attitude of authority pronouncing Absolution and invoking God's pardon upon us, in the Name of God, "Who hath given power and commandment to His ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the Absolution and remission of their sins," is like a royal seal and authentic sign-manual attached to a reprieve, brought by a royal officer and delegate to a

¹ S. Augustine, *Confession*, x. 3; *Quid mihi cum hominibus, ut audiant Confessiones meas?*

² See Bingham, chap. iii., and Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, chap. 2, sec. 1. p. 43, ed. Oxford, 1844.

³ Marshall, p. 44; Bingham, Book XV., chap. viii., sec. 6.

⁴ At the Fourth Lateran Council, *Canon 21* Concil. ed. Labbe, xi., p. 172. That private Confession was not enforced in the twelfth century is clear from the words of Gratian, in *Jus Canonicum Dist. de Penitentia*, c. 79.

In the beginning of the Communion Service.

⁶ See *Concil. Tridentin.* Sess. xiv. capp. 1—9, *de Sacramento Penitentiae*; Bellarmine, lib. iv. *De Penitentia*, Tom. iii., ed. 1615, pp. 376—482, especially lib. iii., p. 435, where he says "that no one who has sinned after baptism, can be restored without the ministry of the Priest." Perrone, *de Penitentia*, pp. 344—354, ed. Paris, 1842. Cp. Hooker, VI. vi. Bingham, vol. viii., p. 432.

penitent criminal, and assuring him of pardon from his Sovereign.

The Dove, which the Patriarch Noah saw returning to him in the evening into the Ark, with the olive leaf plucked off in her mouth, was *not a cause* of the assuaging of the waters of the Flood (Gen. viii. 2), but it was a sign and assurance to him that they were assuaged, and filled his heart with thankfulness and joy. The waggons which Joseph had sent, and which the Patriarch Jacob saw coming to him from Egypt into Canaan, to carry him to his beloved son, whom he had thought to be dead (Gen. xlv. 27), were *not a cause* of Joseph's restoration to life and to his father, but they were a sure sign and confirmation to him of that which he had hardly hoped, but which he now fully believed, and therefore "his spirit revived, and he said, It is enough. Joseph, my son, is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die." (Gen. xlv. 28).

Let us also recognize in our appointed office of ministering the Holy Word and Sacraments, which God has instituted as means and instruments for the forgiveness of iniquities, and in our daily function of declaring and pronouncing Absolution and remission of the sins of others, a constraining motive to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, and to endeavour to perfect holiness in the fear of God. (James i. 27; 2 Cor. vii. 1.) "Physician, heal thyself." (Luke iv. 23.) It is an unseemly thing in the eyes of God and men to profess to cleanse others, while we ourselves are unclean; and to pretend to wash away the stains of others, while our own hearts and hands are defiled by sin. Therefore "be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord." (Isaiah lii. 11).

Next, since the Priests of God's Church are spiritual physicians, and ought to be able to prescribe and apply those spiritual medicines which are needed by the sick soul; conscious to itself of sin, and in doubt, sorrow, and distress, and even in agony and anguish of spirit, therefore they ought to be diligent and unwearied in the study of God's Holy Word, and of such other sacred learning, as may best qualify them by the grace given to earnest prayer for the due discharge of their office in this difficult matter.¹ "The Priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth." (Malachi ii. 7).

To our lay brethren let me also say,—You

owe a debt of reverence, gratitude, and love to the Christian Priesthood. It might have pleased God to save you without its help. He might have saved you without its ministry, or without any means of grace at all. But in order to bind you more closely to us, and to join us to you in the bonds of the nearest and dearest affection, He has made our office in ministering the means of pardon and grace,—the Word of God and Sacraments, and Prayer,—to be necessary to your salvation, where ever they may be had. And let no one imagine our ministry to be a feeble thing, although, in declaring and pronouncing Absolution and Remission of sins in the daily office of Morning and Evening Prayer, or in invoking God's pardon and blessing upon you in the Holy Communion, or in lifting our hands over you in the stillness of the private chamber, in the hours of sickness and of death, and in saying those solemn words,—“By Christ's authority, committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,”—we do not claim for ourselves the power to give pardon, but only as heralds sent from God Himself, to certify and assure you, that He is ever ready to be gracious to you for His dear Son's sake, and that if you have true repentance, lively faith, and fervent love to God and man, and are resolved to forsake your sins, and to make reparation for them, and heartily pray for pardon from Him, and for the Grace of the Holy Ghost to enable you to keep your good resolutions of amendment, He has washed away your sins in the Blood of Christ, and will remember them no more. And let no one persuade you, that by whatever name these forms of Absolution may be called, whether they be declaratory, or precatory, or indicative, it matters little by *whom* they are pronounced, and that they may as well be uttered by an unordained person, as by a Priest of the Church of God. But be sure that God will bless your faithful, obedient, and loving use of that Apostolic Ministry, which Christ has instituted for conveying God's pardon to you, and in which the Divine Breath of Christ still lives and moves, which He breathed on the Apostles themselves on the evening of His Resurrection, when He said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them."

I am, my dear friends,

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

Riseholme, Lincoln,

C. LINCOLN.

Epiphany, 1874.

¹ See Bishop Bull's Sermon. Sermon vi, "The Priest's office difficult and dangerous."

SECT. 2. AURICULAR CONFESSION AND PRIESTLY ABSOLUTION TESTED BY ANTIQUITY, AND BY THE FORMULARIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *By the late Very Revd. F. Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle.*¹

[After showing the several forms of Absolution to be found in the liturgies of the Early Church, and in the Western Church until the 12th Century, and also those still existing in the Eastern Churches,—the Dean proceeds:]

I. A careful perusal of all these and other like forms must establish the fact that private confessions were not allowed; that after public confession of the scandal or offence committed by the penitent, the absolution pronounced by the bishop or chief minister in the name of the whole tribunal was in every case *precatory*—a solemn prayer to God to forgive him. Nor can a single instance be found in these Eastern formularies of any authoritative absolution pronounced by priest or bishop. Nor is this all. The reader will be perhaps surprised to find those solemn words on which Romanists and Anglicans rest their Divine authority to absolve from sins, here repeatedly used in prayer in a sense directly opposed to their opinions, as a plea with God for His dear Son's sake who uttered these words, ("Whosoever sins ye remit, &c.") to absolve the sinner from his guilt. The universal Church for twelve hundred years asked of God as alone able to do it,—to absolve from sin. That Divine act was subsequently in corrupt times presumptuously claimed by the priesthood, who desire now to revive it among ourselves.

Thus we have one continued and unbroken testimony of all the primitive Churches, in their authorized formularies for twelve hundred years: we have that of the Church of Rome herself, and of the Western Churches, of the Greek and Eastern Churches, and of our own British Church, in none of which was any such form of absolution, private and personal, or public, ever sanctioned or used. Any Roman priest or Anglican who presumes to receive private confession and to pronounce absolution, assumes an office, and affects a power utterly unknown for the first twelve hundred years after Christ! He offends against a universal *consensus* of the early Christian Church.

But the Anglican rests his credentials for this act upon the words of our Lord engrafted in our Ordination Service;—and not without some show of authority, he asks, "If I have not this power why were those solemn words addressed to me

when I was ordained by the bishop himself?—'Receive ye the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'"

How these words found place in our ordinal will be one of the subjects about to be examined; but a startling fact is here substantiated regarding them by means of these ancient formularies, a fact little known, and probably kept out of sight by those who knew it,—namely, that *these important words were not found in any ordinals of the universal Church prior to the twelfth century! And that neither the Greek, nor any of the many Eastern Churches, possess them to this day!*

This fact, if substantiated, strikes at the root of the authority supposed to be conferred by the use of these words in the Ordination Service. If they form a vital and essential part of the ordinal,—if, in fact, without them none can be rightly ordained, nor possess the power of absolution, then were there no bishops, priests, nor deacons rightly ordained for twelve hundred years, and the virtue of apostolic succession is lost! I see no escape from the horns of this dilemma: the conclusion seems inevitable,—AURICULAR CONFESSION AND PRIESTLY ABSOLUTION were not held, used, nor taught for twelve hundred years in the universal Church; and for an obvious reason, because the mystic words supposed to confer such a Divine power had no existence in any ordinal or form of ordination in the universal Church during that period! The evidence of this vital fact again rests on pre-reformation and Roman Catholic authority; and therefore, is above suspicion of prejudice.

Morinus, the ablest and most learned of Romanists who have written on ancient ritual, bears this testimony:—

"This last laying on of hands, with the formula 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained', belongs in no manner whatever to the substance of the priesthood, but is a ceremony recently added by the Latins. The most ancient of the ritualists of the Greek Church, as well as the modern ones, represent to us nothing of all this, as may be seen by every one who examines these in detail. It is a ceremony altogether unknown to them, yet they have true orders, orders that are approved by the Church of Rome. It relates, therefore, not to the essence of the orders, but is a ceremony that increases and adorns the seemliness of ordination. The whole of that ceremony, whether as relates to the

¹ From Sermons preached in Carlisle Cathedral.

matter, or to the form, or to the circumstances, was unknown in the Church of God for twelve hundred years. No ritualist before that period records it, although they are copious, and describe in detail every rite of trifling importance; even some who are far more modern and diffuse, omit to mention it."—Par. III. cap. 2. sec. 1.

Morinus also gives the first ordinal in which this form appears, and fixes the date in the thirteenth century.

Evidence more complete, or more unimpeachable to a great historical fact can hardly be conceived. With eighteen Roman ordinals before him, and with all the Greek and Eastern Ordination Services in his hand, this is the deliberate testimony of this great Roman Catholic liturgiologist! May we not until such a witness is refuted, boldly declare that AURICULAR CONFESSION and PRIESTLY ABSOLUTION had no existence in the Christian Church for twelve hundred years. If there is a *consensus Ecclesie* proved on any point it is proved here. Antiquity is as free from this grievous error as the Bible itself is. . . .

II. I now proceed to examine the services, the offices, the authoritative documents of our Church, in order to solve this question:—"Does she, or does she not, sanction auricular confession and priestly absolution?"

Her first strong and solemn protest against this evil may be found in the Book of Homilies. In the second part of the Homily "of Repentance" we are taught that the first thing necessary for true repentance is contrition of heart, and the second is "an unfeigned confession, and acknowledgment of our sins unto God, whom by them we have so grievously offended."

One solemn public service of our Church demands our careful attention: it presents for our consideration forms of confession and absolution somewhat varied from the former one at Morning Prayer, but equally marked by their pure, primitive, and Scriptural character, and offering another testimony against secret, private, and priestly absolution.

The office of the Holy Communion in our Prayer Book is one of unrivalled spirituality and beauty, admitted on all hands, by foes as well as friends, to commend itself to the varied experiences of penitent, believing sinners in successive generations.

The special form of confession in this service differs from that in the daily use only in its deeper tone, and in the heartfelt profession of sorrow for sin. In the former, prepared for a more general congregation, there is simply an

acknowledgment of sin and guilt; but in this case, where the Church assumes that those who approach the table of the Lord will really be awakened sinners, she puts into their lips the most touching and affecting expressions of sorrow for sin. "We" not only "acknowledge," but "we bewail our manifold sins and wickedness committed against the Divine Majesty. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for them; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden intolerable," and we cry for mercy—"Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; and for Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake forgive us all that is past . . ." Expressions, one and all, suited only to awakened, penitent sinners, looking to Christ alone for salvation.

To such as these it is that our Church commissions the priest, or bishop if present, to pronounce the absolution, which is simply precatory, like all the forms of the primitive Church—not declaratory, as the absolution in the daily service, but INTERCESSORY—that it will please Him who alone can forgive or absolve—to pardon and deliver them from all their sins. This beautiful and comprehensive prayer is supported by texts of Holy Scripture following—full of "most comfortable words," pointing penitent believers to Christ.

Here then again we have another Scriptural form of confession and absolution, free from any suspicion of "*auricular confession*."

III.—Pursuing the same investigation, we will now turn to the two principal occasional services in which we find traces of this subject.

And here the most prominent and important is the form of ordination of priests and deacons, especially of the former. A remarkable feature in that service is a detailed series of queries, solemnly and severally put to each candidate, involving almost all the cases of faith and duty in which he can be called to act.

Yet in the elaborate chain of queries touching pastoral duties, although the visitation of the sick is itself specially referred to, yet is there not one question touching confession or absolution? Strange omission, if these offices be an essential part of a priest's office in our Church! Silence is here again the most expressive protest against such Romish services.

But when we proceed to the solemn act of ordination itself, while the bishop and clergy who are present are laying on the hands of the presbytery, how is it that we encounter these disputed words?—

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and

work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."

If there be no right in the Christian priesthood to forgive sins, or to absolve sinners, what means this form? Whence come these words, and why are they introduced into the service?

As to their introduction into the ordinals, or forms of ordination, I have also proved, almost beyond controversy, that these words were never so used, nor were ever introduced into any ordination service in any Church in the world until the twelfth century. So that they cannot by possibility form any essential part of the ordinal, nor carry with them any special or Divine power. Such a fact, could it be proved, would virtually strip the whole Christian Church of holy orders for twelve hundred years! But the same historical authority by which I established these important steps in my argument furnishes us also not only with the date, but with the cause and intention of the introduction of these words. The object was simple and harmless enough. They were not originally designed to carry that corrupt sense which has been subsequently attributed to them. They were inserted in the ordinal about the twelfth century for this purpose:—An impression had prevailed in the western Churches that the excommunication of any person from the communion of the Church, or his restoration thereto by public confession and absolution, required the presence of a bishop. This had become excessively inconvenient, and in many cases impossible. These words, therefore, were inserted in the ordination of priests for no other purpose than to convey to them a power which had previously been exercised only by bishops. The power of public absolution of penitents, and the excommunication of offenders,—that is, the remission or retention of sins, hitherto exercised only by a bishop, was now extended to the priesthood generally; and hence the application and import of these words: "Whose sins ye forgive," &c. . . .

One other occasional service remains to be considered, and that with great attention: for when the priest who aspires to be the searcher of hearts, and the judge of souls, is driven from Scripture,—expelled by the voice of the primitive Church—and banished from all the great public services of the Church of England, he takes refuge in the service for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick: there he finds "*Ego te absolvo*," authorized as he flatters himself by his Church; and he not only defies his opponents, but often condemns them as disloyal, if not perjured servants of his Church; and he regards almost with scorn men who venture to question or to reject a form which as he maintains is invested with Church authority. Here is the form of absolution, and the rubric which precedes it:—

"Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special Confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which Confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Now, for myself, I must at once acknowledge my inability to reconcile this form of words with anything I can find in Holy Scripture, in the records of the primitive Church, or with the general teaching of the Prayer Book itself! I failed to do this more than half a century since, and I fail to do so now! I know that many suggestions are made and exceptions pointed out by excellent persons, and persons who agree with me in rejecting all other forms or occasions of private absolution. It is urged, and truly, that this is an exceptional case; that this form can be used only to a sick or dying man—to one who requires and asks for it, and to one whose conscience is burdened with some great sin, which in this case he is urged to confess. It is further pleaded that such an instance cannot possibly justify the use of such a form on other and dissimilar occasions, and that it affords no authority for the general and ordinary use of secret confession, and that it can be, moreover, only a release from sins against the Church, &c. These and many other observations of great truth and weight are made, but still there are the words—"By Christ's authority, committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

I am free to acknowledge that I never have used these words, nor ever could do so, under any circumstances; and I am prepared to show that in this decided course of action I am justified by the Church herself. For many years I had looked forward to ordination in the Church of England as my chief desire and ambition; but when the prize seemed within my reach, now just fifty-four years since, this form of absolution became a stumbling-block to me: I could not reconcile it with Scripture, nor with primitive Christianity; and I felt that if any Church authority could compel me to use this form, I could not venture to enter upon holy orders. Much distressed and perplexed, I sought the advice of an experienced and excellent clergyman, though not one of the school to which I belong; his reply was—"Young man, you need not disturb yourself on this matter; the Church herself has released you from the use of that form." "Indeed," said I, "and where?" He referred me to the 67th canon. It is as follows:—

"When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the minister or curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her, to instruct

and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the *Communion Book*, if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient."

In order to understand the full force of this important canon, it is necessary that we should be well acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of those times. When that canon was composed there were many Roman Catholic priests who had conformed to the Protestant Church, but not from conviction; they were still Romanists in heart. These men, being suspected and distrusted by those in power, were not allowed to preach or instruct the people without a special licence. Hence the term "*preacher*" designates a particular class of clergy,—men who, being *licensed*, might preach and teach in any way they pleased; while the non-licensed preacher was limited to certain offices. Thus when it is said in this canon that in the visitation of the sick, only the non-licensed preacher need use the form in our *Communion Book*, it released all those who were loyal to the Bible and to their Church—and were, therefore, licensed preachers—from the use of such a form of absolution; they were to adopt any mode of instruction "they might think most needful and convenient."

Now as in the present day all clergymen are "licensed preachers," and the class who were bound to use this form have no longer any existence among us, *all clergymen* are by this canon of the Church released from any legal or moral necessity to use this form. In fact, it might be safely affirmed that until the recent and disloyal revival of "Ritualism" among us, not twenty clergymen could have been found for a hundred years who had ever used this form. . . .

The fact is that our excellent reformers were placed in circumstances of much difficulty. They honestly desired to promote the Reformation, and to banish Popery; but there were estimable men of strong religious persuasions on both sides of the question, and it would seem that, after repeatedly paring down the use of this absolution, and after repeated limitations, they allowed it to remain and to be used under exceptional circumstances to a dying man, while they framed a canon specially to relieve the consciences of the true Protestants, and to release them from all obligation respecting it. Thus the canon neutralizes the absolution; and those on whom it was originally binding having passed away, it remains a dead letter in our *Prayer Book*.

As long as secret confession is tolerated, practised, or allowed by any clergyman of the Established Church, there will be infinite danger of the revival, if not re-establishment, of Romanism. This Confessional will prove "the little leaven which will leaven the whole lump." It is not the "decorative Ritualists," which need be so much feared, as the secret poison infused at the Confessional: this is the Romish "pestilence which walketh in darkness," which insinuates itself into the bosom of unsuspecting families, which steals the heart away, enslaves

it, renders it imbecile and childish, until all self-respect and moral independence being lost, its victims become the mere playthings of an arrogant priesthood.

SECTION 3.—MINISTERIAL ABSOLUTION, OR "RECONCILIATION TO THE ALTAR." By the late REV. WILLIAM MILTON.

It may seem but a poor account of the ordinance of absolution, to say that it only acts as consolation to the faith or feelings of the penitent. Yet this is the most that can be said with certainty, if we regard its effect upon the soul in relation to God's judgment. It can never be more than conditional in regard to that. But it is in a lower sphere than this that absolution has its right action, and possesses power and operation more effective and absolute. Let us consider what that sphere is.

I cannot help thinking that the true view of absolution is to be derived from that constantly recurring phrase of the ancient Church which termed it "reconciliation to the altar." The view thus obtained would be this,—that absolution affects a man's standing in the order of grace here, not his absolute or final position in God's kingdom hereafter. This view is well brought out by Archdeacon Freeman from the consideration of the "private sin-offering" of the Mosaic dispensation.¹ That offering, made at the door of the Tabernacle Courts, restored the Israelite to the Communion of the congregation and to the participation of the benefits of sacrifice of the great altar, from which his transgressions excluded him by disqualification. "Interpreting from this source the absolving and retaining powers committed to the ministers of the Church, we gather," says the Archdeacon, "that these have reference strictly and properly to the admission of men,—not to salvation, or only indirectly—but to the means of salvation—and to exclusion therefrom. It is theirs to remove,—through the Holy Ghost, committed to them by Christ for that especial end,—the sins of repentant men, *sufficiently for their entrance without fear or harm upon the work of Divine Service*. This is the limit of that power. For the great and transcendent work of the entire removal of sin, renewal by the Holy Ghost, and presentation with acceptance, they commit them once more to Christ working through the Holy Eucharist (as the old sin-offerings were followed by burnt and peace-offerings); and giving them complete union to Himself therein." And he quotes the words of the Rev. T. T. Carter to the same effect:—

¹ Principles of Divine Service, ii. pp. 255, sq.

"The absolving power of the Church is the special ministerial agency, which, having relation respectively to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, repairs the losses of the first grace, and removes the hindrances to the ever-increasing fullness of grace in the communion of the Lord's Body." These views respecting absolution are confirmed both by Scripture and by the records of the Primitive Church.

I. By Scripture.—They are remarkably confirmed by the order in which our Lord Himself declares the power of the keys—*first* binding, *then* loosing (S. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18). He contemplates His people as free, with that liberty wherewith the Son has made them free—free to serve God. Then there arises, by sin, cause to revoke this liberty—then "ye shall bind"—but the wholesome discipline does its work, and liberty may be restored—then "ye shall loose." Nor is this order reversed, as at first sight it appears to be, in the passage in S. John (xx. 23), for that does not speak of loosing and binding, but of remitting sins and retaining sins; that is, of loosing and declining to loose men from the bond which is here regarded as lying upon them for sin. So Schleusner explains *κατεῖν* in this place, "non remittere, non condonare." The words then, in S. Matthew, speak of excommunication and reconciliation; the words in S. John speak of reconciliation and continued exclusion. And so the view of Scripture throughout is, that absolution, or, more exactly, the power of the keys, is an exercise of Church authority, by which the body corporate has a power to exclude any member from the enjoyment of Church privileges, or to re-admit him to them. And as those privileges include, or rather consist of, communion with God in Christ, the power is of very high import. Our Church is very careful to say, in her most absolute form, that "the Lord has left power to *His Church* to absolve sinners"—inserting these words of her own accord in the formula, the rest of which she borrowed from the ancient books. And "the ancient custom," of which the late Dr. Hamilton speaks in his Charge (p. 36), "still existing in some Churches, of the people and the priest making confession to one another, and receiving from one another, under the precatory form, the blessing of absolution," strongly confirms this view—that the power of the keys is a function of the body corporate, and shows that "the supernatural powers and prerogatives

which God has entrusted to certain men" (p. 23) are but the powers which reside in the whole congregation, collected in the persons of the official executive.

II. The records of the Primitive Church confirm these views. The earliest form of absolution with which I am acquainted occurs in the very ancient Liturgy of S. Mark, near the beginning of the office. In the "entrance of the holy ministry," the priest prays,—“O God, who didst say to the Apostles, Whose sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, whose sins ye retain they are retained: release us, O Lord, from curse and ban, and from anathema and from binding and excommunication, and purify our lips and heart from all pollution and from all iniquity, that with a pure heart and pure conscience we may offer to Thee this sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour, and for remission of our sins.” This prayer shows the view in which the early Church regarded absolution; these points are much to be observed—i. the form was precatory, even when citing the words that authorized the Apostles to absolve: ii. It prays for absolution from curse and ban, binding and excommunication: iii. It declares the object of such absolution to be a pure heart and conscience, and pure lips to approach God acceptably in the service now being entered upon (compare our form "that those things may please Thee which we do at this present"): and iv. For true "remission for sins" it looks on to the great sacrifice about to be commemorated. The most instructive and most profitable way of looking at the matter is this:—It is really sin that binds and repentance that looses the Christian man. The normal state of a baptized man is a standing condition of acceptance with God through sustained justification in Christ. Sin forfeits, imperils, suspends this state of acceptance—in fact, separates from God, excommunicates the man, putting him out of covenant, cutting off his communication with the stream and supply of grace. It is the work of absolution to restore the position of acceptance with God, which sin has thus forfeited. And this is effected in various ways. A man on secret self-examination condemns himself, so excommunicates himself. By his faith he immediately takes to himself God's gracious promises of forgiveness through Christ; and thereby he is absolved and restored, and his state of acceptance with God is maintained, his covenant position in grace, imperilled by sin, is

restored to him. Again, the congregation confess their sins together, condemn themselves as guilty, excommunicate themselves from God's acceptance and their covenant position, declaring themselves unworthy to approach the Divine presence, and praying to be restored—"restore Thou them that are penitent." By an absolution equally general and equally public they are restored to acceptance by the mouth of God's minister, and are thereby reinstated in their baptismal right of sonship, enabled to approach God with acceptance, and to cry "Our Father." Again, a man may feel the burden of his sin so great, that he desires the more immediate action of the ministry of reconciliation: he opens his trouble to God's priest; his confession of sin constitutes a special and personal excommunication of himself from his recognized position in covenant with God: he then requires a corresponding reconciliation to grace before he can resume his state of acceptance with God; a special and personal restoration to his forfeited position—that is, direct absolution, by the mouth of God's official minister, to whom he has officially surrendered himself by confession as out of peace with God.

Thus absolution runs exactly parallel with the excommunication of the sin-confessing conscience. Hence the force of the ancient phrase, "reconciliation to the altar," from which sin excluded. Hence, also, the duty of self-examination before communion, for this finds out the disorders of the soul, which, while vague and unascertained, cannot be dealt with—but which, being drawn out by self-examination and condemned, constitute excommunication from the covenant position; they must then be absolved, and then the door is open to the Throne of Grace. If the confession is secret to oneself, so may be the absolution also, when faith is strong and clear. If confession is public, the absolution is the same. If confession is personal to God's minister, the absolution would be personal also, when the faith is not strong enough to exert its own share of Christ's priesthood in self-absolution. Hence St. Paul says, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread." This self-examination, this self-condemnation, this self-excommunication, followed by this self-absolution, this self-application of the promises and pardon of God, is sufficient to introduce him to the great means of grace, "so let him eat of that bread." He has in his own

hands the ordinance of "reconciliation to the altar."

But some transgressions require stronger treatment, either by the distress of the sinner himself necessitating authoritative help from the appointed officer, or it may be that, for the satisfaction of the congregation, public offences require public notice, public condemnation, public excommunication, and then, of course, public reconciliation and public absolution. These are Church censures, and must, all will allow be imposed and removed by the divinely appointed officers of the Church, by their official authority. It is making the most of it, to call it by their "supernatural powers and prerogatives;" but since the whole work and operation of the Church in the ministration of grace is spiritual and therefore supernatural, these words mean no more than "the spiritual authority of their office." But besides these formal Church censures, there are, as we have seen, the censures of conscience, which must be removed, either personally, if faith be strong enough and clear, or with official authorized help, if faith is weak and distressed. But in this last case, a wise administrator of absolution will desire to lead on the faith of the penitent, to such strength that this extraordinary assistance may before long be unnecessary; as a skilful surgeon, when applying splints and bandages to a diseased or injured limb, hopes that before long strength will be sufficiently restored to enable these aids to be discarded. It is the physician's greatest success, when he can dismiss his patient with, "Now you can do without me." I suppose most men who have thought about the matter have come to the opinion that constant use of private confession has a demoralizing effect—a tendency to impair the moral strength, relax the moral fibre, as a man by always limping upon crutches may lose the power of walking altogether. A wise priest will try so to strengthen those who come to him for ghostly assistance, as to make repeated confession unnecessary.

The view which I have advocated, that the action of absolution is limited to our position in the kingdom of grace on earth, is the only one that can justify the use of the indicative form retained in our Prayer-book—"I absolve thee." It is well known that this is a modern form, first used about the 13th century, and then only in the West. Goar, a Romanist of the 17th century, arrogantly declared that the Greek Church had no valid absolution, because they

used,—what the Church from the first had used,—the *precatory* form. The use of the *indicative* form came in by degrees. The steps seem to be preserved in the Roman form now in use. First, a prayer that the Lord will absolve—that was the whole original form: then comes in a positive statement, “I absolve thee from all censures, suspension, &c.” Then,—the very word “*deinde*” survives in the form of the *Rituale Romanum*,—“I absolve thee from all thy sins,” the limited action of which was asserted in the words which followed, as preserved in the *Man. Sarisb.*, “And I restore thee to the sacraments of the Church.”¹ These last words, so important as explaining the true operation of absolution, and so exactly in accord with the early Church’s view of absolution, as reconciliation to the altar, are not now found in the Roman form; it is very possible that they have been purposely omitted, as the doctrine became more absolute. In our own most absolute form, that in the Visitation of the Sick, the action of remission seems limited to Church exclusion and the hindrances to the participation of grace; for it is followed by a prayer that God will pardon, and, expressly, that He will “continue this sick member in the unity of the Church;” and this prayer is, as Palmer observes, the original absolution used for upwards of thirteen hundred years in the Western Church. I do not see that an English priest has any right to use the *indicative* absolution without adding this form also, as ordered in the Prayer Book; for it is an important qualification of the preceding form. And if any one shall claim for our form an absolute power of forgiveness of sins as before the judgment-seat of God, he inevitably provokes the reply, that it is an uncatholic form—an innovation unknown to the earliest ages of the Church, unrecognized even now by the great Eastern Church in all its branches, condemned by the dictum of Vincentius Lirin,—“*Quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*,” and by the sentence of Pearson—“Whatever is truly new, is certainly false.”

These remarks on Absolution seem to lead to the discussion of the question of Sacerdotalism in general; but I am unwilling to enter upon so large a subject. I must content myself with pointing out how important in any such discussion is the consideration dwelt upon by the late Dr. Hamilton (pp. 34—38) that priesthood is inherent in every member of Christ.

The question of the special official priesthood of the ordained, cannot be profitably considered without bearing in mind the general priesthood of the whole congregation. The priestly act of absolution¹ is attributed by Christ to the congregation (S. Matt. xviii. 17, 18). So excommunication is assigned by S. Paul to the congregation,—“When ye are gathered together” (1 Cor. v. 4). So, from the “censure inflicted of many,” absolution was to be given by many (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7). Again, the priestly act of the Eucharistic sacrifice in “showing forth the Lord’s death,” is attributed to the whole congregation,—“as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death.” And in our own Church, the act of oblation is the act, not of the priest, but of the congregation,—“which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty.” It seems that at the revision of 1662 an attempt was made to introduce an oblation by the priest when placing the elements on the altar: a rubric was prepared in these words:—“The priest shall then offer up and place upon the table,” &c. But the Church, by a correct instinct, even in that hasty revision, preserved the great truth that it is the priesthood of the congregation that makes the great Eucharistic oblation; and she rejected this attempted insertion.² They therefore are disloyal to the Church,—we may hope, unconsciously,—who practise the newly-introduced action of making a silent oblation of the elements to God as they place them on the altar—doing the very thing which the Church rejected, and stultifying the subsequent prayer which they proceed to utter, which asks God to accept what has already been offered and accepted. Even the Roman Church is stout in the maintenance of this sacrificial act of the whole congregation; for in the canon of the Mass it is said, “We Thy servants, nor only we, but Thy holy people also, offer a pure Host,” &c. “*Nos servi Tui, sed et plebs Tua sancta offerimus Hostiam puram.*” This is even the consecrated Host. The same is said of the first oblation of the elements; and Estius remarks upon it, “The act of offering we do not altogether take away from the laity.”

¹ It is generally called a priestly act; but it seems to me to belong rather to the prophetic office than to the priestly. Certainly it was Nathan the prophet that gave David absolution. Our Lord was speaking as a prophet rather than as a priest, when He said, “Thy sins be forgiven thee.” The ministry of reconciliation is given to us, as we are prophets, speaking in God’s name (2 Cor. v. 20).

² Cardwell’s Conferences, p. 392.

APPENDIX.

NOTE.—The following extracts from Bingham's *Antiquities*—Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*—Jewell's *Apology*, and from two eminent Theologians of our Church, the late Bishop Harold Browne and Dr. Hook (contributors to this *Serial work*), in testimony to the doctrine of Ministerial Absolution, were selected by the Rev. Nevison Lorraine, of Grove Park Vicarage, Chiswick, for his work,—“*The Voice of the Prayer-Book*,” and are reproduced with his concurrence for an appendix to this Part.

Bingham's *Antiquities*.—“The ancients challenged no power in this matter but that which was purely ministerial, leaving the absolute, sovereign, independent, and irreversible power only to God.” He then, after confirming his assertion by patristic references, adds: “And therefore the power of absolution in the Church is purely ministerial, and consists in the due exercise and application of those means in the ordinary use of which God is pleased to remit sins, using the ministry of His servants as stewards of His mysteries in the external dispensation of them, but Himself conferring the internal grace or gift of remission by the operation of His Spirit only upon the worthy receivers.”

Antiq. bk. xix. cap. i.

Richard Hooker.—“The act of sin God alone remitteth, in that His purpose is never to call it to account, or to lay it to men's charge; the stain He washeth out by the sanctifying grace of His Spirit; and concerning the punishment of sin, as none else hath power to cast body and soul into hell fire, so none hath power to deliver either besides Him.

“As for the ministerial sentence of private absolution, it can be no more than a declaration of what God hath done; it hath not the force of the prophet Nathan's absolution, ‘God hath taken away thy sin;’ than which construction, especially of words judicial, there is not anything more vulgar.”

Ecc. Pol. bk. vi.

Bishop Jewell.—“To ministers, we say, was given by Christ the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting. And the office of loosing consists truly in this, that on the one hand, to contrite and truly penitent souls, the minister by the preaching of the gospel, offers the merits of Christ, absolution, and certain forgiveness of (their) sins, and also proclaims the hope of eternal salvation; on the other hand, he reconciles penitents, re-collects and restores into the society and fellowship of the faithful those who, by a grave scandal or any notable public offence, have wounded the minds of the brotherhood, and have in any way whatever separated themselves from the common society of the Church and from the

body of Christ. Furthermore, we say that he (the minister) exercises the power of binding and shutting as often as he either closes the gate of the kingdom of heaven on the unbelieving and the contumacious, and denounces against them the vengeance of God and eternal punishment, or (as often as) he excludes the publicly excommunicated from the bosom of the Church.”

Ap. Ecc. Angli., p. 23. Cantab. 1838.

Bishop Hd. Browne, speaking of the authority to remit and retain sins originally committed to the apostles, says, “Such power was not miraculous nor peculiar to the apostles. A power of that higher kind was never given to mere man. The only authority which our blessed Lord thus conveyed to His first ministers, was, more solemnly than before, authority to bind and to loose—that which is elsewhere called the power of the keys—so that ministerially they had the keys of the church or kingdom, to admit men to it by preaching and baptism, to exclude men from it by excommunication, to restore them again to it by absolution. The assurance given them is, that their acts as Christ's ministers in all these respects shall be ratified in heaven. This power of the keys is the Church's birthright.”

“The hypothesis that this commission to the first disciples of Christ was miraculous, and therefore temporary, is utterly untenable. If a miraculous power were bestowed it was no less than a power of searching the heart, and pronouncing authoritatively a judgment of perdition on the guilty, and pardon of sins to the penitent. But such power is the attribute of God alone, and He will never so give His glory to another. The apostles, though endued with the gift of tongues, of prophecy, of miracles, were not endued with the power to bestow an actual remission of offences, such as would free the soul from all danger when appearing before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as little might they hurl the thunderbolt of vengeance and sentence transgressors to the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. It is plain, therefore, that the keys committed to St. Peter were the badge of his stewardship as minister of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God.”

Expos. Arts., Art. xxxvi., see 2nd sect. of the Art.

Dean Hook.—“The power of the keys is only a ministerial power.” “By administering the sacraments, they who have that power do that which conveys grace to certain souls. But whose souls are these? The souls of faithful and repentant men. They who are justified will receive the outward ordinance which conveys to them the pardon they require; but to those who are not qualified by repentance and faith no blessing can be conveyed.”

Church Dict. Art. “Power of the Keys.”

PART VI.—(*Third Division and Appendix.*)

"THE POWER OF THE KEYS,"

OR,

MINISTERIAL ABSOLUTION, THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

LUKE v. 21.—"And the Scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God alone?"

So much is now said of Confession and Absolution, and said (as is usual in popular discussions) with so little regard to the limits of truth and soberness, that some exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England may well be offered from this Cathedral pulpit. In undertaking the task as a senior Presbyter of this Church and City, I am well aware that neither years nor study are entitled to claim dominion over your faith. They may help you to understand the teaching of the Church, whose children we are, and to whom as our witness and keeper of Holy Writ we ascribe authority even in controversies of faith. Still, in a question which is eminently one of conscience and the soul's access to God, we do well to seek the witness of His Spirit with our own: and I beseech you to lift an aspiration for the preacher and yourselves, that He who takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us, may even now be with us, one and all, dispelling clamour and evil-speaking, and guiding us to truth and peace with God through the Blood of Jesus.

If you take the questions of our text without regard to the answer, they amount only to a calumny and a truism. Of course none but God can forgive sins. Sin is the transgression of the law, who but the lawgiver can remit the penalty? Sin is separation from God, who but He can restore us to Himself? Sin is death to the soul, who can quicken it again but the Fountain of Life? Neither Jew nor Christian ever questioned this. If the Scribes and Pharisees imputed blasphemy on such a truism, they were not reasoning but coining a wicked calumny.

The answer, however, seems to put them in

a better light. Jesus piercing their thoughts went at once to the root of the matter. "That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, He said unto the sick of the palsy, Arise, and take up thy couch." That the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, these are the critical words—the same in all three Gospels. Here is the new revelation in proof of which the miracle was wrought. The Scribes and Pharisees knew that God could forgive sins; they prayed to Him for forgiveness, and believed that He would pardon the penitent sinner. But they knew of no power on earth to forgive sins; no human ministry to impart the remission; no present pledge of its enjoyment. By the law is the knowledge of sin, it entered that the offence might abound: it had abundance of Confessions, but not one genuine Absolution. The Levitical priest who made Atonement for the sinner was limited to the work of the law. The sacrifice, whether public or private, was strictly prescribed, and the same for all offences. His ministry could never purge the conscience; it related only to Church communion, and that was then outward and transitory. The awakened conscience knew it to be impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins (Heb. x. 4); for that it was remitted to the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, to the prayer of faith and the promises, nourished by the law and the prophets, of a new and better covenant that should enter into the heart, and their sins and iniquities should be remembered no more.

How little the pious Jew looked to the work of the priest for forgiveness of sins may be seen in the Psalms and prophetic writings, where it is hardly ever mentioned but to be rejected. "Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire, burnt offering and sin offering hast Thou not required. Will I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats? Bring no more vain oblations; who hath required this at your hands? The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise." This is the voice of

* A Sermon preached in York Minster at an Ordination Service by the late Rev. Dr. Trevor, Canon of York, from the MS. of the Author, who gave it to the Editor for inclusion in his serial work of "Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated."

true religion under the law no less than the Gospel. When Nathan said unto David, "The Lord hath put away thy sin," it was the word of a prophet not a priest; of one employed in the higher and spiritual ministry as yet unrevealed. It was not the brief verbal Confession

Nathan, "I have sinned," that procured David's Absolution: it was that outpouring of the soul to God in the 32nd Psalm, where you find no long enumeration of particular sins, but the emptying out of sin's very self in the pent-up passionate outburst, "I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord," and immediately it follows, "Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." Bearing this in mind you will see the force of our Lord's word and work, "Thy sins are forgiven thee; rise and walk." There was neither confession, sacrifice or sacrament: all were comprehended in the Son of Man. That human heart which already carried our infirmities and was to bear all our sins upon the Cross, felt the mute appeal of the helpless sufferer. His Divine Spirit interpreted the dumb yearning of the upturned wistful eyes. He understands his thoughts long before. He runs to meet him when he is yet a great way off. His love anticipates the labouring Confession. He touches and heals the root of all bitterness—"Thy sins are forgiven thee." And the Absolution shows itself a power upon earth in the man's rising and walking.

The power so inaugurated was not withdrawn when the Son of Man ascended up into heaven. He commanded repentance and remission of sins to be preached in His name among all nations. He continued to attest it by miracles from the hands of His disciples. He breathed on them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained" (John xx. 23). The miracles ceased when the remission of sins was firmly established in the Church's creed: it was left to walk by faith and not by sight: and to this day it is asserted in our own Church in the very words that Christ gave it to His apostles, when the bishop and priests lay their hands upon the kneeling deacon, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands: whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments:

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." It is true that these solemn words are not spoken in the ordination of priests in the Eastern Church, whose liturgies are traced to earlier sources than our own. But that only more distinctly notes the doctrine of the reformed Church of England. The Dissenter may tell us that she has unadvisedly retained a popish and unscriptural superstition; but I am speaking now to Churchmen, and I would remind you that these words were not only retained in the first English ordinal by men who died at the stake as martyrs to the Protestant Reformation, but they have maintained their place through three successive revisions, in times of the most determined opposition to Rome, and are at this hour confirmed by the personal subscription of every living Bishop, Priest and Deacon of the Church of England. All that ever ministered at her altars have accepted this commission and accounted it agreeable to the Word of God. If the remission of sins is no part of the office and work of a priest in the Church of God we have had no true ministry amongst us since the rejection of the Papal usurpation. It is thus that extremes meet, and ultra-Protestantism would bring us back to Rome.

We have only, however, to compare our ordinal with the Roman to perceive that, here as elsewhere, the Reformers winnowed the chaff from the wheat, and by rejecting later corruptions placed the scriptural truth in a stronger light. In point of fact the remission of sins is not the most prominent feature in the ordination of a Roman Priest. His prime office is to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. He is vested with the stole and chasuble; his hands are anointed to receive the paten and chalice. The sacred vessels are delivered to him with the words, "Receive power to offer the sacrifice to God and celebrate masses for the living and the dead." All this was swept away at the Reformation; only the commission of Christ was retained in His own words; the preliminary prayers and exhortations being devoted to the pastoral office, and nothing added but a solemn charge to be "a faithful dispenser of the Word and Sacraments." Both by what she rejects and what she retains, the Church of England declares that the office and work of a priest in the Church of God is to feed the flock of Christ, and to minister His power upon earth to forgive sins, by dispensing His word and sacraments, and discipline, "As the Lord hath commanded

and as this Church and realm hath received the same according to the commandment of God." Let me add that on the first revision of her offices, with the object of strengthening her protest against Rome, our Church placed in the forefront of her daily services the Absolution or Remission of sins to be pronounced by the Priest alone, therein expressly affirming that "Almighty God hath given power and commandment to His ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins." More than this no man can claim. St. Peter himself said no more than "Jesus Christ maketh thee whole," and St. Paul "To whom ye forgive, I forgive in the person of Christ." Less than this, if you hearken to the Church of England, you can never cease to attribute to those who watch for your souls.

Still the power is ministerial, not absolute; its exercise is bounded by the commission of the Church, not the will of the priest. And that Commission we see is threefold, in *Doctrine*, *Sacraments* and *Discipline*. Each is a ministry of the remission of sins.

1. We preach Christ crucified, the power and the wisdom of God.

"God hath commissioned unto us the word of reconciliation: we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Now this word is sharper than a two-edged sword; it pierces the heart; it convinces of sin: it works repentance to salvation in them that believe, and in the unbeliever that sorrow of the world that worketh death. This is a power upon earth to forgive and to retain sins. By this St. Peter opened the Kingdom of Heaven on the Day of Pentecost; by this he admitted the Gentiles in the person of Cornelius. The power is not limited to public sermons; it extends to the entire ministry of the word; to "public and private monitions and exhortations both to the sick and the whole within our cures, as need shall require and occasion shall be given;" to all, in short, that can carry the Gospel of Salvation to the sinner's heart, and make the power of Christ reign in the conscience and the life. In doing this St. Paul does not scruple to assure Timothy that he shall both save himself and them that hear him. The preacher exercises the power of the Son of Man upon earth, as an envoy pardons the rebels who lay down their arms and return to their allegiance.

2. The *Sacraments* of Christ, again, are expressly charged with the forgiveness of sins.

For this they succeeded in the place of miracles as visible signs and pledges of an invisible grace. They are the "sure witnesses" and effectual signs (we say) of grace and God's "goodwill towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him" (Acts xxv.). Hence, he who ministers the Sacrament ministers the grace. Now the special gift of Baptism is forgiveness of sins.

When those who were pricked in their heart by the power of the Word on the day of Pentecost, demanded of St. Peter and the rest of the apostles what they should do, the reply was, "Repent and be baptised every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." To St. Paul it was said, "Arise, and be baptised and wash away thy sins." We are baptised into Christ's death, the Atonement for all sin, and so the universal Church confesses, "I believe in one Baptism for the remission of sins."

So, too, the other Sacrament is renewed and continuous participation of the Body broken and the Blood shed for the remission of sins. It is the full communion of the Atonement; of the sacrifice that, putting away all sin, makes other remissions needless and impossible.

3. Then there is the *Discipline* of Christ for the due reception of the Sacraments. We have to instruct the adult candidate for Baptism; to judge of his faith and sincerity, to see that he prepares himself with prayers and fasting for the receiving of this Holy Sacrament (Rubric). In like manner we have to prepare the baptised for Holy Communion; to repel the evil liver and malicious; to show the dignity of that holy mystery and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof. We are to call upon them to examine themselves by the rule of God's commandment, and confess themselves to Almighty God with full purpose of amendment of life, with restitution of all wrong and forgiveness of all injuries.

All this is remitting or retaining sins: remitting to such as are brought to repentance and faith; retaining to the hardened and impenitent. Further, that nothing may be wanting, the waverer and the doubtful are invited to seek special counsel and advice. The Christian Priest is the minister of reconciliation in private no less than in public; he declares and pronounces to the individual, as well as to

the congregation, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of his sin. All this with us is a godly discipline for rightly dispensing the Body and Blood of Christ to the forgiveness of sins. The Roman Church has transferred the healing benefit to another Sacrament, practically more valued than the Eucharist itself. For while Communion is seldom sought by the laity of that Church, Confession and Absolution are habitual and indispensable with all who care for their souls. It is here that our Church lifts up her protest.

It is altogether a mistake to suppose that our discipline and their sacrament differ only in name and frequency of use. They are wide as the poles asunder in the whole nature and scope of the exercise. The Roman Confession requires the disclosure of every transgression; the Absolution is directed to the particulars confessed, and depends on the truth of the enumeration. The spiritual physician, it is said, must know the malady in order to apply the remedy. But this metaphor, however applicable to spiritual counsel and advice, is wholly misleading when extended to Absolution. The flesh has many maladies requiring different treatment. But Christ has borne all our sins in His own body on the tree, and the soul has now but one malady—the priest but one remedy. The evil heart of unbelief is our malady; the blood of Christ is our panacea; the fountain for all sins and uncleanness. It is not the several acts of sin, but the present want of repentance and faith that hinders peace through the Blood of the Lamb. This is the grief which the troubled conscience needs to open to the minister of reconciliation. The details of its sin and shame are told in vain without repentance and faith in Christ. Where these are wanting, Rome herself admits the Absolution of the priest to be nothing; where they operate, the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and the priest can only declare the absolution already granted by God. In short, it is Christ and not the priest who is the Physician of souls.

Here is the grand difference between the two Churches. We deal with the present grief of the penitent, and they with his past offences or future temptations. His grief is the error or scruple which hinders a full trust in the work and love of Christ. It is healed by bringing him to the Cross, and to the sacrament of the Cross—Christ's own pledge of forgiveness. We do not need the sad and shameful story of a forsaken past; such disclosures corrupt rather than

heal. We do not pretend to supply the conscience with directions for the future; we bring it to the true Physician of souls. We say with St. Peter, "Jesus Christ maketh thee whole," and with St. Paul, "Your life is hid with Christ in God."

It is this difference of principle which causes the Roman confession to be habitual and our own exceptional. With them it is a true sacrament, a means of grace, a note of higher piety and a blessed support amid the temptations of the world. With us it is a discipline necessitated by undue misgivings of grace; it is a mark of imperfection, a crutch for the wounded limb—most useful the sooner it can be thrown away. Our work is done in bringing the paralytic to the feet of Jesus. When the Son of Man says, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," he rises and walks in the new strength imparted to him.

This is why two cases only of private confession are provided in the Church of England, both as preparatory to Holy Communion. With those in bodily health the impediment usually stands in need of comfort and counsel more than Absolution. The Communion can wait awhile. But with the sick, when time presses and the conscience is seen to be troubled with some weighty matter disabling from present Communion, he is to be moved to make a special confession of his sins—not all the sins of his life—but of such as then trouble and hinder his trust in Christ. "After which Confession the Priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it," in the name and by the authority of Christ. The form of Absolution here is fuller and more express than any other, because the need is greater. Still, it is not a special remedy for the special sins confessed, but the one all-sufficient remedy for all sin—the power of the Son of Man by the voice of His Church to forgive sins upon earth.

In point of fact, there is never any bar between the true penitent and his Redeemer, and therefore nothing that Church or Priest can take away. All that hinders is his own misgiving, and this we seek to dispel by the unfaltering declaration of the power and love of Jesus; not absent from us in heaven, but still present in all our weakness and trouble, accepting the imperfect yearning after God, and swallowing up both our sins and our repentance in His own inexhaustible righteousness.

This is not to discourage that desire for spiritual help which is one of the blessed proofs of an awakened conscience. Even under the law

"they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and thought upon His name." Under the Gospel the Apostle bids us confess our sins one to another and pray one for another that we may be healed. And who should pray for us more effectually than God's own ministers of reconciliation?

Better, I would say, even the error of a true penitent seeking for greater assurance of forgiveness than the Pharisaical confidence that has no sense of unworthiness, or the hardened impenitence that mocks at sin. For such as these to cry, Who can forgive sins but God alone? is not conscience, but calumny. I speak now to the earnest spirit longing for peace with God and desirous of all the help His Church can minister.

There are not a few, who, in a deep sense of their frailty and daily recurring needs, covet again and again the personal Absolution which they rightly believe to be ministered by the Christian priesthood, and I would fain direct them to a provision too little considered in our own Church. At the same time as she protested against the Roman sacrament of penance, she prefixed a Confession and Absolution to her offices of Morning and Evening Prayer to supply the very want I am speaking of. The Absolution there daily pronounced by the Priest alone is really all that any priest can pronounce in private. If you object it is only a public form, so was all Confession and Absolution in the primitive Church. The confession of those who came and shewed their deeds at Ephesus was public; so was all that we read of in the New Testament. For the first four centuries the entire discipline was public in the Church. When private confession came to be allowed because of its involving other people's characters the penitent was still absolved in public. The Roman Sacrament is a new thing, not known for 1,000 years, not even now required in the Eastern Church, though the power of the keys in the forgiveness of sins has been asserted always and everywhere.

If you think our general Absolution wanting in individual application, I would remind you that the application must always be the act of the penitent more than the priest. Whether public, as in the Primitive Church, or private, as in the Church of Rome, Absolution is of necessity conditional on the state of the penitent before God.

Neither Church nor priest can search the heart; their judgment is formed on your own account of yourself, and must stand or fall as it accords with the judgment of God. On the other hand, all Churches witness with the Holy Scripture that "if we confess our sins unto God, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Believe, and you are forgiven.

What, then, should hinder any from daily going to Confession in our own Church? Suppose that you prepare as for confession to a priest: you recall the particulars you mean to disclose; you anticipate the searching examination of the Confessor; you think of the backslidings, shortcomings, murmurings and temptations of which you desire to be relieved. All this must be done in your own chamber before God, if confession to the priest is to be more than a form. Then take this with you to the Church; the priest is not of less authority in the Congregation than in the Confessional. Can you not kneel before him and empty out your heart in the words of the General Confession as well as in any other words? You can couple its several clauses in your own mind with the particular sins you have come to confess. It would help you nothing to tell them to the priest unless you tell them to God; and in telling God you tell all any priest can wish to require. Then receive the Absolution that he speaks; it is more ample than any private one, for it reaches to all that you have confessed to God and all that He sees in you; and how imperfect is any confession to men.

If it is a general form, so also is the private Absolution. The difference is only that the private form is pronounced to single penitents in succession, and the public form to many penitents at once. It is made particular to each by his own penitence, and no more, after all, is to be obtained in private.

For a comparison of the general form with the private, nothing is wanting but the judgment of a fallible man on a case stated by yourself, and it may be with many mistakes and omissions. Here you make your confession to One who supplies all defects—to the Invisible Priest who cleanses from all sin. It is He who pronounces your Absolution by the voice of His Minister, and the disburdened conscience responds with the cry of the reconciled child, "Our Father which art in heaven."

Here, then, is a daily shrift for daily failings—*one* to strengthen the conscience instead of

enfeebling it; to place us under an infallible direction; it brings us boldly to the throne of grace through the veil—the rent and broken flesh of our Eternal Sacrifice—into the Holiest, to the very mercy-seat where we shall find grace to help in time of need. “Behold, then, (dear brethren), what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God”—sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty, pardoned, healed, accepted in the Beloved. No! I would not have you go mourning and cast down under a burden that is too heavy for you to bear—the unforgiven sin that crushes out all spiritual life, and fills the grave with a horror of thick darkness. Who that knows what sin is, sees his own sins drifting over his path like the dead leaves of autumn; heaping him up on every side with broken vows and aimless longings and lost opportunities—his eyes blinded, his feet tottering, his strength failing;—who that ever realised his soul’s supremest need, but must long and cry for a health and help that are not in himself—an absolution that shall not only preach and promise, but seal and secure the remission of his sins. It is not enough that Christ has died a Sacrifice for all sins. I must be delivered from my own

sin, that very sin of yesterday or to-day. I must have an Absolution for myself, or there is no Gospel for me.—Assuredly you must and shall.

It is here upon earth, for you and for me, to-day and to-morrow, that the Son hath power and will to forgive sins. If it seem long to look back across the centuries to the one full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice and satisfaction of the Cross: if you want the visible ambassador and the authentic seal, they are here:—Leave the world, the flesh, and the devil behind you; break away from the sins you deplore; come, confess them at yon Holy Table. *There* still flows the water and the Blood—your cleansing and your absolution. *There* shall you hear His own voice, “Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” *There* will we stand in the long line of His ambassadors, following our predecessors in the same place for a thousand years; to take your confession and give you Absolution, yea, and seal it with His own true sacrament. You shall receive His Body broken and His Blood shed for the remission of your sins, and if this be not enough, He Himself will dwell in you and you in Him. You shall be one with Christ, and Christ with you.

APPENDIX.

At a Conference of Churchmen convened in consequence of the gravity of the present Church crisis, and held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on the 28th April, 1899, the Bishop of Hereford being in the chair, the following Resolutions were adopted unanimously, and have since been extensively signed. The names have now been published of above 2,700 leading Churchmen of both schools of thought—“Anglican” and “Evangelical”—in the Church, who have already appended their signatures to it.

We are glad to be able to insert a copy of the Resolutions, as forming a conclusion to this Part when it was being prepared for the press,—maintaining as they do a firm and united defence of those Scriptural principles, which it is the steadfast purpose of this work to Vindicate from the Romeward teaching of a disloyal party, now striving to gain a recognized position in the Reformed Catholic Church of England!

“1. We who are assembled at this Meeting of Churchmen, being distressed and anxious on account of the dangers that so seriously threaten the continued welfare of our reformed branch of the Catholic Church, do hereby pledge ourselves to co-operate in maintaining by all lawful

and Godly means its Protestant and comprehensive character, and to guard and cherish the great heritage of religious freedom and progress secured to the English people at the Reformation, enriched by three centuries of Anglican life and thought, and now held in trust by our generation for the spiritual, moral, and intellectual well-being of those who are to come after us.

“2. Believing that the Real Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood is a purely spiritual presence, and that no other is recognized by the formularies of the Church of England, we hold it to be the duty of all Churchmen to save the Church, as far as in them lies, from the endeavours which are being made by a section of the clergy to bring back an unscriptural and materialistic doctrine of the Holy Communion, and a ritual hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the Roman Mass repudiated at the Reformation.

“3. We hold it to be the duty of all true and faithful members of the Church to maintain the teaching of the Prayer-book as to confession

and absolution, and to discourage and oppose by all lawful means the introduction into our parishes and homes of any system of habitual confession to a priest, or of the misleading and dangerous doctrine that the practice of auricular confession is either necessary or generally helpful to the maintenance of a healthy Christian life; and we most earnestly appeal to the Bishops to prevent, as far as in them lies, any clergyman of our Church from taking advantage of his position to press it, as a rule of life, upon the young or the ignorant.

"4. The practice of reservation of the consecrated elements being in our opinion contrary to the formularies of the English Church, we earnestly appeal to the Bishops to enforce the prohibition of it contained in the Prayer-book and obviously implied in the Articles.

"5. We are of opinion that it is for the true interests of the Established Church that the final determination of ecclesiastical causes should continue to rest with Her Majesty in Council; and we deplore, and will oppose, the pretension put forward by a section of Churchmen that the law of the Church in spiritual matters is to be authoritatively interpreted by the clerical order alone."

The signatures to the above include 11 Deans, about 100 Archdeacons and Canons (residential and honorary), about 40 University Professors and Heads of Colleges, some 60 Fellows (past and present) of Colleges, about 70 each of Head Masters and Assistant Masters, and upwards of 1,200 Incumbents. Among the Laity,—The Commander-in-Chief, The President of the Royal Academy, The Astronomer Royal, The President, 2 Vice-Presidents and 2 past Presidents, and several Fellows of the Royal Society, 300 Magistrates, and many other distinguished public servants.

Such a voluntary declaration from so large and representative a body of English Churchmen, clerical and lay, in defence of the Principles of the Reformation, preserved to us in our Prayer-book, appears as a timely rejoinder to the recent high-sounding defiant manifestoes, put forth in the name of "the English Church Union" by their dogmatic President, who has also recently presumed to counsel disobedience to constituted Authority in the Church,—as in the State!

It needs but a reference to the President's circular letter "to the lay members of the E.C.U." of which a few extracts are here given, to prove the need and justification of the strong protest maintained in the above Resolutions, against the Romeward teaching and defiant attitude of a party in our Church.

A longing desire to see the Church of England

subjected again to the domination of the Papacy, by acknowledging the supremacy of the "Bishop of Rome," and all it involves! is clearly implied in this letter, but it was boldly asserted by Lord Halifax "to be the duty of us, English Churchmen, to strive for,—as the great work to which God has called us *all*!"—in his letter to the *Guardian*, in 1895, of which we inserted a copy in the cover to Part I., and which is here reprinted as a fitting conclusion to this Appendix.

MANIFESTO FROM LORD HALIFAX.

"To the Lay Members of the English Church Union." *Guardian*, Aug. 30, 1899.

"The Archbishops' 'Opinion' is not in form or substance a judicial ecclesiastical sentence delivered after a matter has been tried and investigated by a Court possessing full canonical and legal authority, and in accordance with canonical principles; it is, and it claims to be, no more than an 'Opinion' delivered after (not a trial, but) a 'Hearing' of what can be said for and against certain matters. . . .

"I will say that it seems to me to be one of the greatest misfortunes that has fallen on the Church since the rise of the Oxford Movement; and for this reason: the 'Opinion' does everything that such a document could do to discredit and reduce to an unreality the appeal which the Church of England has ever made to the practice of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, as supplying her standard of doctrine and ceremonial. The use of incense in Divine service was exactly a matter which surely should have been tested by the appeal to Catholic practice. . . .

"What are we to think of the justice and righteousness of asserting, in order to put down a particular practice, a principle of interpretation of our formularies which we may confidently say our Archbishops and Bishops have not the slightest intention of impartially applying all round?

"We naturally ask, in face of such considerations, what is it that has stirred up our Primates now at this date to make this raid on the use of incense—a use which they themselves refuse to stigmatize as 'an unsuitable or undesirable accompaniment to Divine worship'?" . . .

"Our love for the honour of our Church, and our reverence for the episcopal office, make us blush with shame to give the only truthful reply. Our prelates have been stirred into action in order to appease, by the sacrifice of the religious feelings of some thousands of loyal Churchmen, the rancours of a profane and blasphemous agitator and his followers, and the threats of sometimes ignorant and prejudiced, but always contentious, political partisans. It is miserable to have to acknowledge it, but it cannot be doubted that it is the fact that but for the recent clamour we should have been left quietly to worship God in peace, and to bring our incense to adorn His worship without molestation. . . .

"We have been referred to an Act of Parliament the interpretation of which has been strained to the utmost to deprive the Church of England of what we believe to be her rights. We asked for bread, and we have been given a stone. The 'Opinion' has given a check to the growing harmony between our Bishops and a large section

of their clergy, which has been such a happy feature of these later years, from which it may never recover during the life of any of us. It has shattered the hopes so widely cherished that the course taken by the Archbishops for the hearing of ecclesiastical matters might prove the means of initiating amongst us a revival on canonical principles of a true exercise of spiritual authority. . . .

"It only remains for me to give such advice as is possible under present circumstances. I would say to the lay members of the Union, stand by your priests. I think if the counsel of the laity of the parish is asked, as in such a matter is sure to be the case, you should strongly advise against any change being made, if made at all, until the matter is pressed home by the Diocesan. and that you should support your clergy in making it plain that compliance is yielded grudgingly and of necessity because of the present distress, under moral compulsion, that only the letter of the 'Opinion' will be regarded (the interpretation of an Act of Parliament can require no more, for an 'Act of Parliament,' as has already been well said, is 'not converted into a spiritual law by being promulgated by an Archbishop'), and that submission is made without prejudice to whatever future action may be thought wise and right. This, in practice, would mean that incense would be used in processions before the Holy Eucharist begins, but would be laid aside before the opening 'Our Father' is said. This modified practice would be parallel to the mixture of the chalice before the service.

"But whatever course your priests deem it their duty to take, stand by your priests. Help them, if need so require, to bear the pain of depriving their ministrations of a lawful and Catholic adjunct should conscience tell them that they must yield to the 'Opinion,' and be true to them in the dark and difficult days that will be in store for them if they feel that they must resist the officers of the Church for the honour of that Church which the Divine Master bids even Bishops to 'hear.' We have been told that in the smallest, as well as the greatest, matters we are bound by an Act of Parliament 300 years old—an Act passed in the teeth of the Bishops and Convocation.(?) If this, indeed, be the case, we will do our best to cut through such bonds.

The following portion of a letter addressed to the *Guardian* by the President of the "English Church Union," will serve to show the very contrary doctrine respecting the Pope's Supremacy maintained by the "Anti-Reformation" party—assuming the sole right to be "Catholics,"—to that of the historic evidence so amply set forth in disproof of the Validity of the Papal claim to Universal Supremacy, by the late Dean of Chichester, in his third letter, in answer to "an Anglican perverted to the Church of Rome." (Part I., 2nd Division.) The question as to which of the two historical assertions are best supported by the testimony of Scripture and Church history may confidently be left to the decision of all "loyal members of the English Church."

This letter forms a striking indication of how far the Leaders of this party would go in their

disloyal attempt to "undo the work of the Reformation," and subject us again to the usurpations and tyrannous yoke of Papal Rome! The noble writer may well apply to himself the advice to English Churchmen, with which he concludes the letter: viz., "*Not to play fast and loose with first principles, nor to pick and choose what merely happens to suit them in the domain of history, doctrine, and practice.*"

(To the Editor of the *Guardian*. Dec. 1895.)

"I have yet to learn that the Church of England by any authoritative act, or in any of her distinctive formularies, has ever refused to the occupant of the Holy See a primacy of authority which should be *ex jure divino*.

"The word 'Primacy' does not properly connote jurisdiction but honour. This, however, does not mean that the occupant of the Holy See has no more than a primacy of honour. His primacy implies an authority (*auctoritas* as distinguished from *potestas*) greater than that of any other Bishop, which is manifested by the issue of directive letters to Bishops in various parts of the church. Should any call this a primacy of jurisdiction, members of the English Church might demur to the strict accuracy of the phrase, but as loyal members of that Church they would not be bound to make any further objection.

"That such an answer will seem to some to concede too much, to others to concede too little, is probable, but the whole tenour of ecclesiastical history is a fact which cannot be ignored. If the claims of the Papacy have been exaggerated on one side, they have certainly not always had justice done to them on the other.

"If the claim of the occupants of the Holy See as successors of St. Peter and as representing the authority of the Prince of the Apostles, to interfere wherever the needs of the Church required it, has been recognized from the earliest times, it is none the less true that individual Churches and individual Bishops have never felt themselves precluded by the recognition of such claims from resistance to undue encroachment on the part of the Roman Pontiff, if the occasion demanded it; nor was the interruption of visible communion with the Roman See, which not unfrequently resulted from such resistance, supposed at once to dry up all the sources of spiritual life.

"To reconcile the just claims of the Pope with those of the national Churches is the problem of the present time. The solution of that problem, in the interest both of the Head and of the Members, is, as I believe, the great work to which God is calling us all. How great the difficulties are which surround it none can know better than I do. I will only say that no beginning will have been made to surmount them, till English Churchmen as a body have learnt to be a little more accurate and exact in their theology, not to play fast and loose with first principles, not to pick and choose merely what happens to suit them in the domain of history, doctrine, and practice; and, above all, to be a little more consistent themselves with primitive practice and teaching, before they consider themselves entitled to sit in judgment upon others, and condemn all who happen to differ from them."

HALIFAX.

79, Eaton-square, Dec. 9, 1895.

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART VII.—(*First Division.*)

ON FASTING BEFORE COMMUNION,—

ENFORCED as a duty.

"Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men?"—Coloss. ii. 8, 20, 22.

"In vain do they worship ME, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."—Matt. xv. 9.

* * As a valuable testimony in support of the treatment of the subject of "Fasting as a duty before Communion" in this first Division, we commence with an extract from a recent treatise by Dr. Perowne, the present Bishop of Worcester, on "The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper,"—Chap. x., on Fasting Communion.¹

Whatever may have been the rule in the fourth century, [ordaining fasting before Communion] it is perfectly certain that our own Church has imposed no such rule upon her children. If any Christian man thinks that he can partake of the Holy Supper of the Lord with a more collected mind, with more devout aspiration, when fasting, he has a perfect right to receive fasting. But he has no right to restrict the liberty of others, where the Church of England has not done so, on any idle plea of Catholic usage. That which our Prayer-Book does not require is not Catholic, and there is not a passage in the Prayer-Book which requires fasting Communion, or which lends it any encouragement. On the contrary, by making the sermon a part of the office, the Church implies that the Communion will be late in the day, and, therefore, that it will be after a meal. Indeed, if there were any doubt on the subject, a comparison of the rubric before Adult Baptism, with the rubric before Holy Communion and

the Exhortations, renders it morally certain that our Church did not intend to require fasting before participation. For, whereas the candidate for Baptism is directed to fast before the Sacrament is administered, no such requirement is made of any man before he receives the Holy Communion. The omission of any such direction in the latter case must have been very deliberate and intentional, there being no less than five distinct places in which our Church deals with the due preparation for the Lord's Supper (the Catechism, the Rubric before the Communion Service, and the three Exhortations). In not one of these is fasting mentioned, while it is mentioned in the *one* notice of the preparation of such as are of riper years for Baptism. The significance of the omission before Communion is yet more apparent when taken in connection with the name of "feast" and "banquet," applied in our service to the Lord's Supper.

SECT. 1.—FASTING COMMUNION CONSIDERED, IN REFERENCE TO THE ORDER OF THE SERVICES. THE subject treated of in this and the following sections is the authority for the alleged duty of fasting as a necessary preparation for partaking of the Holy Communion. No rule or direction

to that effect is to be found in the Communion Service, or in any other part of the Book of Common Prayer, nor, until the recent attempt to revive it, has such a custom been observed in our Church since the Reformation. Having prevailed in early times, though not in the

¹ The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, cleared from certain misconceptions. E. Stock. 1898.

Apostolic age, it has been generally regarded in the light of a pious and reverent custom, and adopted by individuals at their own discretion as a matter of self-discipline, and an aid to devotion. In this sense no one can object to a practice which is within the limits of Christian freedom. The question, however, assumes a very different and most important aspect when attempts are made to *impose* the practice as a matter of obligation *on the conscience* of the Communicant, and to engraft it as an additional rule upon the fasting observances enjoined by our Church. Besides the primary objection that it is an innovation unauthorized by the Prayer-book, and unwarranted by Holy Scripture, the enforcement of fasting Communion as a necessary Christian duty involves the *practical* consequence that the reception of the Sacrament is restricted to an early hour of the day, to the disparagement and neglect of the principal service of the Lord's Day, when the whole congregation assemble in the forenoon for Divine Service, and which it is the evident intention of the Church should culminate in the chief act of Christian worship—the commemoration of the One Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross—for which Morning Prayer and Litany are the preparatory offices,¹ and around which all her services centre as the crowning act of adoration.

The rubric which prohibits the Minister from proceeding to the celebration of the Holy Communion in the event of there not being a sufficient number ready to communicate with him, is intended to guard against the abuse of "solitary Masses" at which the Priest alone communicated—an abuse which the revived practice of non-communicant attendance is calculated, and in some instances, we fear, *intended* to bring back into our Church,—but it gives no authority or justification to the Minister to curtail the principal service when the whole congregation, comprising both Communicants and Catechumens, are assembled, by the omission of the essential part of it—the consecration and administration—(the other portion being merely introductory), unless compelled to do so by the insufficient number of communicants.

This rubric, it should be observed, by which the minister is guided in concluding the service without proceeding to the celebration, is not *permissive* to him to omit it at his discretion, but

is *prohibitory* against the administration of the Sacrament, should there not "be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest according to his discretion."³ That case ought to be an exceptional one, calling for the use of the second Exhortation provided for that end, in giving notice for the Holy Communion—a matter of grief to the Minister, and to be amended by the congregation, on being warned by him of the neglect of their duty. But owing to the evil custom of concluding with the sermon and omitting the administration of the Sacrament, which has grown up in days of lukewarmness, the people have been led to regard their worship as complete without its essential act, and to consider it as a separate Service, and the remaining "to communicate with the Priest," a matter altogether optional.

A much deeper sense, however, of their privilege and duty in this respect, has been evinced of late years by the Laity, and there has been no lack of large and regular attendance of Communicants at the mid-day administrations. But all this increase of earnest devotion on the part of the general congregation is sadly frustrated in some instances by the misplaced zeal of those clergy who, to enforce compliance with their own views of the importance of early and fasting Communion, have restricted the Celebrations (with few exceptions), to early hours, contrary to the feelings and wishes of the majority of their flocks. In some of our parish Churches there are now frequent Celebrations on Sundays and week days at five, six, seven, or eight a.m., for the sake of a favoured minority, while the mid-day Communion Service is, as a rule, mutilated by omitting the administration of the Sacrament, except once a month, although a large portion of the congregation would gladly remain to communicate every Sunday. A serious hardship is thus inflicted upon the regular mid-day communicants, especially the aged, and those in weak health, who cannot attend fasting, and such an arrangement can only be regarded as an exercise of tyrannical power on the part of the Clergy over the Laity, deserving of very grave censure.

To have an early Sunday morning celebration in *addition* to, though not in substitution of, the mid-day Communion, in order to provide for the increasing number of communicants in our large parishes, many of whom may be unable to

¹ See Note A, Appendix.

³ 2nd Rubric in Communion Service.

attend at the later Service, (or for those who from previous teaching retain scruples about doing so), is an appropriate arrangement called for by the necessity of the case; but to reverse the order of the Prayer-book, by making *Morning* Prayer, with the addition of the sermon, the sole *mid-day* Service, beginning the day with Holy Communion, and omitting even the first portion of that Service at the accustomed later hour (an arrangement recently attempted in some Churches), is an obvious anomaly, and a mode of evading the difficulty arising from the neglect of the mid-day Communion, which can only be justified by necessity. Such an arrangement becomes a great deprivation to the unconfirmed, and others who from sufficient cause do not stay to communicate, who thereby lose the opportunity of hearing the Commandments, Epistle, and Gospel, and joining in the Nicene Creed, a privilege heretofore enjoyed by the whole congregation at the Sunday forenoon Service throughout the Church of England.

There is no doubt a growing preference with many for receiving the Sacrament at the early administration on Sundays, especially in our large Churches with choirs, rather than at the principal mid-day Communion, from the length of the combined Services and sermon, with the chanting and additional hymns, causing a mental strain and weariness, in comparison with the greater freshness of mind for deep devotion at the earlier hour; and the preference in such case is a natural consequence, much to be commended. The devout feeling also which cherishes the pious sentiment of old—that of giving preference to the spiritual sustenance of the soul over the food of the body—is most deserving of respect. But this suggests the important question for the consideration of our Rulers in the Church, whether the true remedy is not to be found in a return to the earlier hours of Service customary with our forefathers, subsequent to the Reformation;⁴ Morning Prayer, for instance, at 8 or 9, and Litany and Holy Communion with Sermon at 10 or 11 a.m., an arrangement which in some degree still continues in our Cathedrals. Thus while again separating the Introductory Office from the chief Service of the Lord's Day—the Holy Communion,—yet to preserve their due order and intention, rather than to reverse them.

By far the most serious objection to the enforcement of fasting—and by consequence early—Communion, is the pretext it affords for changing the character and intention of the service at the mid-day celebration (as already alluded to), by encouraging the general congregation to remain without partaking, which has become the custom in those churches where extreme ritual is adopted. The consequent result is a perversion of Our Lord's ordinance of Holy Communion to "a function of the celebrating Priest"—no one present communicating with him,—in direct disobedience to the rule of our Church. This "High Celebration" (as it is now called) is rendered attractive by the addition of hymns and music, and elaborate ceremonial unauthorized by the Prayer-book, and thus made to correspond to the service of "High Mass" in the Church of Rome, which the people are taught to attend, in order that they may thereby "join in the Sacrifice" without partaking the Sacrament.⁵

This same delusive doctrine, so contrary to the plain words of Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Primitive Church,⁶ is, by such outward means, being again introduced into our own Church—to the perversion of many from their faith and allegiance—by a Romanizing party assuming to themselves specially the title of "Catholic," while striving to rob us of those distinctive *Catholic principles* which, by God's mercy, we regained at the Reformation.⁷

It is, moreover, the avowed object of many non-communicants in attending these Celebrations, to perform a special act of adoration to Our Saviour in Person, directed to the consecrated elements while unconsumed, as then present in His Glorified Body "on the Altar,"

⁵ See Note N, in Appendix to Part IV. —Remarks by Mr. Keble and others, in condemnation of an enforced rule of fasting Communion.

⁶ "In Scripture and Antiquity, the Sacrifice and the Participation are inseparable. The Apostle says that we 'show the Lord's death—which is the office of the Sacrifice—when we eat this bread and drink this cup.' St. Augustine expressly observes that 'to eat bread is the sacrifice of Christians.'"—*Sacrifice and Participation*, &c., Canon Trevor, p. 12.

⁷ Among other recent testimonies to the painful truth of this assertion, the reader is referred to the late Charge of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and also of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, containing an earnest warning against the Counter-Reformation Movement in our Church:—to the strong protest made by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, from a stern sense of duty, in his recently published sermon on "Romanizing within the Church of England," preached at St. Mary's, Oxford:—and to the forcible appeal to "High Churchmen of the Old School" in "Quousque" (published at Oxford in the early part of year 1873, against the disloyal efforts of this party to Romanize and Revolutionize the Church of England.

⁴ See Note B, Appendix. This would not prevent a first early Celebration following M. Prayer (if not preceding), and, being a preparatory office, it might then substitute the first portion of the Comm. Ser., so as to begin with the offertory.

"under the form of bread and wine" (albeit the symbols of His *Death*, not His *Life*); in place of that worship at all times addressed to Him in Heaven, by His Church on earth, where He sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father, enthroned in Majesty and Glory.⁸ Such presumptuous "will-worship," miscaled "Eucharistic adoration"—not realizing the truth of His spiritual Presence ever abiding with His Church by the power of the Holy Ghost, and His Sacramental Indwelling in the hearts of His true members, who feed on Him by faith—is the same in principle as the Host-worship of the Church of Rome. It becomes *practically* idolatrous in both cases, and only *not* identical, inasmuch as Rome shields herself from the charge of idolatry in *theory*, by the invented dogma of "Transubstantiation," or the annihilation of the outward material symbols, towards which objects (even as by the heathen towards their statues) the worship in each case is directed.⁹

One point of importance respecting "fasting" Communion, in the real sense of the term, should be remembered by those whose chief aim is to revive mediæval rules and customs in our Church; namely, that although it was the general rule of the Church in former times to partake of the Holy Communion before the morning meal, it was not for the purpose of enjoining a previous fast, as such, but to guard against irreverence consequent on coming to Communion after partaking of a substantial meal, which was then customary about the same hour as our modern light breakfast. This is proved by the fact that to fast on Sundays and Feast-days was forbidden by the rules of the Church. When the Sacrament was administered on a Fast-day, it was postponed to a later hour in the day, on purpose not to interfere with the strict observance of the Fast until mid-day, or the afternoon.¹ An arrangement of the Sunday Services at early hours was the natural result of the earlier habits prevailing in the Middle Ages—the hour of rising being generally at daybreak. Mr. Kingdon has shown in his learned treatise on Fasting Communion, which we review in the Third Section, that it was usual to break the morning fast soon after rising by a slight refec-tion called the *Jentaculum*, and that the Christians afterwards went to the Holy Communion

before taking their more substantial morning meal. It is evident therefore that the custom which has regulated the time of our forenoon Service, so that the Mid-day Communion precedes the usual substantial meal of the present day, at one or two o'clock, is the same in principle as the rule of the Mediæval Church enjoining early Communion.

SECT. 2.—THE ALLEGED "DUTY" OF FASTING COMMUNION CONSIDERED: I.—IN REFERENCE TO THE ORIGIN AND OBSERVANCE OF THE RULE IN THE EARLY AGES OF THE CHURCH. II.—NOT ENJOINED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

HAVING indicated some of the results that ensue from the practice of Fasting Communion, in reference to the order and integrity of our Services, we proceed to consider the authority on which it is now asserted to be a *duty* incumbent on members of the English Church. The immediate cause which has necessitated this enquiry, and treatment of the subject, is the publication of a sermon, preached at Richmond, Surrey, on Advent Sunday (1872), by the Rev. F. N. Oxenham, senior curate, entitled, "The Duty of Fasting Communion."² It is herein enforced as a paramount religious duty in the strongest terms, on the assumed authority of "the Church," the text being taken from St. Matthew xviii. 17, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."

We forbear to allude to the sad estrangement which was caused by the preaching of this sermon, between the Vicar of the parish and his Curates, further than to state that having received very earnest appeals from his parishioners, in preaching on the next Sunday, he expressed his decided dissent from such teaching, upon which the four Curates relinquished their duties. The Bishop, after reference of the matter to him, accepted the resignation of their licences.

I. Patristic learning is of two kinds. One kind

² "The Duty of Fasting Communion." A Sermon preached in the Church of St. Matthias, Richmond, on Advent Sunday, Dec. 1st, 1872, by F. N. Oxenham, M.A., late curate of Richmond. Rivingtons. "Second Edition, 1873, with Note by the Lord Bishop of Winchester." In this Note an explanation is given by desire of the Bishop, that the quotation from one of his charges as in condemnation of Mid-day Communion, misrepresented his meaning, which only applied to Evening Communion. Two well written articles appeared in the *Guardian* and *Church Bells* in January 1873, commenting on this sermon, headed "The Richmond Scandal," portions of which are given in Appx. II. (cover), in 1st Edition

⁸ See Part IV. Note Q. p. 314. Euchar. Ador. and 2nd Edition, Part VIII. p. 257—62.

⁹ See "Canon Trevor, on the Sacrifice and Participation," &c., pp. 31, 31. (Reviewed in Part V.)

¹ See Notes B, and C. p. 447 Appx. Also, Kingdon, p. 42-3.

consists in such an acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers of the Church as enables its possessor to bring the views entertained by them to bear upon the elucidation of the Word of God, and to arrive at greater accuracy in ascertaining the meaning and intent of the Holy Ghost in inditing the Scriptures. The other kind adds to an intimate knowledge of those writings an unbounded reliance on the opinions expressed therein, which leads its possessor, unintentionally, it may be, and unconsciously, to take those opinions for his guide, and to search the Scriptures for corroborative statements in support of them. The former method brings out the sense of the Revealed Word in greater clearness and fullness, while the latter insensibly leads to the wresting of Holy Scripture in order to bring it into seeming accordance with the writings of the Fathers. To which of these two kinds of patristic learning the sermon above referred to owes its origin, we might almost leave the author himself to decide, were it not for that infirmity of human nature which makes a man a bad judge in his own cause.

But for this infirmity it would be difficult for the zealous and estimable clergyman who has put forth this strange document, first from the pulpit, and then from the press, to avoid the conviction that he has fallen into a snare into which certain teachers of old fell, and against which we are cautioned by the highest authority, that of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself—the snare of “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.” Who, except under the pressure of what we may, we trust without offence, call patristic infatuation, could have selected the text on which the sermon professes to be founded, for the purpose of establishing the doctrine contained in it? Surely Mr. Oxenham must have been hard pushed for a text of Scripture in proof of the correctness of the doctrine it was his wish to inculcate, for him to have had recourse to an injunction given by our Lord touching a particular case of difficulty in the relations between man and man, for establishing his view of a question of observance in connection with a Divine ordinance, to which that injunction does not make the remotest reference. The very fact of his having been driven to the selection of such a text for such a purpose might have warned him of the radically unscriptural, and therefore erroneous, character of his teaching.

We are not concerned to follow Mr. Oxenham into the details of his patristic argument, or to examine the solidity of either his learning or his reasoning as to the alleged consensus of the Fathers in attaching the duty of fasting to the privilege of Sacramental Communion with Christ, in such wise as to make it a condition of worthy reception, and by implication to reduce non-fasting communicants to the category of “heathen men and publicans.” To argue with him on his own ground—on which, however, the victory would by no means be so certainly on his side—would be to concede to him the *principle* of his argument, which is that not the Holy Scriptures only in their plain and obvious sense, but the writings of the Fathers also, are to be the rule of our faith and practice. It is needless to add that the illustrious men themselves, on whose authority the author relies, rather than on the Word of God, would have been the first to shrink from a conclusion so abhorrent from all true conception of the Revealed Word, and of the supreme reverence due to it as the Word of Inspiration. They themselves by their constant reference to Holy Scripture, show that they hold, or, at all events, intend to hold, their opinions in absolute subjection to it; and had Mr. Oxenham followed their example he would never have preached this sermon. He does not seem in the least aware of that important canon of biblical criticism, according to which the *silence* of Holy Scripture on any given point is often as instructive and conclusive as the most express statement. So, in the present case, the entire silence of Holy Scripture as to the *physical* (and by inference therefrom *spiritual*) qualification or disqualification of the believer desirous of appropriating Christ's promise of *spiritual* sustenance and union with Himself, arising from his previous abstinence from, or participation of, ordinary food, must be taken as proof of an intention to leave the point open; and consequently to be decided by each one for himself according to his own sense of reverence, and what means he feels to be most conducive to undistracted devotion, when engaged in this highest act of Christian worship, wherein the soul is raised to mysterious communion with its God! The question as to previous abstinence from food can only be rightly regarded as a *means* towards the attainment of this desired end.

The matter being left purely optional, it is

natural that many, whose state of health did not forbid, should refrain from taking their ordinary morning meal until, having the opportunity of previously doing so, they have joined in the sacred banquet of the Body and Blood of their Lord, thereby giving priority to the sustenance of the soul over that of the body. But there is nowhere in Holy Scripture any command or prohibition to that effect; nor is there, in fact, any trace of such a custom generally prevailing in Apostolic times. On the contrary, from the slight account we have of the religious habits of the early Christians at Jerusalem, it is to be inferred that they began the day by attendance at the morning sacrifice in the temple, and afterwards resorted to their own place of assembly, probably the "upper room," which was the scene of the institution of the Lord's Supper—their *orac*—where they offered that higher and more spiritual worship of which the former was the type and shadow. The extension of the Church beyond Jerusalem, where alone the daily morning and evening sacrifice could be offered, would bring about, among other important changes, this also, that instead of assembling for their morning devotions in the synagogues, from which they were in most places ejected, they formed themselves into distinct congregations for their own peculiar worship. Soon this developed itself, in accordance with the principles and doctrines of the Christian faith, in the form of Liturgies; and of this, if not every day, certainly every Lord's Day, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist by those admitted to the Church's membership—to the *exclusion* of catechumens and casual visitors, drawn thither by a spirit of devotion or by curiosity—formed the most essential feature. When, in times of persecution, it became necessary, as a matter of safety, for these assemblies to be kept secret, and, with this view, to be held before daybreak, those who resorted to them (the *antelucani coetus*) would naturally do so before partaking of food at their own homes, and "Fasting Communion" would become a general custom. Being once established, a feeling of propriety in giving to the spiritual food of the soul precedence over the material food of the body, and the sense of the greater freedom of mind and impressibility of heart at these early services would tend to consolidate the custom, even after the necessity which gave rise to it had ceased. But when, with the gradual decay of

the spirit of devotion, the public assemblies for worship came, for the sake of convenience, to be postponed to a later hour of the day, it was as natural that private morning prayer and the morning meal should precede—as, until within the last few years, it had generally done in the English Church—the public assemblies for worship, for which the chief office, that of the Holy Communion, was reserved. How far, under these circumstances, it is desirable, or in the interests of the Church and of true religion expedient, and, except in larger towns and with a numerous staff of clergy, even practicable, to enforce "Fasting Communion" as a rule, is a question which may fairly be left to be resolved by the most ordinary common sense. How far it is conducive to true godliness, and to the furtherance of the salvation of all men, to establish *de facto* separate and select congregations, of "fasting communicants"—who would naturally very soon be led to esteem themselves better than their non-fasting communicant brethren, instead of esteeming, according to the Gospel rule, "others better than themselves," and thus to foster the not very Christian sentiment, "stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou"—is another and by no means unimportant question to which the above sermon, with its forcible text, furnishes, if we mistake not, a most striking answer.

II.—*Fasting Communion, not enjoined by the Church of England.*

With these preliminary remarks in regard to the original cause and general adoption at an early period of the custom of fasting Communion, we pass on to a more detailed consideration of the grounds on which the Author of the sermon relies for support in claiming "Church" authority for the observance of this custom as a "a duty," after its long disuse, by members of the Church of England.

In page 8 Mr. Oxenham lays down the following rule:—

"There are three sources of authority for faith and practice to which the Church of England refers us. (1.) First and supreme is the authority of Holy Scripture. Whatsoever is 'read therein,' or 'may be proved thereby,' is simply 'necessary to salvation,'—to be believed and to be obeyed. Whatsoever Holy Scripture, rightly understood, reveals or enjoins, is beyond dispute; it is the voice of the Lord, 'true from everlasting,' and 'mighty in

operation.' Our only fitting attitude towards it is expressed in the words of the holy child at Shiloh, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' (2.) But there are a great number of matters of faith and practice which must be settled one way or the other, on which Holy Scripture makes no distinct and unmistakable declaration either way, *e.g.*, there is no direct command in the New Testament either to baptize infants or to keep Sunday, the Lord's Day, holy; but nevertheless both these points are settled absolutely by the common consent of all Christendom. On such points—and the question of fasting Communion is one of them—the Church of England has directed us to *two other* sources of authority—one [of which] is the practice of the primitive Church. I need hardly remind you that it was the constantly-repeated intention of our Reformers (asserted at all events often enough and strongly enough, however imperfectly fulfilled), to return to the primitive purity of the ancient, undivided Church, to believe and to do as the primitive Church believed and did. And in one of the canons (of 1571) the Church expressly enjoins her clergy 'that they never teach aught in a sermon to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the Old and New Testament; and which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine. (Wilkin's 'Concilia,' iv. 267.)' . . . (3) [The *third* source of authority is] "the existing custom, so far as it is pure and primitive, in other parts of Christendom. We are then referred to what 'the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected' concerning Christian doctrine and practice: and, moreover, we are forbidden to teach anything else, *i.e.* of course anything different and contrary."

Now the Church of England does not refer us to *three* sources of authority, but to *two*—the Holy Scriptures and her own authorized Formularies. The latter contains *all* the doctrine and discipline which she authorizes the clergy to impose on the people. They express her view of what is catholic in the Fathers and other Churches. She nowhere authorizes individual clergymen to go beyond her view, and inquire for themselves what the Fathers or other Churches have or have not taught. Such inquiries are open questions on which a clergyman may give his advice; but the people are as free to judge as he is. No Church allows individual preachers

to supplement its authority by their private judgment, whether of Scripture, Antiquity, or of foreign usages. It would be impossible to "hear the Church" if her voice were thus subjected to private and conflicting interpretations. Mr. Oxenham is in fact conspicuously guilty of the fault which he charges upon others. The above Canon, which he quotes, limits him to "the Old and New Testament, and to what the Catholic Fathers and Bishops have collected from that very doctrine." These last words he omits in the next paragraph to substitute the more general phrase, "concerning Christian doctrine and practice." But the Canon expressly confines him to what the Fathers and Bishops have collected from the *very doctrine of Scripture*; and he shows himself that they never did collect fasting Communion from the Eucharistic Doctrine of Scripture, but acknowledged that the Scriptural practice was otherwise. Hence this Canon positively forbids its being taught to be "religiously held and believed by the people." There is another Canon, too, of more authority than this of 1571, *viz.*, the 57th of the existing code, which says on the very question now raised, that the doctrine, both of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is "so sufficiently set down in the Book of Common Prayer, to be used at the administration of the said sacrament, as *nothing can be added unto it which is material and necessary.*" Mr. Oxenham neglects to "hear the Church" thus expressly speaking to the point in question, and flies off to the general disclaimer of the 30th Canon, passed with another object in view (page 15). But it is not "a forsaking or rejecting of other Churches," to omit in our own Liturgy a portion of their eucharistic discipline, however generally observed elsewhere. The Church of England, in a matter not determined by any general council, has as much authority as any other in controversies, whether of faith or discipline. But no Bishop or curate in that Church has a right to enforce, as a thing "to be religiously held and observed," what this Church has distinctly pronounced to be "neither material nor necessary." If Mr. Oxenham is right in his assertion that all other Churches, East and West, did at the time of the Reformation, enjoin early and fasting Communion, it is all the more significant that the Church of England has *not* enjoined it. The very language and principles which he relies upon makes this silence the more marked and signi-

acent. The discipline of fasting is by no means overlooked in our formularies. The ancient fast days are retained in the calendar; fasting is expressly enjoined preparatory to adult baptism and Holy Orders. On two points, however, our formularies are profoundly silent; they say nothing of fasting Communion, and they refrain from determining the forms and modes of fasting. These two points the present sermon undertakes to supply: it determines, first, that the Communion is to be received fasting, and, secondly, that fasting means "early" and not at mid-day. Such are Mr. Oxenham's conclusions, and in view of the times on which he founds them he is obviously in error, because in the Primitive Church "early" meant daybreak, and not eight o'clock, and a true fast was not ended till long after noon.³ But whatever the merits of his private opinion, it is at least a grave canonical offence for any ordained Minister of the Church to teach, *as on the authority of the Church*, that which the Church has not only significantly declined to authorize, but expressly declared to be neither material nor necessary, and prohibited her teachers from requiring to be religiously held and believed by the people. And Mr. Oxenham has justly subjected himself to the charge of having committed such an offence on this occasion.

Dismissing, then, the unfounded pretence of Church authority, let us see what is to be said for the preacher's view as a matter of private judgment. In the first place, there is a wide difference between "Early" Communion and "Fasting" Communion. The early worship adverted to in the well-known epistle of Pliny (p. 10), was obviously for the same reason that led the disciples to come together in the evening for fear of the Jews (John xx. 19): they were afraid to meet by daylight. For the same reason, perhaps, or from adherence to the time of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the evening continued to be the time of meeting throughout the period recorded in the New Testament. The Sacrament was taken after supper in the Church of Corinth, and though in Acts xx. 11, the actual celebration was after midnight, the Assembly *began* in the evening (apparently the usual hour), and was only prolonged to break of day by the long preaching of the Apostle, and the accident to Eutychus. Mr. Oxenham would have us believe that St. Paul

transferred the hour to early morning because of the abuses at Corinth; but not a word of this appears in the Apostle's own instructions, and if it were so it would have no more to do with fasting, properly speaking, than the early morning of the Christians, mentioned by Pliny. What the Apostle did tell the Corinthians was *not to fast*, but to eat and drink at home, instead of in the Church. Neither can the instance at Troas (Acts xx.) be properly called a fasting Communion, since the meeting was commenced soon after the usual evening meal, and only accidentally prolonged through the night. So far as the Scripture shows, then, the original institution and the Apostolic practice was to communicate after supper. The distinction which the preacher tries to draw between the Passover as a *sacred* meal and other repasts cannot apply to the Agapæ, or other meals of the disciples in the Apostolic times, nor is such a distinction of meals anywhere countenanced in the New Testament. In short, the New Testament nowhere suggests any connection between fasting and the Holy Eucharist, nor is any such connection implied in the origin of "early" Communion. According to Pliny, they *rose up* early in the morning and went to service, to escape the observation of the heathen. There was no special reference to the Eucharist in this practice; it applied equally to all other acts of worship, and the same may be observed of Mr. Oxenham's references to other exhortations to early worship—they have no special application to the Eucharist, and are quite as much observed in early private prayer as in early Communion. With regard to the *hour*, therefore, it is simply a question of convenience and general devotion, without any special obligation from the nature of the Sacrament.

Fasting is quite another thing. It followed at a later period, partly as a consequence from the necessity of night assemblies, and partly from the general value of fasting as a preparation for prayer. Our Lord himself treats it in connection with prayer in the Sermon on the Mount, and it has always been so retained in the Church. Hence, the Lord's Day, and other festivals were preceded by fasting days and vigils, often continuing throughout the night up to the hour of early service. The worshippers then came to the Communion fasting, not, however, to the Communion only or specifically, but to the whole service of praise and prayer.

³ See Note B, Appendix.

Now there is no doubt that fasting, as a devotional exercise, is too much neglected among us, and might well be dwelt upon from the pulpit for stricter observance. Our Church has given us the days, but no detailed instructions for the mode of keeping them. Probably she was restrained by the corrupt notions prevalent at the time of the Reformation, and still dominant in the Church of Rome. That Church has substituted a superstitious distinction of meats for the scriptural and primitive fast, which implied an entire abstinence from food, drink, and sleep during the time of its continuance. Be this as it may, Mr. Oxenham's exhortation is not to fasting as a proper accompaniment of devotion in general, nor even to fasting Communion as practised in the primitive Church. He insists on a 7 or 8 o'clock celebration as "honouring the Sacrament," and a mid-day celebration as "dishonouring it." His early communicant may take his usual meals the day before, enjoy a long night's rest, and hastening to the Communion as soon as he is dressed may return to his usual breakfast immediately after. Whereas, one who after his private devotions takes his light breakfast—thereby preventing the feeling of bodily exhaustion, and enabling the mind more earnestly to devote its whole attention to the Service—and then proceeding to church at the customary hour in this country, communicates about noon, is pronounced guilty of "dishonouring the Sacrament." The first has spent the hours between his last meal and the Communion in sleep; the second in wakeful recollection and public worship, yet the preacher praises the one and condemns the other, simply because the *sleeping* interval was two or three hours longer than the waking one. This is but a poor example of a fasting Communion as practised by the Fathers. When St. Augustine would have the Sacrament received as the first food that passes our lips, he means the first after a long exercise of prayer and abstinence, not the first after a good night's sleep, or a hearty supper. And when St. Chrysostom alludes to genuine fasting as making worthy of the Communion, he expressly adds, "when thou hast received and oughtest to increase temperance thou undoest all," i.e., by an instant resort to food. If the Fathers had to choose between the so-called early celebration and the midday Communion as arranged in Richmond, and other churches, having regard to the domestic habits of this

country they would have pronounced the one as *f. r* from fasting as the other, and might not improbably have reversed the preference exhibited by Mr. Oxenham. The eight o'clock service which he insists on may be edifying to those who use it, and it is undoubtedly convenient to some who cannot attend the more usual hour, and these are good reasons for continuing it. But it is certainly neither early nor fasting in the primitive sense, and it involves some departure from Catholic usage, the plain intention of our own Liturgy, and the general practice of the Church of England, since the Reformation, by placing the celebration *before* instead of *after* Matins and Litany.

The Church of Rome has a reason for fasting Communion, arising from her doctrine of transubstantiation, which is no less discordant from the primitive and patristic view. Tertullian speaks of the reception of the Communion as breaking the fast; while the contrary is held at Rome, from a belief that the natural substance of the elements is annihilated in the consecration. We must hope that Mr. Oxenham has not been led into this error by the writers whom he has followed; but the gloss at page 18 on the words of St. Augustine is not in the language of the Church of England, and the recommendation of non-communicating attendance at page 17, is quite against her views and those of the primitive Church, as the Bishop of the diocese has conclusively shown in his farewell Charge at Oxford.⁴

We notice with regret an instance of the unfair manner in which Mr. Oxenham attempts to support his argument, in respect to a long extract taken from Mr. Scudamore's "Notitia Eucharistica," to which book the reader is referred. It concludes with a quotation from St. Augustine as witnessing to the then universal observation of the custom of receiving the Sacrament fasting. But the sentence following, which tells directly against his argument, is omitted. It continues thus: "The same Father, however, informs us that there were some who, by way of more signal commemoration, offered and received after taking food 'on one set day in the year, to wit, that in which the Lord gave the Supper itself.'" This important exception to the rule of the Church, which Mr. Scudamore proceeds to inform us was sanctioned by the Third Council of Carthage, A.D.

⁴ See extract from the Charge, Part VII. Appendix.

† 397, and not abolished until 300 years after, is thus wholly ignored by Mr. Oxenham.

The latter paragraphs, summing up the purport of the discourse, we can only regard as wholly unjustifiable, considering the occasion, and the position of the preacher.⁶ Mr. Oxenham summarily asks the following questions in a tone of dogmatic assumption seldom met with from any clergyman of the English Church. It betrays the desire of the *Ultra* High-Church school, whose views he represents, to lay again upon us and our children that yoke of "human traditions," for Divine doctrine, which our forefathers not only "were unable to bear," but firmly refused to submit to!—

"Will you go on refusing to 'hear the Church'?"

"Will you go on seeking a blessing from God in a manner in which he has forbidden you to seek it?"

"Will you go on offering to God a service which you have great reason to fear that He will never accept?"

"Will you go on refusing to give to Jesus Christ the honour due to His Person and His Presence?"

"Will you not rather be obedient, when it is God Almighty who bids you?"

Well might the Vicar of Richmond observe, in his very temperate remarks from his pulpit, on the following Sunday after this Sermon was preached (as we can state on reliable authority), that, "having been appealed to by several of the most devout members of his flock respecting the reception of the Sacrament at mid-day, it became his duty, as their Pastor, plainly to tell them, (while reminding them of his own strong preference for *early*, rather than mid-day Communions, as a *pious custom*,) that he could not conscientiously teach *that to be wrong, and an unacceptable service to God*, for which he could find no warrant from Scripture or the authority of the Church!"

A due regard to Christian truth would prompt us to ask in return to such a question as the fourth of those demanded by the Preacher,—can he really mean to bring so serious a condemnation against the whole body of faithful members of the Church of England for generations past, as that of refusing to give due honour to the Lord Jesus Christ *because* they have received the Holy Communion at the customary mid-day Service. in obedience to the

call of her ministers, after having taken their light breakfast four or five hours before? The most suitable answer indeed to such teaching, as implied by the above questions, would be—the stern rebuke of Our Blessed Saviour to the Pharisees of old:—"In vain do they worship ME, *teaching for doctrines* the commandments of men."

So much for "The Duty of Fasting Communion," as authoritatively promulgated in the name of "the Church." There is, however, another aspect of the question, which, although only incidentally and indirectly suggested in the sermon before us, we cannot pass over in silence. It is not altogether on the ground of obedience to an alleged disciplinary law of the Church that the practice of "Fasting Communion" is so strongly insisted on; there is underlying all this a gross carnal conception of the nature of the Holy Eucharist, a misapprehension of the fact, and perversion of the doctrine of the Real Presence, equally pernicious by the provocation to unbelief which it induces in many minds by way of reaction, and by the fomentation of superstitious feelings in a different class of minds, seducing them into a devotional materialism—in other words, into direct idolatry;—idolatry all the more subversive of true faith and piety, and all the more perilous to the souls that indulge in its intoxication, because connected with a depraved view of the operations, and even of the Sacred Person Itself, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

SECT. 3.—THE CANON LAW OF THE CHURCH ON FASTING COMMUNION, CONSIDERED; IN A REVIEW OF A RECENT TREATISE ON THE SUBJECT, BY THE REV. H. J. KINGDON.⁶

It suggests the comparison of a veteran warrior contending with a new recruit, for a learned writer like Mr. Kingdon to take up the controversy so rashly and ill-advisedly entered upon by Mr. Oxenham. When a congregation, however, can be told from a Church of England pulpit that they are "dishonouring the Sacrament, and doing what God has forbidden," in obeying the invitation to draw near and partake at the most usual hour—and at which *alone* the Eucharist is celebrated in the vast majority of our churches—it is as well to have some real learning expended on the question. "If it be true," Mr. Kingdon remarks, "that some of

⁶ *Fasting Communion; How binding in England by the Canons.* By Rev. H. J. Kingdon, M.A. now "Bishop."

these rigorist priests have refused to communicate invalids because the medical man had directed food to be taken every two hours, and have distressed devout aged persons by saying they were committing a mortal sin by supporting their enfeebled nature with a little food before communicating,—if this be true, it is clearly advisable that some enquiry should be made into the grounds of this teaching."

No one really versed in ritual or canon law, would listen to such trifling for a moment; a Roman Catholic priest, even, would repudiate the idea. The mischief is that these sciolists are neither ritualists, canonists, nor theologians; they take up hastily second-hand learning from the ephemeral publications of the day, and, without a glimpse of the real application, assert their own *dictum*, as the "voice of the Church." Mr. Oxenham might be pardoned for not understanding Tertullian's rugged and difficult Latin; but when he quotes the African Father's letter to *his own wife*, as addressed to "a Christian lady having a heathen husband" (!) he shows plainly enough how little he has consulted the Fathers for himself. So again, his argument about the Passover being a sacrificial feast, and therefore no impediment to a "fasting" reception at the Institution, is traced by Mr. Kingdon to a blunder of Dr. Littledale's; who, mistaking the evening for the morning sacrifice, imagined the Jews to fast through the greater part of the day, when in fact the most that was ever required was abstinence for two or three hours before the Passover Supper. Mr. Oxenham retails this fiction with references which exhibit a complete ignorance of the whole question. It is examined by Mr. Kingdon with almost a superfluity of learning. The Jews never did (nor do now) enjoin fasting before the Paschal Supper; and if they did, it would be *nihil ad rem*, seeing that the supposed fast was clearly broken by the Supper itself, *before* the institution of the Sacrament. Mr. Kingdon adds that Archdeacon Freeman, *one of Mr. Oxenham's references*, concurs with himself in the opinion that our Lord's Last Supper was not the Paschal Feast at all;—an opinion which we cannot adopt, but which should have certainly prevented Mr. Oxenham, if he read his authorities, from quoting the Archdeacon on his side. There is really no question possible, with regard to the original institution, or any Scriptural authority on the point. Not only is there no injunction or counsel to fast in the New Testament, but in

every instance there recorded, the Communion, as a matter of fact, was after supper. Even when rebuking the excesses at Corinth, St. Paul did not recommend a preparatory fast, but to "eat at home." No ritualist (Mr. Kingdon justly observes) calls it more than a "*præceptum ecclesiæ*." The only question that can possibly be raised is "how far a Fasting Communion is enjoined by the Church, either in Rubrics or Canons? Mr. Kingdon addresses himself to this question by an examination of all the Canons alleged on the subject. We will state the conclusions at which he arrives, in our own words, and then proceed to show how he supports them.

1. In the first place, *there is no Canon at all requiring the Laity to receive fasting*. All the Canons on the subject relate to the celebrating priest.

2. None of these Canons are those of a General Council, or of any other Council having authority to bind the Church of England.

3. Fasting Communion was at one time the general custom of the Church, but not universally obligatory; nor was there any fixed rule on the length or strictness of the Fast.

4. The ancient custom is now lawfully and judiciously superseded by the better custom of our own Church.

1. As regards lay obligation, Mr. Kingdon disposes of the whole question in this single sentence:—"If a man hunt through the three massy folios containing the Decretum, the Decretals, and the Extravagants, he only finds one short paragraph about the Fasting Communion of the laity; and *that* no ancient Canon law, nor any Canon of any general or particular Council, but an extract—it may be said an unfair extract—from Augustine's letter to Januarius" (p. 18). This "single paragraph" is fully discussed in different parts of Mr. Kingdon's pamphlet, and indeed it is tolerably well known. The African Church celebrated the Eucharist after a public banquet at 3.0 p.m., on Maunday Thursday, in commemoration of the original Institution. This exception to the general rule is expressly authorized in the Canon of the Council of Carthage, A.D., 397, which forms the chief authority for fasting celebration (p. 20). The Quinisext Council (in Trullo) A.D. 692 (recognized as a General Council in the Greek Church, but not in the West), allows this exception as being "profitable to the Church for some local reasons," but determines for themselves "in

accordance with the apostolical traditions" to forbid this infraction of the Lent Fast as "a dishonouring of the whole Lent." It was the Lent Fast then, not the Eucharistic one, which this Canon was designed to enforce; its language clearly shows that the fast before celebration might be dispensed with on sufficient reason by the proper authority, with profit to the Church. S. Augustine's opinion on the subject, which is not very clearly expressed, Mr. Kingdon translates in this way. "A pleasing idea has attracted some, that on one fixed day in the year when the Lord gave the Supper, it should be lawful that the Body and Blood of the Lord should be offered and received after food, as if for a more striking commemoration. But I think it more seemly that it should be done at such an hour, that he who has also fasted can come to the oblation after the refection which takes place at three o'clock; wherefore we compel none to dine before the Lord's Supper, but also we dare forbid none to do so" (p 19).

On the strength of this passage, Thomas Aquinas, overlooking or suppressing the concluding words, pronounced the exception to be *abrogated* (though no Canon to that effect can be produced), and "the custom of the whole world to be that the Body of Christ should be *taken fasting*." This assertion of Thomas Aquinas is positively *all* the Canon Law for communicating fasting. There is no doubt it was the established custom of the Church of Rome when he wrote, and hence it is enjoined, not only in some foreign Canons never received in England, but in the *Penitientiale* of our own Archbishop Theodore. These disciplinary Canons, however, have been *abrogated*, in common with many others, by *disuse*; and accordingly our English Canonist, Lyndwood, while prohibiting lay Communion without *confession*, does not require fasting.

Mr. Kingdon disposes with equal success of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1415), which has been supposed to be especially binding in England, because our Church was represented there. It is not representation, however, but subsequent reception, which gives authority to a Council, and if the Decrees of Constance are to be held binding in England, we must deny the cup to the laity, with a good deal more than no one *as yet* contends for.

It is a mistake to suppose that Canons, like Acts of Parliament, continue in force until they are formally repealed. It is not the usage of

the Church to repeal Canons at any time, and very few repealing clauses are to be found. The practice is to re-issue, from time to time, the rules designed to be kept in force, leaving others to be "*abrogated by disuse*." This is well and conclusively established in Mr. Kingdon's first Chapter. We wish he had more distinctly urged that our own Code of 1603 does in fact supersede all previous Canons of mere discipline, as distinguished from Canons of faith. Now, the 57th Canon of this Code expressly declares that "nothing material or necessary can be added to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as s down in the Book of Common Prayer." This appears to us decisive of the whole controversy, and we earnestly repeat our author's words. "By what right do priests in England say that to communicate otherwise than fasting is a mortal sin? *By no right human or divine*. If they know meaning of what they say, it is *wicked* in them, 'making the heart of the righteous sad whom God hath not made sad;' if they do not know the meaning, it is *unpardonable* in them to use such language at random."

2. The same line of argument is pursued in regard to the Canons of clerical obligation. These are of less general interest to our readers; and we can surely leave the clergy to take care of themselves. No layman wants to prevent the priest from celebrating fasting if he chooses; but if St. Augustine is rightly understood to suggest a fasting reception after 3 o'clock in the afternoon, no priest can reasonably complain of our ordinary mid-day communion. The laity can hardly be solemnly adjured to come at an earlier hour, only because the priest cannot wait for his breakfast. It is entirely his own affair; there is no *obligation* in our Church (as Mr. Kingdon most conclusively shows) for either fasting celebration or fasting Communion; and this is the answer to Mr. N. Poyntz's suggestion of obtaining an episcopal dispensation; there is nothing for an English Bishop to dispense.

Mr. Kingdon reminds us of other Canons far more authoritative than any that can be adduced for fasting Eucharists;—Canons against the ministration of the Cup to the laity; against the marriage of priests and bishops; against clerical beards (which he has seen with "*abhorrence*" polluting the chalice); against baptizing at other

times than Easter and Pentecost; against communicating any one who has not confessed and received absolution; which last is found in Lyndwood, as part of the Canon law of England,—an authority not to be pleaded for fasting Communions or celebrations. We have priests administering vows, consecrating virgins, founding religious orders, setting up confessionals, and appointing penances in all the plenitude of apostolical authority. Where did they get this authority? Certainly not from their own Bishops, who would probably disclaim its possession. It is the Bishop (Mr. Kingdon argues) to whom alone it belongs to enforce canonical discipline. He is the judge of what Canons are or are not in force; for every preacher to be coming out with a “voice of the Church” at his own discretion is the overthrow of all Catholic order.

“Surely,” exclaims our author, “this is of the essence of Presbyterianism, when the priest thinks that he has inherent in his priesthood powers which have been with general consent restricted to the office of bishop.” No bishop, however,—nothing short of a Pope, and he only since his accession to infallibility,—could be justified in the language lately heard from the pulpit of St. Matthias’ at Richmond. “By what right,” (we repeat with Mr. Kingdon), “does an individual priest say that to communicate after any food is that ‘which God has forbidden?—a service which you have great reason to fear that He will never accept?’ To such an one would St. Chrysostom address his scathing words, — ‘Let them degrade the Lord Himself Who, after supper, gave the Communion to His Apostles. . . Let them excommunicate the Apostles for receiving after supper!’”

3. The question thus stripped of fictitious authority is reduced to its true foundation—that of *custom*. Into the origin and ground of the custom Mr. Kingdon does not enquire, further than to accept it as the general practice in the fifth century to communicate fasting as a mark of reverence; but what was meant by “fasting” is another question. The physical definition of an absolutely empty stomach is not capable of being made the subject of general regulation, since the period of digestion varies in different persons. The Latin canonists, therefore, determine what they call the “natural fast,” as commencing with the beginning of the day, which they date from midnight. By this

purely technical rule a priest may sup a little after 11, and proceed to celebrate “fasting” within an hour. There is no trace of such artificial fasts in the early Church. According to Athanasius the usual hour of celebration in Egypt was 9 o’clock, which on fast days was altered to noon, or even 3 p.m. As the people rose with the sun, this would give some hours for meditation and prayer before Communion. It is by no means clear that these hours were to be passed without any morsel of food. Mr. Kingdon well brings out the fact, that the exhortations of St. Chrysostom and others are directed against the *excessive* meals of the time. A full stomach was, no doubt, unfavourable to reverent communion; but it does not follow that an absolutely empty one was required; or that any definite period of abstinence was enjoined, except on fast days. Mr. Kingdon comes to the conclusion that the *jentaculum*, a slight refectio commonly taken at daybreak, was no impediment to subsequent Communion; and he sustains his opinion by observing that in Acts xxvii. 33, the voyagers are said to have “continued fasting, having taken nothing” for a fortnight, which must obviously admit of some necessary support, though no set meals were taken. In like manner “fasting” Communion was recommended in contradistinction to a state of repletion, without in the least implying any of the technical or physical speculations of the later schoolmen. The question, in short, was one of reverence and devotion, not of artificial observance, and it was regulated (as all such questions ought to be) with a view to edification, in the then state of social habits.

4. Precisely so, (Mr. Kingdon well argues,) is the question to be regulated now. The introduction of tea and coffee has entirely changed the character of an English breakfast, and the colder climate naturally leads to a later hour of service. The English mid-day communicant, who has taken his light breakfast about 8 o’clock, is quite as much “fasting” as the Egyptian at 9, after his little *jentaculum* at daybreak. Certainly if the *reason* of the custom be considered—which after all is the only thing worth considering,—we cannot but think it shows greater reverence for the Sacrament, to approach it after Matins, Litany, and Sermon, according to the full order of the Church, than to hasten, immediately on rising, to the most important Service of the day, curtailed of the preparatory offices, and then return to break-

last at the usual hour, under the supposition of having so performed a special act of fasting! Such "fasting" reminds us of the practice of some Colleges, in our undergraduate days, where dinner was served at the same hour all the year through; but on fast days "Chapel" was before, instead of after, dinner, in order that we might fast till after Evening Prayer. The result, of course, was that the Fast Day dinner, having no religious service to follow, was more prolonged and luxurious than the Feast! St. Chrysostom, in a passage (also cited by Mr. Oxenham) reprehends eating after Communion more than before; and Mr. Kingdon produces a Canon, attributed to Clement of Rome, requiring a fast of *six hours* after reception. This is no doubt practically observed, in their subsequent retirement, by many of the mid-day communicants so condemned by these "rigorists;" and we very much doubt whether St. Clement or St. Athanasius would not prefer them to the Pharisaical priest who (Mr. Kingdon tells us) lies in bed till near 11 o'clock in order to celebrate as soon as he is up!

Trifling as the whole controversy must appear, in the light of primitive practice, it becomes really a serious matter when pressed upon us by this new school of "Rigorists" as a duty of Divine authority binding on the conscience. It was by hampering the Eucharist with these artificial scruples that the Schoolmen fell into their absurd and repulsive speculations, which tend to disgust ordinary readers of average common sense. The practical effect was to discourage Communion, and substitute Eucharistic Adoration, as the chief part of religious worship. This is what our own reactionaries are now actually aiming at; an early Celebration (frequently called "Mass,") attended by the pious few; an "exposition" of the Sacrament after the Sermon, or "High Celebration"; and finally—in effect—a Continental Sunday! We recommend the following remarks to the serious consideration of our readers; and we are grateful to the writer for giving us the benefit of his well stored mind on this much vexed question.

"The custom of fasting Communion, with all its various questions of time and manner, has been in abeyance in England for some three hundred years and more. . . . It must therefore come under the head of a custom or canon abrogated by disuser. . . . The custom arose, as all seem to agree, because of the profanation of the Sacrament by those who had

eaten or drunk to excess. There is little, if any fear that this danger of excess exists now in the usual English breakfast. The introduction of tea and coffee has wholly altered the face of affairs, and with changed habits comes naturally change of custom. Nor, indeed, are there to be seen any symptoms of profanation from the habit of mid-day Communion. Our congregations are now probably more [reverent and] orderly than ever. . . . The multitudes who throng our Churches—at all events where the worship of God is rendered with some apparent degree of care—are to all appearance devout and reverent. Those who remain to communicate at mid-day are not behind-hand in exhibiting tokens of true devotion. So that, indeed, we may be able to thank God and take courage, since after so many years of fighting and trouble, indifference and deadness, the Church of England is exhibiting the truest tokens of a true Church; so that the Greek Archbishop of Syros acknowledged, 'The English seem to me to carry their Christianity into their daily lives more than any other nation I have known.' The action of the Rigorists is to break up this; and what do they offer in exchange? One person is reported to have been forbidden prospectively to communicate for two years, as for two years early celebrations would in all probability be out of reach!" [Of course this lady might have fasted till noon if she chose, but then she could not prescribe to others, which is the essence of all such sectarian zeal.] "Many are taught not only to think lightly of Matins and Evensong as acts of worship, but during these services to be occupied with books of private devotion by way of thanksgiving for Communion received, or preparation for future Communion," [or for 'adoration only,'] so that they give attendance without joining in the act of common worship of the Church of God. . . .

"In the earliest Church frequent Communion was the rule; and Gratian, who supplies the one quotation from St. Augustine for fasting Communion, supplies many for frequent Communion. . . . But by degrees the habit of receiving fasting crept in because of scandals. It is said by degrees, because it is quite manifest that, though St. Augustine calls it a universal custom of the Church, St. Cyprian in the third century does not seem to have enforced it; nor did St. Basil, at the end of the fourth century, know of such a binding custom, recluse though

he was ; and the annual Maunday with succeeding Communion was not condemned until the end of the seventh century.

"As, by degrees, this custom advanced, the custom of frequent reception receded ; and when a subsequent fast was attempted to be enforced, the laity only communicated once a year at the most. It was to correct this sad state of things that the Church of England set herself at the Reformation. She abolished "private Mass" altogether, that is, when none but the priest communicated ; and, at the same time, she made arrangements for daily Communion, if possible. There had been no rubric in the Sarum use, which was adopted as the "use of the Church of England," compelling the laity to fasting Communion, nor any Canon in Lyndwood ; so the question was dropped out altogether. . . . If now that the blessed Sacrament is more frequented, and danger from excessive eating or wine-bibbing before mid-day has quite passed away, there is a successful attempt made to insist on fasting from previous midnight before communicating ; then, in a few years, when youthful zeal has cooled, there will be a return to the perilous neglect of Communion which

existed in late mediæval times, and is now generally prevalent abroad. . . . Indeed, in nine cases out of ten in England, there is more settled quietude of mind after the usual light breakfast than before.

"It was no doubt in view of this danger of the pre-ent day, the going back to infrequent Communion, that John Mason Neale gave his dying opinion that since fasting Communion had been abrogated by disuser, and was not binding in England, he could not wish that it should be revived and enforced on the laity living in the world. To this opinion of one above suspicion of laxity of view, the writer desires to give his earnest adhesion. It is the duty of every Christian to communicate frequently, and with the utmost reverence. Neither Holy Scripture, nor the Church of England, insists on fasting from the previous midnight as a necessity to Communion. Indeed it is impossible to believe that our dear Lord would have instituted the Sacrament of His love during and after supper, if to communicate after food were possible to be, as some say, "the sin of the age"; or, as Mr. Oxenham says, "what God has forbidden."

"He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks ; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. . . . For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink ; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."—Rom. xiv. 6, 17.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—p. 434.

ORIGIN OF THE LITANY.

In the Injunctions of Edward VI., 1547, is an order that "immediately before High Mass, the Priest, with other of the Quire, shall kneel in the midst of the Church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English." This Litany, from which our present has been formed by some curtailment and a few other changes, was prepared by Cranmer from the earlier English and Latin forms, and printed in 1544. . . . There was nothing to disturb this arrangement in the Rubrics of 2 B. E. ; and in 1559 it was again expressly ordered in the Injunction of Elizabeth, whose order on this head is, with the exception of one verbal change of "High Mass" into "the time of Communion of the Sacrament," identical in wording with that of Edward as quoted above. Thus it was that the Litany and Communion Office formed from the first one united service, the Morning Prayer being said by itself some time before.—From "*Notitia Eucharistica*," by the Rev. W. E. Scudamore, 1872, ch. ix., §3, p. 262

NOTE B.—pp. 434, 440.

HOURS OF SERVICE IN FORMER TIMES.

As the Holy Communion has generally followed

the Morning Prayer and Litany, the hour of celebration has varied greatly in our Church. At the last Revision, Cosin proposed, without effect, that the Morning Prayer should be directed to be said between six and ten of the clock. At that time, according to L'Estrange, the hour of Morning Prayer with us was nine in the forenoon, "This, however, had at an earlier period been the time of Holy Communion. The usual hour for the solemnity of this service," observes Bishop Sparrow, "was anciently (and so should be) nine of the clock in the morning. This is the Canonical Hour." Heylyn, as already quoted, says : "This was the ancient practice of the Church of England. The Morning Prayer, or Matins, to begin between six and seven ; the Second Service, or Communion Service, not till nine or ten, which distribution still continues in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in that of Southwell, and perhaps some others." Sparrow refers to the old Canon Law, in which it was observed, after the third council of Orleans, A.D. 538, that the Celebration should take place at the Third Hour (or nine o'clock), which probably for this reason, was called the Sacred Hour, and in Italy the Golden Hour. . . . On fast days a much later hour was fixed, even at an early period,

from regard to a scruple (respecting which Tertullian is our first authority) lest the fast should be broken by the reception. "There is an offering" (on Maundy Thursday), says S. Augustine, "in the morning for the sake of those who dine, . . . but at eventide for the sake of those who fast."

NOTE C.—p. 436.

ON FASTING COMMUNION.

(From the Bishop of Lincoln's 4th Address.)

. . . Anything which tends to put an obstacle in the way of actual reception of the Holy Communion, or to obscure the truth that it is a *communion*; and that the *reception* of that Holy Sacrament is the paramount duty and privilege to be recognised therein, and is essential to the derivation of any benefit from it; or that tends to make separation among those who ought to be united together in communion with one another in Christ and in simultaneous reception of Him, cannot be otherwise than unpleasing to Him Who instituted that Holy Feast of love, in order to make us thereby partakers of Himself, the Giver of all grace and glory.

It is with deep sorrow that I feel constrained to notice certain practices which are creeping in among us, and seem to be liable to this heavy censure, and which, even on account of the piety and holiness of some who are their advocates, are likely to be more hurtful. The Evil One ever tries to use holy men as his chosen instruments for unholy ends, and is never more to be feared than when he is transformed into an angel of light.⁴ . . .

The first matter to which I would here advert is the inculcation, and even the *enforcement* of *fasting* as a *necessary pre-requisite* for the reception of the *Holy Communion*.

This condition is now prescribed by many on the plea of reverence, according to which it is said that the Holy Sacrament ought to be the first food that we take in the day; and, secondly, it is affirmed, that except we comply with this requirement, we schismatically set ourselves in opposition to the ancient Catholic Church of Christ.

The plea of reverence has not unfrequently been insinuated by the Evil One into the minds of men, in order to draw them from Christ. Fear of Christ moved the Gadarenes to beseech Him to depart out of their coasts.⁵ Reverence for the Blood of Christ was pleaded by the Council of Constance in the fifteenth century, when they took away the cup from the laity.⁶ And there is reason to think that the Evil One destroys the health of many souls in our own day, by suggesting to them that they are safer in fear-

ing to come to the Holy Communion, and in therefore staying away from it, than in lovingly obeying the command of that Blessed Saviour who said, "Do this in remembrance of Me."

To this plea therefore we would reply, that true reverence to Christ is shown by dutiful obedience to Him. Let us therefore ask, What is His will in this matter?

To this question it is replied by some, that Christ declares His will by His Church, and that the ancient Catholic Church communicated fasting; and therefore, they add, fasting is to be prescribed to all as a pre-requisite for the Holy Communion.

To this we would say, Heaven forbid that we should disparage fasting. We are no followers of Aerius or Jovinian. We readily allow that at the present day we have great reason to humble ourselves for our surfeiting and self-indulgence. We have much cause to repent of our neglect of fasting as prescribed by our own Church. How many there are who care little for her commands with regard to the observance of the Fast of Friday, or of Lent, or even of Ash Wednesday! "Fasting is a good thing; but let good things be done well."⁷ Let us not fast with those of old whom the prophet blames, who fasted "for strife and debate."⁸ Let us not fast with the Pharisees, in spiritual pride, "to be seen of men," and who boasted themselves to God as holier than others for doing so.⁹ Let us not fast with the Montanists, who prescribed fasts of their own private invention, or with the Puritans in our own land, in the seventeenth century, who fasted with churlish singularity on the Festivals of the Church; but let us fast in a spirit of penitential sorrow and humble self-abasement, and dutiful and loving obedience to that spiritual authority, under which we have been placed by the good providence of God.

Yes, it is rejoined, this is precisely our opinion. The ancient Catholic Church received the Communion fasting, and in deference to her spiritual authority we are bound to do the same.

It is earnestly to be hoped that we shall ever be ready to pay that honour to the ancient Church which is due to her. But even because we feel reverence for that wisdom which God gave her, and for the presence of Christ and of His Holy Spirit in the Church—a presence which He has never withdrawn from her—we must not allow ourselves to be so tied to the letter of laws ritual and ceremonial, as to forget the spirit which gives them life. Nothing is more easy, and nothing more childish, than to lay down as a general rule in such matters, "The ancient Church did so and so, and we must therefore do the same." . . .

Christ never intended—the ancient Church of Christ never dreamt—that in matters ritual and cere-

⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 14.

⁵ Matt. viii. 34.

⁶ The pleas of the Council were—"Ne sanguis Christi effunderetur; ne laici incurrant poenas manducando barbam," &c., &c. See Von der Hardt, "Concil Constant," iii., p. 369. Cp. *Trent Catechism," pt. ii, cap. iv. qu. 50.

⁷ Zonaras, in "Canon. Apost.," 66.

⁸ Isaiah lviii. 4.

⁹ Matt. vi. 16; Luke xviii. 12.

monial (I am not speaking of the Holy Sacraments instituted by Christ for the attainment of ends of never ceasing necessity to all) one fixed and rigid rule should be enforced everywhere and at all times, and that the Church of God should be deprived of the benefit of that ripe experience, which Time, by his goodness, brings with it, and be barred from the exercise of that discretion which is his gift. No: such a supposition as that would be to confound faith with forms, and doctrine with ritual—a fond and fatal mistake. On the contrary, it was well said of old, that it is even *desirable* that *ceremonies* should *not* be the same everywhere and always, but should *vary* in *different places and seasons*,¹ in order that men may not think that religion is tied to ceremonies, and in order that variety of ritual may bring out in clearer light the unity of doctrine. . . .

Our Blessed Lord did not institute the Holy Communion fasting. We read that “*After supper* He took the cup;”² and though there was something very special in the circumstances of that particular act which may well modify its application as a rule for us to follow, yet it may be added, that on another occasion, when there were no such circumstances, He sanctified a meal by administering, as is generally supposed, the Holy Communion, namely at Emmaus, when He was made known to the two disciples in the breaking of bread.³

The Primitive Church hallowed its daily food by receiving the Holy Communion after it.⁴ This practice led to abuses in some churches, especially at Corinth; and St. Paul interposed by his apostolical authority to correct those abuses.⁵ It is somewhat observable, that the holy Apostle, who was inspired by the Holy Ghost, does not do what some persons, who are not inspired, teach as needful to be done; he does not command all the Corinthians to fast before they receive the Communion. On the contrary, he says, “If any man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together to condemnation.”⁶ He certainly contemplates and recommends there that some should eat before coming to Communion. . . .

It cannot be doubted, that, at the close of the fourth century, it was the practice of the Church to receive the Communion before any other food, except on one day of the year, namely on Maundy Thursday—the anniversary of the day when the Holy Communion was instituted. On that anniversary it was adminis-

tered after supper, as a record of the time of its original institution by Christ.⁷

All this is readily allowed, and it would be irreverent and presumptuous in us to say that the Church of God did not act wisely and well in this matter. If we had lived in those days, our duty would have been to conform to this rule of the Church.

But then it is no less certain that it would be also irreverent and presumptuous in us to take upon ourselves to be legislators in matters ritual, and to impose customs, whether derived from the first century or from the fourth century, in a spirit of opposition to the laws and usages of the particular church in which our own lot is cast by the good providence of God. If some among us are to take upon themselves to import an early fasting Communion from the third and fourth centuries, and to impose it as a matter of necessity, why should not others among us be allowed to import an Evening Communion from the first century, and from the practice of Christ Himself and of the Apostles, and to impose it as a matter of necessity? Surely, brethren, much confusion and division would arise from such a course as this. Our Blessed Lord and His Apostles *reclined* at the Holy Communion; are we therefore to do the same? Are the ancient *agapæ*, or love-feasts, to be restored? The early Christians saluted one another with a holy kiss at the Communion; is this to be practised also? The primitive Christians sold their goods and had all things in common;⁸ are our people to be constrained to do the same? In primitive times, the Apostles lived upon voluntary offerings, or by the labours of their own hands;⁹ is this also to be a rule for us? It was an ancient practice for many centuries to administer the Holy Communion to infants;¹ shall we undertake to prescribe this also by our own private authority? . . .

The hopeless and unutterable confusion which would be introduced by the application of a rule, to which some among us now appeal with such surprising confidence, would be so great that they who apply the rule would be among the first to resent its application to themselves, and to intreat us to set it aside. Nor is this all. If the rule of some ages of the ancient Church, as to fasting Communion, is to be applied and enforced by private men on their own authority, it ought not to be applied partially, but with all its concomitant circumstances which gave a reasonableness to it.

¹ S. Irenæus, ap. “Enseb.” v. 21. Cp. S. Greg. “Mag. Epist.,” i. 43.

² Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25.

³ Luke xxiv. 35.

⁴ See Bishop Pearson in “Acta Apostolorum,” Lect. iii., p. 346. Ed. Churton. “Mensæ discipulorum tunc temporis communes et sacræ etiam fuere, hoc est, in communi convictu Sacramentum Eucharistiæ celebrabant.” Cp. p. 325. These were the *ἀγάπαι* of which St. Jude speaks (Jude 12).

⁵ 1 Cor. xi. 17–24.

⁶ 1 Cor. xi. 34.

⁷ See S. Augustine, Epist. liv. 8 and 9. “Januarium.” vol. ii., pp. 189, 190, ed. Gaume. “Concil. Carth.,” iii., can. 29. from which it appears also that the Communion was usually administered in the morning early, and not “pomeridiano tempore.” On that day, as St. Augustine says, “ad Januarium,” 190, when the Communion was administered in the afternoon, “neminem cogimus ante dominicam illam cœnam prandere, sed nulli etiam contradicere audentum.”

⁸ Acts ii. 44; iv. 37.

⁹ Acts. xx. 34.

¹ Cp. Bingham, XV., iv. 7.

As I have said, in that primitive age Holy Communion was administered very early in the morning, and often before daybreak; and therefore it was not then a rigid and harsh thing to say, "Let the Holy Sacrament be the first food taken by thee in the day. Break not thy fast before the day breaks." But this is not the case now. The Church of England, being warned by the example of other Churches, which require fasting as a pre-requisite for the Holy Communion; and seeing that the *reception* of the Holy Communion, which is the main thing to be required of all Christians, is hindered by that requirement, and that the number of actual communicants in those Churches is miserably small; and that persons who have communicated early in the morning in those Churches, or even have been present at an early celebration without communicating, imagine that the principal religious duty of the day is over, and then spend the rest of the Lord's Day in worldly dissipation; and that in many places private masses, in which the priest is the only recipient, have usurped the place of Communions,—has profited by her experience, and, in the exercise of a wise discretion, and actuated by a spirit of charity for her children, while she encourages early Communion as a blessed beginning of any day in our lives—and especially of the Lord's Day— . . . also deems that the Holy Communion is as it were, the apex and crown of Christian worship, and she seems rather to recommend, by the structure of her services, which lead the worshipper upward by a long and gradual ascent of preparatory litanies, intercessions, lauds and thanksgivings, to the Holy Eucharist, as their culminating point and glorious consummation,² that it should be administered later in the day. This being the case, she has not ventured to prescribe fasting to her clergy or her people as a necessary pre-requisite for the administration and reception of the Holy Communion.

Brethren, the law of the Church is the law of Christ; and the law of Christ is love. And Christ, Who condemned the Pharisees for blaming His disciples when they walked through the corn-fields on a Sabbath Day, and plucked the ears of corn and ate them when they were hungry,³ and Who would not send away the multitudes fasting from the desert-place, lest they should faint by the way,⁴ but worked a miracle to feed them, would not censure those who temperately and sparingly satisfy the cravings of nature, which is His work, in order to do Him service; but would rather, perhaps, blame those who would set aside the higher law of charity, on the plea of zeal for a ritual law which does not even oblige those on whom they would impose it.

It may be said that the answer to all this is, Let the parish priest have early Communion. Doubtless,

² See Archdn. Freeman's "Princip. Div. Serv.," vol. i., ch. iv.

³ Matt. xii. 1—8

Matt. xv. 32

he will have often an early Celebration; but this cannot be his practice always, if he desires to gather round the Lord's Table a goodly number of communicants; nor does this seem to be the intention of the Church of England.

But we may go further. We need not scruple to say that any members of the Church of England who, on the plea of reverence for the authority of the ancient Church, venture to require fasting as a condition of administering and receiving the Holy Communion, not only set themselves up against the authority of the Church of England, which, for the most part, administers the Holy Communion at mid-day, or even later, on Sundays, but even against that *ancient Church* to which they appeal. For what do such persons do? They change Sunday from a festival into a fast-day, and would require others to do the same. They quote Tertullian and Augustine in behalf of fasting Communion; let them, therefore, listen to those doctors of the ancient Church. The one says that it is "nefas" to fast on the Lord's Day, and the other⁵ declares that it is "scandalum magnum" to do so; and the ancient Church declared that if a person ventured to fast on the Lord's Day he ought to be excommunicated,⁷ and not allowed to come to the Lord's Table.

On the whole, then, we come to this conclusion. The Eucharist is a feast of love. Let us not separate ourselves from one another, but let us be joined together there in communion with one another in Him. Let us remember Him who said, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice."⁸ Let not him that fasteth judge him that fasteth not. Temperance and sobriety do not disqualify a man from Communion; but censoriousness and spiritual pride do. "Let all your things be done with charity." "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Next, let us carefully avoid anything which would have the least tendency to frustrate or to hinder the fulfilment of our Lord's earnest desire and command, that all men should receive the Holy Communion. If in the parishes of the Church of England, where the Communion is administered mostly at mid-day, we impose fasting as a condition of Communion, the inevitable result will be that we shall drive away many who now communicate, from the Lord's Table, and we shall repel many from coming who otherwise would communicate; and thus, by rigid rules of our own making, we should be acting in a spirit of resistance and rebellion against Christ and the Church.

⁵ Tertullian, "De Corona," c. 3: "Die Dominico jejuniū nētas ducimus; vel de geniculis adorare."

⁶ St. Augustine, Epist. cxv.; cp. St. Ambrose, Epist. xxiii.

⁷ "Canon Apostoli," 56: "Εἰ τις κληρικὸς εὐρέθῃ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων, καθαιρεῖσθω, ἢ ἂν λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφορίζεσθω. In the epistles of the so-called Ignatius "ad Philipp," c. 13, such a person is called Χριστοκτόνος.

⁸ Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7.

THE REVIVAL OF FASTING COMMUNION. BY THE RIGHT REV. DR. SANDFORD, BISHOP OF GIBRALTER.¹

SECT. 4.—RULE CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY.

The "power to decree rites or ceremonies," and, should there be need, to "change them according to the diversities of countries, times and men's manners," our own Church, as an independent branch of the Church Catholic, exercised; when in compiling her liturgy at the Reformation she preserved all such regulations as appeared to her undoubtedly Scriptural, Apostolic, and primitive, and abrogated others which she deemed to be corrupt, inexpedient, or unnecessary: while respecting a third class, which she considered to be "things in their own nature indifferent," she neither abrogated nor sanctioned them, but left individuals free to adopt or reject, according as their needs might suggest. Regarding the time of celebrating the Holy Communion as belonging to this third class, she has specified no precise hour for holding the ordinance. It was, however, evidently her intention that it should follow Morning Prayer. This appears not only from the order in which the Services are placed in the Prayer-Book, but also from the Lectionary. The passages from Holy Scripture, for example, appointed to be read on Sunday in Holy Week and Good Friday, as Second Lessons during Morning Prayer, and as Gospels in the Office of the Holy Communion, clearly imply that the Morning Prayer should precede the Ante-Communion, inasmuch as the earlier chapters from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John are appointed for the Lessons, and the later chapters for the Gospels on those days. If again we compare the general confession said at Matins with the general confession said at the Holy Communion, we must feel that the latter, being the more fervent and impassioned expression of contrition, should more suitably be said last. Owing to the habits of our people, which have prevented the Morning Service from beginning before 11 a.m., and to the requirement that Matins, Litany and Sermon should precede the Holy Communion, the ordinary time of communicating till recent years has been the first hour after mid-day. In response to the wishes of many of her children, our Church in 1872 again made use of the power which belongs to her of binding and loosing, and through the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act gave liberty to her people to hold the Office of the Holy

Communion as a separate service. No restrictions are made in this Act in regard to the time when the Service should be held. . . .

I would now call your thoughts to the Declaration of Fasting Reception of the Holy Communion, (adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1893). You will notice that the first seven clauses of this Declaration deal with matters of history.² As they were drafted by a Committee containing among its members eminent historians experienced in testing historical evidence, I need not say that we may accept those statements as historically accurate. In clause 3 it is stated that "fasting reception of the Communion became the regular and recognized usage of the Church before the end of the fourth century." And certainly it is surprising that an ordinance, which was instituted by Christ during a meal, and was held by the Apostles and their immediate successors in conjunction with a meal, should in this short time have so changed its character, that fasting had been made a requisite for participation. How are we to account for the introduction of a custom so unaccordant with the circumstances of its original institution? In part it may be attributed to the need felt, owing to the lax morality of the times, of rigorous disciplinary rules to guard the ordinance from irreverence. Then, as I have already stated, asceticism was at that time widely spread. Though the Church from her infancy had numbered hermits among her members, the fourth century was the birthday of monasticism.

But the requirement of fasting before reception was due also in part to a teaching in regard to the Eucharist, which, localizing Christ's presence in the consecrated elements, eventually found its logical outcome in the tenet of transubstantiation. . . .

The 7th and 8th clauses are the parts of the Declaration which are most valuable, and for which we ought to be grateful. In compliance with the 30th Canon of our own Communion we may go for counsel to the ancient Fathers, and great Doctors of the Church, but we are not bound to follow their "judgments." Rules which were required by communicants in times when the moral standard was low, practice lax, the passions under little control, may not be the exact rules required by communicants amongst ourselves. Faults no doubt we have, but in many respects they are different, and require

¹ From "A Pastoral Address, 1893," given to the Editor by the Bishop for an addition to this Part.

² See note at end, giving the declaration in full.

different treatment. It is not so much the body as the temper, the tongue, the spirit, which with us need especially to be brought into subjection. And in this kind of disciplinary work outward rules of bodily austerity give little or no aid. Experience would seem to show that in some cases they increase rather than lessen the inward foes we have to combat. Our views of godliness, moreover, are not identical with those which prevailed in the fourth century. Remembering the teaching of St. Paul, that our bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost, we treat them with reverence. Few, if any, of us practise the recommendation of St. Chrysostom to fast after receiving the Holy Communion, though, as he says, there are as weighty reasons for fasting after, as for fasting before; and his practice of never administering Baptism except fasting, the clergy of our Church have no scruple in disregarding.

And so we may say in regard to the disciplinary rules enacted by local or provincial Councils, that while they possess an interesting historical value, they have no binding force upon our conduct. No Canon can be adduced of any General or Ecumenical Council upon the subject of fasting Communion. More ancient authority can be claimed for the fast before Baptism than for the fast before the Eucharist. In the *Didachê*, or Teaching of the Apostles, c. vii. 4, it is written, "But before the baptism let him that baptizeth and him that is baptized fast, and any others who can; but thou shalt bid him that is baptized fast one or two days before." Though adults are exhorted in the rubric of our Book of Common Prayer "to prepare themselves with prayers and fasting," yet the ante-baptismal fast, as far as the clergy are concerned, is no longer the usage of our Church.

The 7th clause of the Declaration is to this effect—"that at the Reformation the Church of England, in accordance with the principle of liberty, laid down in Article xxxiv., ceased to require the Communion to be received fasting, though the practice was observed by many as a reverent and ancient custom." This clause directs our thoughts to one of the two principles supplied us in Holy Scripture for our guidance in this and other kindred subjects. The principle is that of liberty. The earliest battle which the Church of Christ fought and gained was for this principle. When a party within the Church sought to re-impose upon the necks of the disciples that yoke of ceremonial bondage, which St. Peter declares that, "neither they nor their fathers were able to bear," the Apostles

and Elders "came together" at Jerusalem "to consider of this matter," and using that power to bind and loose given her by her Divine Founder, they determined to set the Gentile converts free from obedience to the old ceremonial law, and to "lay upon them no greater burden than certain necessary things." But in the face of this decree the conflict between liberty and bondage was again and again revived. In this conflict St. Paul was the champion of the Church's freedom, and wrote, as the Great Charter of our Christian liberty, the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, which should have been the death knell of superfluous ceremonialism. But no: 1400 years pass away and another and still severer conflict for liberty has then to be waged. We read in the preface to our Prayer-Book on "Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained," these words: "Some are put away, because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burden of them was intolerable: whereof St. Augustine in his time complained, that they were grown to such a number, that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than were the Jews. And he counselled that such yoke and burden should be taken away as time would serve quietly to do it. But what would St. Augustine have said, if he had seen the ceremonies of late days used among us; whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared?" In the battle for deliverance from this bondage which our forefathers waged, the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and the Galatians were the armoury from which our great liberators drew the chief weapons of war.

And now once more there are tendencies in English ecclesiastical life, which if they be not important or influential enough to make us anxious for our liberty, are sufficiently so to make us vigilant. There are members of our Church who maintain that if a usage or practice can be shown to have been generally in force at any particular time in the history of the Church, it is binding on us now, unless it has been expressly abrogated by the authority of the Church which imposed it. In regard to this very question which we are considering, they say that "to deny that the Church of England is bound by the rule of fasting communion is to stultify her whole position in the eyes of Christendom." In passing I would remark that, important as this question is, our position does not depend upon the attitude we take in regard to it, or to

any other such matter of outward usage, which having been changed once may be changed again ; but upon the attitude we have taken in the years that are gone, and which I trust we shall continue to take in the years that are to come, in regard to the great essentials of faith, worship, order and conduct, which are declared in the Holy Scriptures, and are embodied in our own Book of Common Prayer. What would stultify our position, and alienate all manly and thoughtful minds, would be the revival of obsolete disciplinary rules, and the enforcement of them as binding on our conduct in regard to matters in which our Church has left us free. Disuse on the part of our Church since the 16th century constitutes in itself an abrogation of customs, which before that time may have been in use, so far at any rate as regards their having any binding force. They are not binding, though they may never have been repealed by any formal decision of the Church. To acknowledge them to be binding would be nothing less than a surrender of that independence and freedom, which we won three hundred years ago after a long and bitter conflict, and at the cost of many a noble life. It is disheartening to notice the retrograde course which theological thought has been lately taking in certain quarters. It appears to be forgotten by some of us that we are heirs, and not slaves, of the past, and that the lessons taught by its faults and failures are no less part of our heritage than the lessons taught by its excellences and successes. If in furthering the "Catholic revival," which marks these days, we are so enslaved to the past, as to make no distinction between what was truth and what was error in its teaching, and seek to revive both alike, we are shutting our ears to the lessons of experience, and neglecting a part, and a very important part, of our inheritance.

We should not tie ourselves to rules which prevent us from fulfilling duties we have undertaken, or from fulfilling them in a satisfactory manner, which blind us to the relative importance of things, which cause us to put sacrifice above mercy, the letter above the spirit, the traditions of men above the commandment of Christ, the requisites for worthy participation which our self-chosen rule enjoins, above those requisites of repentance, faith and charity which our Church enjoins. Above all, we should not tie ourselves to rules which wed the mind to narrow views, which contract the sympathies, which foster a subtle spirit of Pharisaism, and

tempt us to think that we are "not as other men are."

We sometimes hear it said that those who observe the usage of fasting reception are observing the higher and the Catholic rule. The higher rule, let me observe, is for each of us that which best enables him to communicate in the most devout and reverential spirit. Whatever be the nature of the rule, whatever it may prescribe in regard to the time or the manner of reception, if only we find that by observing it we are raised into a state and frame of mind most suited for participating in that holy ordinance, that for us is the higher rule. And as to the word Catholic, so constantly misused, it means, as we all know, universal, and was well defined by Vincentius of Lerins as that which has been held always, everywhere, and by all men (*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*). Catholic doctrine is the whole body of truths, with no omissions, which are revealed in Holy Scripture and are embodied in the creeds, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Whatever honour may be due to the rule of fasting reception, it cannot rightly claim to be called Catholic, as it has not been observed always, nor everywhere, nor by all men. It was not observed by our Lord when He instituted the ordinance, nor by His Apostles, nor by His Church in earliest days, nor has it been observed by the great Anglican Church for the last three hundred years. In the present day, with the view of removing points of difference and bringing the several members of the Church Catholic again into union, some English Churchmen would make it obligatory upon ourselves. But a union which cannot be secured except by a surrender of our freedom, or by an œcumenical Act of Uniformity, is not the union for which we should strive and pray. The union, which should be the great object of our prayers, and the goal of our efforts, is one which, enabling us all to treat one another as brethren, would at the same time leave us free to retain our own characteristic usages, and would involve no abandonment of liberty. Liberty, whose birthplace and home is England, should be no less dear and sacred to us as Churchmen, than it is dear and sacred to us as citizens. Liberty of course I mean within the bounds of law, for liberty outside those bounds is not liberty, but licence.

We are not all made in the same mould. Our temperaments and constitutions differ. Our circumstances also vary, and are continually changing. A rule which suits some, will not

suit all. A rule which might suit ourselves at one period of life, or in one set of circumstances, might not suit us in others. There are some amongst us who say that they are anxious to give God their best, but they cannot give God their best at an early morning hour. The spirit is dull, the emotions lack fervour, the thoughts are less alert, physical discomfort renders proper attention to the prayers almost impossible. They are as desirous as those who fast to partake of the Holy Mysteries in the spirit of reverence and devotion, but they find entire abstinence is for them unfavourable rather than favourable to the quickening of this spirit. And as our Lord instituted the ordinance during a meal, and the Apostles and the Church of primitive days kept it in connexion with a meal, they feel no scruple about communicating at the mid-day celebration after having eaten a moderate and simple meal. This rule, then, we may all make for ourselves, that we should communicate at that time of day and in that manner, with fast unbroken or fast broken, which best enables us to derive profit from the ordinance, and to offer unto God "a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice." . . .

The Bishops say in the last clause of their Declaration, that, "regard being had to the practice of the Apostolic Church in this matter, to teach that it is a sin to communicate otherwise than fasting, is contrary to the teaching and spirit of the Church of England." These are gentle words of fatherly rebuke. Stronger and sterner might have been used. It probably never entered your thoughts, my brethren, that when, according to the practice which you had followed from youth,—which your Church by the order of the Services in her Book of Common Prayer evidently intended you to follow,—which in fact you were obliged to follow, until a few years ago liberty was given to hold the office of Holy Communion as a separate service,—you partook of the Sacrament three or more hours after your ordinary breakfast, you were committing a sin. But apparently such is the view which some members of our Church entertain of your practice. It is not likely, however, that you should pay regard to such views. You know what the teaching of the New Testament and of our own Prayer-Book is on the subject; and you must feel that such views are contrary to the teaching and spirit of them both. But some of our people are of so docile a nature that they accept without enquiry whatever they are told, and obey without remonstrance whatever

rules may be imposed. It is a cruel thing to teach persons of childlike disposition and tender conscience, that it is a sin to communicate otherwise than fasting, and to lay upon them a sore burden such as this teaching is pretty sure to prove, and in fact has proved in the case of many a Christian brother and sister, who on falling into weak health have found it impossible to keep the rule laid upon them, and thus have been prevented from receiving the Holy Communion, or from receiving it with a quiet mind. Surely there are heavy burdens enough already in the world for poor suffering human nature to bear, and sins enough for us to combat. We need not add to their number by calling that a sin which is no sin. It may be urged that in cases of sickness dispensations may be granted. But who has authority to give dispensations when our Church has laid down no rule?

But this teaching deserves rebuke on still higher grounds. Not only is it contrary to the teaching of our Church, it is contrary to the teaching of our Church's Founder and Lord. Surely He would never have set an example, which He knew that men would follow, if by following it they would be committing a sin.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FASTING RECEPTION
OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, ADOPTED BY CONVOCATION,
MAY 5TH, 1893.

THE Committee of the Upper House of Convocation appointed to consider a Gravamen relative to the Fasting Reception of the Holy Communion, which was brought up on February 8th, 1893, report as follows:

1. That in the Apostolic age the Holy Communion was administered in connexion with the gathering together of Christians to share in an appointed evening meal.
2. That the practice of communicating in the early morning appears to have arisen about the close of the first century, probably in order to secure a safer as well as a more reverent celebration, and, by the time of St. Cyprian, to have become so fully established that it was regarded not only as the preferable but as the proper practice and as commemorative of the Lord's Resurrection.
3. That the practice of communicating in the early morning, together with the common association of fasting with prayer, led to the practice of communicating only when fasting, and that fasting reception of the Communion became the regular and recognized usage of the Church before the end of the fourth century.
4. That from the close of the fourth century this regular and recognized usage was formulated in rules for the clergy in canons of local and provincial councils.
5. That fasting reception of the Communion was the prescribed rule of the Church of England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and continued to be so to the time of the Reformation.
6. That these strict rules were nevertheless subject to relaxation in cases of sickness or other necessity.
7. That at the Reformation the Church of England, in accordance with the principle of liberty laid down in Article xxxiv., ceased to require the Communion to be received fasting, though the practice was observed by many as a reverent and ancient custom, and as such is commended by several of her eminent writers and divines down to the present time.
8. That, regard being had to the practice of the Apostolic Church in this matter, to teach that it is a sin to communicate otherwise than fasting, is contrary to the teaching and spirit of the Church of England.

ON FASTING BEFORE COMMUNION. BY THE LATE VERY REV. DR. GOULBURN.¹
 SECT. 5.—FREEDOM FROM MEDIEVAL RULE.

The practice of Fasting before Communion, adopted vigorously and strictly in the Roman Church, and rapidly creeping into our own, may be defined as that of "abstaining from all food, solid and liquid, before our reception of the Sacrament." It is not however against the practice itself, but against the erection of it into a law of conscience, obligatory upon Christians, and indispensable to profitable reception, that we would enter our protest. As a voluntary act of devotion on the part of individuals, who may find themselves quite capable of it in point of bodily strength, and may really feel that entire previous abstinence tends to make the mind more unclouded and calm than it can be after the reception of food, no right-minded and unprejudiced person can entertain any objection to it. . . . God forbid that, in direct violation of what His Apostle has taught us, we should despise or look down on any fellow-Christian, who may find edification to himself in the observance of a restriction, which does not approve itself in at all the same way to our minds. Only then, as I will be careful not to "despise" a Christian brother—nay, as I will seek to please him for his good to edification,—so, on the other hand, I will not allow him to "judge" me, nor indeed in a certain sense to "judge" himself. He must not make a law of conscience of his rule, either for me or for any one else. He must not teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and thereby hazard the depraving and nullifying of God's commandments. He must not "add unto the words of the book of this prophecy" at the peril of having the plagues that are written in this book added unto him.

And this is what, if hearsay may be trusted, corroborated as it is by facts which have come to the actual knowledge of many of us, is at present going on in our Communion. Church people are being taught in some quarters by their ordained pastors that it is a deadly sin to communicate after the reception of food, however slight,—that the elements of the holy Supper must be the first food which passes the lips of a day, or that they cannot lawfully be partaken of at all. Persons who have imbibed this teaching, and at the same time do not find themselves strong enough to observe the rule imposed upon their consciences, prefer absenting themselves

altogether from the Communion, and flying in the face of our Lord's plain command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," to violating a restriction which has, if I may so say, no authority whatever in its favour, either in holy Scripture, or in reason, or in the standards of our own Church.

In appealing to holy Scripture it will be admitted that not a vestige of any warrant for the practice will be found, but rather, what we do find there bearing on the subject looks in a totally different direction. When by the inspired authority of St. Paul, the sacrament was disentangled from the ordinary supper which had been the swaddling clothes of its infancy, and made to stand alone, the object of the Apostle was that it might be treated with greater reverence and devotion than heretofore. But in prescribing this greater reverence he does not drop a single word from which it can be inferred that previous fasting at home is the way in which it is to be shown. Rather he implies that home is the right place for taking a meal, if we need or wish to take one. "What! have ye not houses to eat and drink in? . . . If any man hunger, let him eat at home."²

Of the Constitutions and Canons of the Church of England, which might reasonably be pleaded, not as constituting an obligation for the lay members of our Communion, but as showing the mind of the Church of England on subjects of controversy, there are nine which deal with points in connection with the Holy Communion; but in no one of them is there the slightest allusion to any rule of fasting previously to, and as qualifying for, the Sacrament. In neither the Communion Service, nor the thirty-nine Articles, nor the Canons, is there a single vestige of this restriction, which is pretended to be so essential to a reverent participation that non-observance puts a communicant out of a state of grace (for such is the effect of mortal sin). Is not this rather startling? If Fasting Communion be of such vital importance, as some pretend, would not our Prayer-book have told us so? In truth it cannot be said to be any part of the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm hath received the same. The fact is that the arguments for the revival of the practice are not drawn from Scripture or from the documents of the Reformed Church of

¹ From Supplement to "Treatise on the Holy Communion."

² 1 Cor. xi. 22, 34.

England, but from the strict rule on the subject which prevailed in the Middle Ages. Surely the mind is not to be hindered in its work by laying the body under austere conditions, which God has nowhere imposed. The body should be viewed in the matter as entirely instrumental and ancillary. This is not the place to enter into an historical investigation ; but it may be gravely questioned whether the previous fasting which was made such a point of in the mediæval Church, had not reference to a state of things long since passed away,—the practice of heavy breakfasts, accompanied with large potations of wine and intoxicating liquids. Certainly the present light breakfasts are of comparatively modern date.

The words of one of the canons of the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) throw light upon what was held to be "fasting" in early times.

"The Sacrament of the Altar is not to be celebrated but by fasting men, the one anniversary day being excepted, on which was instituted the Supper of the Lord ; for if commendation is to be made of any departed, whether of bishops, or of clergy, or of others, after noon, let it be done with prayers only, if they who make it shall already be found to *have dined*." From this it would seem that "fasting" might mean before the principal meal of the day, which in warmer climates is served at or about noon. . . .

There is such a thing as a *false reverence*, and anything based upon reverence that hinders devout souls from communicating may well be suspected to be false. Be quite sure of this, that any sentiment or practice which has a tendency to lessen the frequency of Communion, and to deprive the Lord's Table (I do not say of attendants but) of communicants, whether it be the ignorant superstition of a poor person, out of which the clergyman tries to reason him, or the more refined and cultivated superstition of the educated, which loves to erect barriers round the ordinance, which the Lord hath not erected, and to say, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," where He hath thrown open to us the tree of life freely,—all this equally looks and leads in a wrong direction. Our whole efforts should be directed to a frequent use of the Lord's Supper, with the greatest reverence and devotion, in the interests of our own spiritual life. But how shall we show the greatest reverence and devotion ? It is to be remembered that reverence, though it does not lack its external symptoms, yet has its seat

in the heart and mind, and that the qualifications necessary to make the Lord's Supper available are qualifications of the heart and mind,—Repentance, Faith, and Love. Above all things, it is necessary that we should pray earnestly, and from the very depths of our heart, in communicating ; and prayer is a mental act. Then let our object be to have our mind in such a frame as may facilitate prayer and other mental exercises,—to have it calm, quiet, fresh, and as vigorous as may be. Very many people will feel that this frame of mind is most readily attained in the early morning, when the powers are newly recruited by rest. . . . Such persons will prefer communicating, wherever they can do so, in the morning. Let them do so by all means, and let their convenience and wishes be consulted ; only let them not presume to "judge" others who prefer a later and longer celebration, perhaps from thinking that Morning Prayer and Litany beforehand are (as indeed they are) an excellent preparative of the mind. As for the body, that should surely be treated in whatever way is found by experience to be most conducive to the freshness and vigour of the mind.

While in the spirit of Christian liberty, we resent the imposition of any and every yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which God and His Church have not imposed, we believe that the only successful mode of dealing with the question before us, when not advocated as a Christian obligation, but merely as a godly and ancient custom which may still be found profitable in many cases, is the method which St. Paul applies to an earlier case of conscience. Let mutual respect, and consideration, and love be shown on both sides. Let not those who find the stricter practice to be of advantage to themselves, "judge" those who adopt the laxer. Let not those who adopt the laxer "despise" those who prefer abiding by the stricter. Let each communicate in the manner which he finds most profitable, without for a moment presuming to censure those who prefer a different manner. For "why dost thou judge thy brother ? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother ? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God."

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART VII.—(Second Division.)

HOLY COMMUNION—NOT AN ORDINANCE OR SERVICE FOR NON-COMMUNICANTS:—THE RULE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

By the late REV. W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham,

AND

By the late REV. G. E. BIBER, LL.D., Rector of West Allington,—late Vicar of Rochampton.

“THE WEDDING GARMENT.”

“Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless.”—Matt. xxii. 12.

FROM Bethlehem to Calvary,
One seamless robe He wove;
Its warp was human suffering,
Its woof—Eternal Love.

And He who wore it, to His Spouse
Bequeathed it when He died;
A “wedding garment” to adorn
The beauty of the Bride:

That she might fair and spotless stand
Before her Bridegroom’s sight,
Rob’d in “the righteousness of Saints,”
“Fine linen, clean and white.”

The Supper of the Lamb is laid,
And I am summoned there;
How can I for so great a Feast
My “filthy rags” prepare?

How can I meet my Lord and King,
How for His table dress,
Deck’d in so poor and vile a thing,
As my best righteousness?

The Heavens are in His sight unclean;
His angels are not clear
From charge of folly,—how dare I
Before my Lord appear?

Fond soul! the love that could provide
So rich a Feast for thee,
Can make thee, with Christ’s seamless robe,
What guest of Christ should be!

What is the garment to the Feast?
Or to His kindly call?
He, for thy most, and for thy least,
Is thy great All in All!

—DR. MONSELL’S *Spiritual Songs*.

SECT. 1.—THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.*

I.—THE RULE THAT ALL PRESENT AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER COMMUNICATED. II.—GROUNDED ON SCRIPTURE; III.—AND THE ANALOGY OF THE LEVITICAL SACRIFICES. IV.—NO DIVISION OF THE RITE INTO “SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENT.” V.—EARLY

AND LATER TESTIMONIES TO THE PRIMITIVE RULE.

I.—The rule that all present at the Celebration of the Lord’s Supper Communicated.

THE common worship of the first Christians might be said to consist wholly in a solemn, frequent, and stated celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. It is true that they offered prayers which had no direct refer-

* From “The Communion of the Laity. An Essay, chiefly historical, on the Rule and Practice of the Church with respect to the reception of the Consecrated Elements, at the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist” (Rivingtons). First Edition out of print, and now republished with considerable additions and alterations by the late Author, for this Series.

ence to it, and chanted hymns, and heard God's Word in their assemblies both read and preached; but these were not duties peculiar to the faithful, and therefore, when practised by them, were not viewed as the substance of their sacrifice, but rather as accessories to the one great distinctive rite of the Christian liturgy. The first believers at Jerusalem did not forsake the public worship of their countrymen, but after their conversion "continued daily with one accord in the Temple." If they assembled by themselves "in a house or chamber," it was specifically to "break bread." When the disciples at Troas, nearly thirty years later, were gathered together on the first day of the week, it is not said that this was to hear Paul preach, but again, "to break bread."¹ That this was the great recognized and stated object of the assemblies of the first Christians is also implied in the apostolic rebuke of the disorderly Corinthians:—"When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper;"²—as if he had said, "The very purpose for which Christians meet is the celebration of the Supper of the Lord; but you, by your disorders, defeat that object, and deprive your celebration of every title to that character." To the same effect Ignatius, the disciple of S. John, speaks as if this ordinance was identical with common prayer, or, at least, inseparably connected with it, when he relates of certain heretics, that they "abstained from Eucharist and prayer because they did not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Christ."³

Much later also, at a time when other offices of public prayer are known to have been provided, the morning service, of which the holy Communion was an inseparable part, was still regarded as the essential and proper worship of the Church. This is apparent from the language of S. Macarius, who died in 391. Illustrating the spiritual service of the Christian in the "temple of the heart" by the external service of the Church, he refers still to the breaking of bread and prayers of the Apostles, though speaking of them, of course, as they were exhibited in the more elaborate ritual of his own day:—"Unless the lessons, psalm-sings, and the whole sequence of the Church's order came before, it would be improper for the priest to celebrate the Divine Mystery itself, of the Body

and Blood of Christ; and again, even if the whole ecclesiastical canon were observed, but the mystical thanksgiving of the oblation by the priest, and the communion of the Body of Christ did not take place, the order of the Church would not be fully kept, and the Divine Service of the Mystery would be defective."⁴

It appears from St. Chrysostom, who became Archbishop of Constantinople in 398, that at this period the general term *συναξίς*, a gathering, was in perfect strictness employed to denote solely those general assemblies for public worship at which the Eucharist was celebrated. This could only have arisen from its universal recognition as the great purpose for which Christians met together. His words are:—"The awful mysteries . . . which are celebrated at every *synaxis*, are called the Eucharist (thanksgiving), because they are a commemoration of many benefits."⁵ By a still more remarkable modification of its meaning, the word was also used, and unquestionably owing to the same cause, to signify the Sacrament itself.

It is evident that, if the object for which the brethren "came together" was "to break bread," all who were present on any such occasion must have been expected to take a part in that holy action. To decline would be to renounce the communion of the faithful. Nay, so universal was the desire to partake of the sacred symbols at every celebration, that before the middle of the second century a custom was established of sending portions to those who were unavoidably absent. We learn this from Justin Martyr, who, in a brief account of the Christian worship, intended to correct the false notions of the heathen, after mentioning the consecration of the elements, describes their distribution in the following terms:—"Those who are called Deacons with us give to each of those present of the bread and wine tempered with water, that have been blessed, to partake of, and carry thereof to those who are not present."⁶

The Clementine Liturgy cannot be cited as a contemporary witness to the opinions and practice of the very first age; but it is competent to show what they were thought to have been at a somewhat later, but still early, period. Now in this ancient formulary we find it ordered that, after the Bishop, Presbyters, Deacons, &c.,

¹ Acts xx. 7.

² 1 Cor. xi. 20.

³ Ad Smyrn. c. vi, PP. Apost. tom. ii. p. 412, Oxon. 1838.

⁴ De Caritate, c. xxix. In Galland, tom. vii. p. 207.

⁵ Hom. xxv. in S. Matt. Ev. Opp. tom. vii. p. 352, Pars 1531—1539.

⁶ Apol. i. c. 65. Opp. tom. i. p. 266. Jenæ, 1812.

have communicated, "the children and then *all* the people" shall receive.⁷ In the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius, which is of great value on the same ground, we have a full account of the manner in which the Eucharist was celebrated, as he and his cotemporaries supposed, in the first century. According to him, after Psalms had been sung and the holy Scriptures read, "the Catechumens, and beside them the possessed and those in penance, went without the sacred precinct, while those who were worthy of the sight and participation of the Divine things remained."⁸ Again, he says of the Bishop, that "uncovering the undivided bread, and dividing it into many pieces, and dealing out the cup to *all*, he symbolically multiplies and distributes the unity."⁹ The same practice is supposed in the fabulous Lives of the Apostles under the name of Abdias.¹ Thus in the life of S. Thomas:—"Having blessed the bread, he communicated it to *all*;" and in that of S. Matthew:—"When they had answered, *Amen*, and the mysteries of the Lord had been celebrated, and *all* the Church had received mass,"² &c. In the Liturgy ascribed to S. Chrysostom, is a prayer addressed to Christ (which might, or might not, have had a place in the earlier form on which that Liturgy was founded), that he would "vouchsafe to impart His undefiled Body and precious Blood" to the officiating clergy, and "through them to *all* the people."³

Even so late as the middle of the ninth century persons were still found who thought themselves bound by the old rule. "There are some," says Walafridus Strabo, "who think it enough for the dignity of the sacraments to communicate once in the day, even if present at several masses; but there are others who wish to communicate, as in one, so in *all* the masses at which they are present in the day."⁴ "There were then in the time of Strabo," observes Cardinal Bona, "some so tenacious of the original custom of communicating in the mass at which they were present, that they did not hesitate to receive the communion more than

once in the day, if they were present at more than one mass."⁵

Of the original rule, then, it is not possible for us to entertain a doubt. There was, however, an occasional inconvenience in its observance, which led in the course of time to some very important changes. It might happen, in those Churches which had a daily⁶ celebration, that a person was indisposed to communicate, though, at the same time, not willing to forego the privilege of united prayer. The scruple about daily communion is treated by S. Augustine in the following manner, in a passage which it may be desirable to give at some length:—"I have observed with grief, that many of the anxieties of the weak are occasioned by the contentious obstinacy or superstitious fearfulness of certain brethren, who, in matters like this, which can never be determined with certainty, either by the authority of holy Scripture, or the tradition of the universal Church, or by their tendency to promote amendment of life, raise disputes so merely factitious, that they think nothing to be right but what they do themselves. [For example] because some argument for them, such as it is, has come

⁵ *Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xlv. Opp. p. 233. Antv. 1726.*

⁶ Justin Martyr, writing at Rome about the year 150, speaks of the Sacrament as celebrated every Sunday, *Apol. i. c. 67 tom. i. p. 268*. It has been inferred from the expression *stato die* in Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan, that the same custom prevailed in Asia Minor in the early part of the same century. *Epp. i. x. Ep. xvii. p. 566. Ed. Gesner, Lips. 1805*. Tertullian, writing at Carthage about fifty years after Justin, implies a more frequent celebration; for he speaks of those who scruple to receive on the fast days. *De Orat. c. xiv. tom. iv. p. 15*. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, A.D. 220, speaks of the Body and Blood of Christ as *daily* consecrated. *Fragm. in Prov. ix. 1. Opp. tom. i. p. 282. Hamb. 1716*. S. Cyprian in Africa, some thirty years later, mentions daily communion, as if it were the usual practice of all. *De Orat. Dom. Tract. p. 147; Ep. lviii. ad Pleb. Thibar. p. 120*. Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine expresses himself in the same manner in the early part of the next century. *Demonstr. Evan. l. i. c. x. p. 37. Par. 1628*. There can be no doubt that S. Augustine's account of the matter was true of the ages before him as well as his own:—"There are some customs which vary in different places and regions, as that some fast on Saturday, others not; some daily communicate in the Body and Blood of the Lord, others receive on certain days; in one place not a day passes without the offering, in another it is only on the Sabbath and the Lord's day, in a third on the Lord's day only." *Epp. i. ad. Januar. § 2. Ep. liv. Opp. tom. ii. col. 186. Par. 1836—1838*. Sim, S. Jerome ad Lucin. u.s., who adds:—"Unaquæque provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur." From Acts xx. 7, compared with ii. 42, 46, it has been inferred that the same diversity of practice existed under the Apostles; there being it would seem a weekly communion at Troas, and a daily at Jerusalem.

⁷ Tr. prefixed to Brett's Dissert. on Liturgies, p. 10. Lond. 1838.

⁸ C. iii. sect. ii. *Opp. tom. i. p. 284*.

⁹ *Ibid. sect. iii. n. 12; p. 299*. Sim, in the paraphrase of Pachymeres, p. 327.

¹ *Apost. Hist. l. ix. p. 103. Basil. 1552*.

² *Ibid. l. vii., p. 91*.

³ *Liturg. PP. p. 103. Par. 1560. Brett, p. 39.*

⁴ *De Reb. Eccl. c. 22, apud Hittorp. de Div. Off. p. 405. Colon. 1568.*

into the man's head, or because he was accustomed to do so in his own country, or because he has seen it in his travels, which he imagines to be the more learned the farther they have been from his own people. One would say, that the Eucharist ought not to be received daily. Should you ask, why?—Because, says he, certain days ought to be chosen, in which a man lives more purely and contentedly, that he may more worthily approach so great a sacrament. For 'whosoever shall eat unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself.' On the other hand, another says:—Nay, if the wound of sin and the violence of the disease are so great, that the use of such remedies must be deferred, every one ought to be removed from the altar by the authority of the Bishop that he may do penance, and be reconciled by the same authority. For receiving unworthily is receiving at a time, when one ought to be doing penance;—not that a man may either remove himself from communion, or restore himself to it at his own pleasure, when he likes. Moreover, if a person's sins are not so great that he be judged worthy of excommunication, he ought not to separate himself from the daily medicine of the Lord's Body. Some one perhaps more rightly settles the dispute between them, who advises that above all things he remain steadfast in the peace of Christ. But let each one do what according to his faith he piously believes ought to be done. For neither of them dishonours the Body and Blood of the Lord, but they are vying with each other in giving honour to the most salutary sacrament The one in his respect for it dares not receive daily; the other in his dares not miss a single day."⁷ There can be no doubt that the controversy supposed by St. Augustine was suggested to him by the actual occurrences of his day; for we find St. Ambrose, several years before, speaking of some who abstained from communion as a self-imposed penance, though in a state, as he conceived, to profit by it:—"There are those, who think it a penance, if they abstain from the heavenly sacraments. These persons are too severe judges in their own case,—who impose on themselves a punishment, decline a remedy; who ought even to grieve for their punishment, because by it they would be deprived of heavenly grace."⁸

⁷ Ad Jan. Ep. i. § 2, 3; inter Epp. liv.; tom. ii. col. 186.

⁸ De Pœnit. l. ii. c. ix.; tom. v. p. 293.

There were three modes of acting in such a case. A person who did not wish to receive could absent himself from the common worship of the faithful, or he could be present, and either remain to the end, or leave before the celebration. It is probable that on common days, most would prefer to be absent altogether: but on the Lord's day, and other festivals, as long as no other public service was provided, this course was almost precluded, as it would inevitably expose those who adopted it to the suspicion of apostasy. Nor would they be free from all risk of a similar misconstruction, if they attended the first part of the service only and withdrew with the Catechumens, or with the Penitents; while to retire at any other time would necessarily produce confusion, as no such departure was contemplated, or provided for, in the prescribed ritual of the Church. They would naturally prefer,—and there is evidence that they did prefer,—to remain till the conclusion of the service. Nor was this course, it would appear, discountenanced by all the clergy, "some" of whom, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, "after dividing the Eucharist, as the custom was, left it to each of the people to take their share," on the ground that "conscience is the best guide in taking or declining."⁹ It is not probable that in those days of rule and discipline the matter would be allowed to remain long in this unsettled state. The Church would soon interfere, to sanction or forbid the rising practice. When her authoritative decision was first pronounced cannot be said with certainty; but from the above statement of Clemens, who died about the year 220, we may infer that the question was at least ripe for legislation by the middle of the third century.

II.—Grounded on Scripture.

Before we proceed to show how the Church dealt with this important subject, it may be well to set forth the grounds on which we must suppose her earliest decision to have been based.

It is conceded, I believe, by all, as implied in the narration of Holy Scripture, that under the Apostles all who were present at the celebration partook, as a matter of course, of the consecrated elements of bread and wine. But if I mistake not, it may be inferred farther, from the plain teaching of our Lord and of St. Paul, that they

⁹ Strom. i. Opp. p. 271. Colon. 1683.

could not have done otherwise, and that the grounds, on which a different course is sought to be justified, involve a serious misconception of the true nature of the Sacrament. A distinction is drawn by Mr. Wilberforce and others between the Sacrament and the sacrifice, and we are asked why it should be thought unlawful to "join in the sacrifice, without going on to the Sacrament?"¹⁰ The first reply to this inquiry is, that in Scripture the whole ordinance is clearly represented as indivisible and one, and the reception as an essential and integrant part of it. Christ gave to His disciples bread and wine, and said, "Take, eat and drink," before He declared the one to be His Body that was broken, or the other, His blood poured forth.¹ Again, when He commanded, "This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me,"² His words assuredly imply that the remembrance of Him intended, viz., the commemoration of the sacrifice of His death, is altogether dependent on our eating and drinking of the ordained symbols of that sacrifice. He does not first institute the memorial, and then command us to partake thereof, but He commands us to partake, and when we are so doing, then to remember Him. St. Paul commenting on His words, brings out more distinctly the relation, or rather the identity, which they exhibit between the commemoration and the Communion. "For as often," he explains, "as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come."³ We show, therefore, His death, we commemorate His sacrifice, when we partake of that bread and that cup which represent Him offered for our sins upon the Cross. This is the prescribed mode, the only prescribed mode, of that commemorative action. Unless we eat and drink we do not "show His death." In short, by the very nature and appointment of the rite, we cannot "join in the sacrifice without going on to the Sacrament;" for without that which is here termed the Sacrament, there is no proper representation of the Sacrifice of Christ.

It should be remarked also that there is a

peculiarity in every certain mention of this Sacrament occurring in Holy Scripture, which is in strict accordance with the apparent teaching of the above cited texts. Communion and not oblation, is the most prominent idea in all. Thus in St. Paul's reasoning:—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ? For we being many are one bread, one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread."⁴ Even when he proceeds to a comparison between the Christian ordinance and the sacrifices of the heathen, the point of resemblance on which he dwells is not the offering, but the feast:—"Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils."⁵ His preference for this aspect of the Sacrament is made the more striking by its having led him, in carrying out the parallel, to designate the heathen altar by the somewhat unusual name of *table*: "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils."⁶ Similarly, when he is condemning an abuse of the Eucharistic feast, he does not say:—"When ye come together, this is not to show the Lord's death," but "this is not to eat the Lord's Supper."⁷ Even where an altar is mentioned in the Epistles, the use of it to which reference is made is properly that of a table:—"We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle."⁸

It is clear, then, as it appears to me, that, according to the intention of our Blessed Lord, and to the mind of His Apostles, the Eucharistic commemoration of His sacrifice is inseparable from the Communion of His Body and Blood,—and, therefore, that we can have no special interest in the one, unless we are partakers of the other also.

III.—*The Analogy of the Levitical Sacrifices.*

We are led to the same conclusion by the analogy of certain sacrifices under the law, in which the lay worshipper, who provided the victim, was under an obligation to eat of it. They were of three kinds, all included under the general title of Peace-offerings; but our attention may be confined to one, which has a peculiar bearing on the subject, viz. the Peace-

¹⁰ Wilberforce on the Eucharist, ch. xlii. p. 387, 3rd ed.

¹ Matt xxvi. 26—28; Mark xiv. 22—24; Luke xxii. 19, 20.

² 1 Cor. xi. 25.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 26. Clichtovæus, a strong opponent of the Reformation, says:—"That the reception itself even of the Body and Blood of Christ is in remembrance of His passion St. Paul shows clearly, when he writes thus to the Corinthians, 'As often as ye eat,' &c. Elucidatorium Eccles. p. lii. Can. Expos.; ad id *Hæc quotiescunque*; fol. 137, fa. i. Basil, 1517.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 21.

⁶ Ibid. The Jews used the word *table* to denote an altar, though not commonly. See Ezek. xxxix. 20; xli. 22; xlv. 16; Mal. i. 7, 12.

⁷ 1 Cor. xi. 20.

⁸ Heb. xiii. 10.

offering for thanksgiving, which the devout Israelite was encouraged to offer as a token of gratitude for mercies received. There is a strict correspondence, so far as the nature of the dispensations will permit it, between this ordinance of the Law and our Christian rite of Eucharist, or *Thanksgiving*, for the inestimable blessings which have been bestowed on us through Christ. But it was a law of this kind of sacrifice, and, what is more to the purpose, a law peculiar to it,—that after one stated portion of the victim had been consumed on the altar, and another given to the priest, the *whole* of the remainder was to be eaten on the same day by those who offered it.⁹ In the case of Peace-offerings for a vow, or of spontaneous devotion, a part might be eaten on the second day, and if any then remained, it was to be burnt; but with the Peace-offering of Eucharist, no such alternative was permitted; it could only be eaten, and it must be eaten at once:—"When ye will offer a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving unto the Lord, offer it at your own will. On the same day it shall be eaten up, ye shall leave none of it until the morrow. I am the Lord."¹⁰ This fact furnishes a complete answer to the representation of Mr. Wilberforce, that the priest only was under an obligation to partake of the victim. The priest consumed a part, but the remainder, as we see, was also ordered to be eaten. Now how could obedience to this commandment be secured, unless it was made incumbent on some certain persons to partake of the remainder? And who could they be but those who made the offering, and sought to have the sacrifice imputed to them? There really can be no doubt whatever that it was as much the duty of the lay worshipper to eat his portion, as it was of the priest to consume his. Indeed, the law implies that in Peace-offerings, *i.e.*, in all those sacrifices in which the offerer was permitted to eat of the victim, such eating was of the very essence of the rite, and a condition of its being imputed:—"If any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his Peace-offering be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be imputed to him that offereth it."¹¹ The remainder of the victim, then, was to be consumed within a prescribed time, by a company of lay worshippers, or the sacrifice

was not acceptable to God, or imputed to him that offered it. We are not told, indeed, in so many words that he was himself actually to partake; but it is most unreasonable to suppose, indeed it is quite incredible, that the person, or persons, who provided the victim, whose gratitude for some benefit received was the avowed occasion of the public acknowledgment of a Thank-offering, should have been held at liberty to call in a party of strangers to do that which was to secure their interest in the sacrifice, while they themselves stood by, and joined not in the feast. I presume that no other evidence will be thought necessary to confirm an inference so palpable and certain. It may be found however, if it should be asked for, in the actual practice of the Jews. It is a matter of fact, that, according to their custom, it was the *offerer* who consumed the victim. Josephus, for example, tells us that such sacrifices were "transacted by feasting of the sacrificers," and again, that after sprinkling the altar with the blood, burning the fat, &c. and "giving the breast and right shoulder to the priest, the *offerers* feasted on the flesh that was left."² And similarly Abarbanel:—"The remainder the masters of the sacrifice eat."³

The Passover was of the nature of a Thank-offering, being appointed to commemorate the deliverance of the children of Israel from the bondage of Egypt. Moreover we learn from Scripture that it was an express type of the Sacrifice of Christ, the Lamb of God.⁴ A strong analogy must therefore be supposed to subsist between this ordinance, and the Sacrament by which we commemorate our deliverance from a bondage typified by that of Egypt, and show forth the same Sacrifice by retrospect and in remembrance. But it is manifest that all who were comprised in the command to keep the Passover were under a strict obligation to eat of the lamb therein offered. In fact, by "keeping" it, the law explained itself to mean "eating it, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs;"⁵ while it declared that those who "forbore to keep it" should be "cut off from among their people."⁶

² De Antiq. l. iii. c. ix. Opp. tom. i. p. 121.

³ Exord. Comment. in Levit. ad calc. Majemonidæ Tract. de Sacrif. pp. 247, 333.

⁴ 1 Cor. v. 7.

⁵ Num. ix. 11. "They shall keep it, [and] eat it with unleavened bread and bitter [herbs],"—the second clause being in apposition with the former."

⁶ Num. ix. 13. See Note B, Appendix.

⁹ Levit. vii. 15. "He (i.e. the offerer) shall not leave any of it until the morning."

¹⁰ Levit. xxii. 29, 30. See Note A, Appendix.

¹¹ Lev. vii. 18.

Our inference with regard to the Christian Passover, may be expressed in the words of St. Athanasius:—"Our Saviour, since He was changing the typical for the spiritual, promised them that they should no longer eat the flesh of a lamb, but His own, saying, 'Take, eat and drink; this is My Body and My Blood.' When we are, then, *nourished* by these things, we shall also, my beloved, properly keep the feast of the Passover."

In arguing from a Jewish sacrifice to the Christian sacrament, no inference, however probable, can be considered certain, unless it is confirmed by the inspired writers of the New Testament. Without the seal of their authority the argument may be sufficient for the purpose for which it is now employed, namely, to overturn a conclusion drawn from an erroneous statement of the same premises; but it can afford no *positive* guidance either as to the doctrine, or as to the use of the evangelical ordinance. In this instance, however, we have the direct testimony of an Apostle to the interpretation which we have put upon the Scripture of the Old Testament. Our appeal to the Levitical law is in reality superfluous; for we are plainly taught by St. Paul that, in those sacrifices to which the Eucharist may be compared, the Jew became "partaker of the altar" by being partaker of the offering:—"Behold Israel after the flesh. Are not they which *eat* of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?"⁷ He not only asserts the principle as holding good of the Jewish rite, but extends its application to the Christian; for it is solely with a view to illustrate the latter that he refers to the Mosaic ordinance at all.

We may infer, then, without fear of error, from the analogy of those sacrifices to which the holy Eucharist is compared in Scripture, as well as from such accounts of it as are preserved therein, that, unless we *partake* of the consecrated symbols, we do not commemorate aright the Sacrifice which they are ordained to represent; in other words, that unless *we eat* we do not "offer;" and consequently that those who "assist without receiving," have no greater interest in the celebration than they would have, in common with the whole Church, if they were not present.

IV.—No division of the Rite into "*Sacrifice and Sacrament.*"

This identity of the Sacrament with the commemoration, of the Communion with the sacrifice, is constantly recognized in the language of the early Christian writers. With them to have a part in the sacrifice was to receive, and to "offer" was the same thing as to communicate. Tertullian advises those who scrupled to communicate during a fast to reserve the Sacrament until the fast was over; by which means, he says, they would both "participate in the sacrifice," and fulfil their other duty.⁸ St. Basil directs that certain penitents shall only stand with the faithful for a time "without partaking of the oblation," but when that time has expired, shall "partake of the Sacraments."⁹ Similarly, "to be removed from the altar" means in the language of St. Augustine and of the ancient Church to be forbidden to communicate.¹⁰ St. Chrysostom says:—"Many partake of this sacrifice once a year, some twice,"¹¹ &c.—meaning that they communicated so often. So again, he speaks of one who had "received the precious Body, and partaken of so great a sacrifice."¹² With the same Father, to "approach the sacrifice" is to "partake of the mysteries," or "of the body of Christ;"¹³ and "to have the benefit of the sacrifice," is equivalent to "having the benefit of the table."¹⁴ In a decree of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 681, to "partake of the sacrifice," to "eat of the offering," and to "partake of the altar," are expressions employed to signify precisely the same act and privilege. In condemning certain priests, who, when obliged to celebrate more than once a day, communicated only at the last celebration, the Council argued thus:—"Behold, the Apostle says, Are not they which eat the victims partakers of the altar? . . . What kind of sacrifice will that be of which not even the sacrificer is known to have partaken?"¹⁵

⁸ De Orat. c. xiv.; tom. iv. P. 14.

⁹ Ep. Cannon. ad Amphil. can. lvi.; tom. ii. p. 775

¹⁰ Ep. I. Ad Januar. Sec. iii.

¹¹ Hom. xvii. in Ep. ad Heb. c. x.; tom. xii. p. 242.

¹² Hom. c. Ludos, tom. vi. p. 323.

¹³ Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Eph. c. i.; tom. xi. p. 24; Hom. i. in Prod. Jud.; tom. ii. p. 454.

¹⁴ Hom. lxxxii. in S. Matt. xxvi. 26; tom. vii. pp. 889, 890.

¹⁵ Conc. Tolet. xii. cap. v. Labb. tom. vi. col. 1230. Gratian. P. ii. Dist. ii. c. xi. *Relatum est*. The phrase *altaris participatio* is used to this day in the canon of the Mass for *communicating*; when the priest prays, "us quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione celesti et gratia replemur."

⁷ I Cor. x. 18. Wicelius, a Roman Catholic divine, A.D. 1534, draws the same inference, viz., that *offering* and *eating* are in such a case equivalent to each other, *quod oblatio et esus nihil inter se dissident*.

It is obvious that the several phrases here mentioned could not have been equivalents, had a sharp distinction existed in the minds of those who used them between the Sacrifice and the Sacrament—That a person might have “approached the sacrifice,” without “partaking of the mysteries,” and “participated in the sacrifice,” without communicating; or have had the “benefit of the sacrifice” without “the benefit of the table,” or been forbidden to communicate without “being removed from the altar.”

The truth taught indirectly by such parallelisms as these is also implied whenever it is said that we commemorate the sacrifice of Christ *by partaking* of the appointed symbols of His Body and Blood. To this effect St. Basil tells us, “that we must eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord, for a memorial of His obedience unto death:”⁶ and S. Augustine that “Christians celebrate the memorial of that same accomplished sacrifice by the most holy oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.”⁷ Elsewhere the latter Father says,—“We call that only the Body and Blood of Christ, which, taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystic prayer, we duly receive to our spiritual health for a memorial of the Lord’s passion for us.”⁸ St. Cyril of Alexandria:—“The table with the shewbread signifies the unbloody sacrifice, through which we receive blessing, when we eat the bread from heaven;”⁹ and again:—“The participation of the holy mysteries is a true confession and commemoration of His dying and rising again for us.”¹ . . .

The early Christians believed unanimously that remission of sin was one of the graces imparted to the penitent faithful through the holy Eucharist. Now if the distinction which Mr. Wilberforce adopts between the sacrifice and sacrament be truly ancient and legitimate, we should expect to find this gift especially connected with the sacrificial part of the ordinance. Propitiation, or the impetration of favour, confessed to be undeserved, which includes, of course, forgiveness, has been the main object of sacrifice in all ages, and among all nations of the world; and it was emphatically and espe-

cially the end and effect of that sacrifice, which is commemorated in the Eucharist. But is it under this aspect that we find the Eucharist affirmed by ancient writers to convey the pardon of our sins?—Far from it. Sometimes, indeed, they ascribe the gift in general terms to the Divine ordinance as a whole, but far more frequently to the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ which it imparts: and never, (unless I am strangely deceived) to any supposed sacrifice distinct from that communion. Thus St. Hippolytus:—“He gave us His Divine Flesh and His precious Blood, to eat and to drink them for the remission of sins.”² S. Cyprian:—“After draining the Blood of the Lord, and the cup of salvation, . . . the woful and sad breast, that was oppressed by torturing sins, may be loosed by the joy of the Divine pardon.”³ St. Ambrose:—“He who receives shall not die by a sinner’s death; for this bread is the remission of sins.”⁴ And again:—“Be there, prepared that thou mayest receive to thyself a defence; that thou mayest eat the Body of the Lord Jesus, in which is remission of sins, entreaty for reconciliation with God, and for eternal protection.”⁵ Cyril of Alexandria:—“Eat bread that purges out that ancient bitterness, and drink wine that deadens the pain of that wound.”⁶ And similarly, if I mistake not, in all the ancient Liturgies; as in the Clementine:—“That all who shall partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles,” &c.;⁷ in that under the name of St. James:—“We give Thee thanks, O Christ our God, for that Thou hast thought us worthy to partake of Thy Body and Blood for remission of sins and life eternal;”⁸ in those of Basil:—“Grant that we may without condemnation partake of these undefiled and life-giving mysteries, for the remission of sins, for the communion of the Holy Ghost.”⁹ . . . The inference which I would draw from the universality of this belief has been already intimated, viz., that the early Christians knew nothing of that distinction, for which Mr. Wilberforce and his followers contend, between the

¹ Mor. Reg. xxi. c. lii.; tom. ii. col. 304.

² C. Faust. l. xx. c. xviii.; tom. viii. col. 542.

³ De Trin. l. iii. c. iv. n. 10; tom. viii. col. 1225.

⁴ De Ador. in Spir. et verit. l. xlii. Opp. tom. i. p. 457. Par. 1638.

⁵ Comm. in S. Joh. Ev. c. xx. v. 16, l. xii.; tom. iv. p. 1105.

² Fragm. in Prov. ix. l. Opp. tom. i. p. 282.

³ Ep. lxi. p. 153.

⁴ De Patriarch. Bened. c. ix. n. 39; tom. i. p. 469.

⁵ In Ps. cxviii. Heth. n. 48; tom. iii. p. 319.

⁶ Hom. in Myst. Ccen. Opp. tom. v. P. ii. p. 374.

⁷ Brett’s Liturgies, p. 7.

⁸ Liturg. Patr. p. 37. Brett, p. 21.

⁹ Lit. PP. p. 66. Brett, pp. 54, 61.

sacrifice and the Sacrament. If they had thus divided the institution of Christ into a communion and a sacrifice available even to those who do not communicate, the very nature of a sacrifice would have compelled them to ascribe the gift of pardon, which it conveys, to the propitiatory power of the oblation, rather than, as they did, to an actual reception of the Sacrament.

V.—Early and Later Testimonies to the Primitive Rule.

But perhaps the clearest evidence that we can give, to prove that in the early Church to offer meant to communicate, is found in the language of those ancient canons, which speak of the form of penance known by the name of *consistentia*. In many churches at least, if not in all, and from a very early period, penitents in the last stage of their probation were allowed to “communicate with the faithful in prayers,” though still forbidden to partake of the holy Eucharist. This communion in prayers, however, is generally thought to imply their presence, as non-communicants, during the celebration;¹ and their supposed presence is accordingly pleaded as an early witness to the principle of “offering without partaking.” We are asked, “If they did not offer the sacrifice without eating, what were they there for at all?”² We might reply, that it was the very *gravamen* of their penance to behold others in the enjoyment of a blessing of which they were unworthy, as in an earlier stage, it was their punishment to remain at the church door while others entered. The question, however, is one which ought not to be asked; for it is a matter of perfect certainty that, for whatever purpose they might be there, it was not, as conjectured, that they might “offer the sacrifice” without communicating. The proof of this is both direct and decisive. The Council of Ancyra, A.D. 315, speaks of the

consistentes, as “communicating in the prayers,”³ or “communicating *without oblation*,”⁴ for a fixed time, and at the end of that “attaining to the perfect,” *i.e.* being admitted to partake in the holy Eucharist. Ten years later, the Nicene Fathers directed that the penance of voluntary apostates should conclude with two years of “communion with the people in prayers *without oblation*.”⁵ Towards the end of the same century we have frequent mention of the *consistentes* in the Second Canonical Epistle of St. Basil. They are there spoken of as “abstaining from the oblation,” until admitted “to the communion of the good,” *i.e.* the Eucharist;—as “standing with the faithful, but not partaking in the oblation,” until their term had expired, but after that “partaking of the Sacraments.”⁶ There is no escape from the conclusion to which this language drives us. It proves incontestably, that in the mind of the early Church offering included *partaking*, and *partaking* implied *offering*,—and, consequently, that the “separation of the sacrifice from the Sacrament,” for which some now contend, was utterly unknown to it.

If, however, the subject should be thought by any to require further elucidation, it may be found in the commentaries of the Greek canonists. According to Zonaras, “to communicate without oblation” is “to pray with the faithful without being allowed to receive the Sacraments.”⁷ Alexius Aristenus says that it is “to communicate with the faithful in the prayers to the completion of the mystic rite, but without having a part in the Divine reception;”⁸ and Balsamon explains that “to be admitted without oblation” is to be “taken into communion with the Church without being thought worthy of the Divine Sacrament,” or as he also expresses it, “of the Divine reception.”

But granting, it may perhaps be said, that it has been a great mistake to plead the presence of the *consistentes* as a proof that we can “join in the sacrifice without going on to the Sacrament,” is it not possible that the early Church, in using the language that has been adduced, and the Greek canonists in explaining it, may have been contemplating the case of the *consistentes* only, and thus intended to express a fact

¹ By the *Prayers*, are understood those of the Communion Office. “This part of the service being wholly spent in prayer, and that by the communicants only, is therefore peculiarly distinguished by the name of *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*. The Prayers of the Faithful, by the Council of Laodicea (Can. xix. Bev. Pand. tom. i. p. 461), which speaks of them as coming after the prayers of the Catechumens, and their dismissal. In other canons they are called the common prayers of the people, and absolutely the *prayers*, without taking notice of any other prayers in the Church.” Bingham, b. xiii. ch. i. sect. iii.; vol. i. p. 555. Waterland was of opinion that the *consistentes* were not present at the celebration. See Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, ch. xiv. Works, vol. iv. p. 791. Oxf. 1843.

² Right of all the Baptized to be Present, &c; p. 24. Masters, London. 1854.

³ Cann. iv. xxiv. Pandect. Bevereg. tom. i. pp. 377--399.

⁴ Cann. v. vi. viii. Ibid.

⁵ Can. xi. Pand. tom. i. p. 71.

⁶ Ep. ad Amphil. can. lvi.; tom. ii. p. 775.

⁷ In can. Nic. xi. Pand. tom. i. p. 72.

⁸ In can. Ancyra. Ibid. p. 377.

with regard to them, rather than a principle? Is it not possible that, notwithstanding that language, they might after all have supposed that in the very different case of persons who had not been excommunicated, but felt reluctant to receive from want of special preparation, or other such cause, there could perhaps be an acceptable offering without reception? Such a conjecture would, I believe, be fully answered by what has been said in Section IV.; but as the case suggested did actually occur, it will be well to adduce such notices of it as are to be met with in early writers, and to consider which way their testimony leans. We may, then, reply further, that for five centuries or more it was only in the Church of Alexandria, so far as I can learn, that persons not under penance were encouraged, or permitted without the imputation of irregularity, to be present to the end without receiving. The language, however, of those from whom we have the knowledge of this exception affords no sanction to the hypothesis that has been now stated. St. Clement, as we have already seen, merely says that *some* of the clergy "after dividing the Eucharist" left it to the conscience of each person present whether he would receive or not.⁹ Towards the end of the fourth century, Timothy I., a Patriarch of the same Church, in reply to a question respecting the lawfulness of celebrating in the presence of heretics, says:—"In the Divine oblation, the Deacon, before the kiss of peace, cries out, 'Ye that are not communicants walk out.' They ought not to be present then, unless they promise to repent."¹⁰ The custom for some to remain who did not partake is clearly implied in the question, and tacitly allowed in the answer. If none had been permitted to remain, the Bishop would certainly have said that not heretics only, but all who did not partake must be excluded. A third notice of the custom, belonging probably to the middle of the fifth century, is a distinct recommendation of it. It proceeds from a Bishop, always described as Eusebius the Alexandrian, though over what Church he presided is not known:—"If conscience condemns thee of wicked and flagitious actions, decline the Communion until thou hast corrected it through repentance; but stay during the prayer, and leave not the Church until dismissed." "Finish *thy* prayer, on no account quitting before

the dismissal." Not one of these writers makes the least mention of "offering without partaking," and yet from the last it seemed absolutely required, if he had held that such a thing was possible. Surely, if he had been of the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, he would have said:—"If you are unfit to communicate, at least do not fail to offer; the sacrifice is of avail even to those who do not partake of the victim." But he says nothing of the kind, and his silence is a clear proof that, though he believed a person not communicating would be benefited by "finishing *his* prayer," he did *not* believe, any more than St. Chrysostom, that he could by remaining obtain a special interest in the Church's commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ. The question probably never occurred to Eusebius, but it did happen to the great Father whom I have named to speak separately, in a passage of rapid thought, of a worthiness of the reception and of a worthiness of the sacrifice, and his language shows that he believed one who was not fit to partake must also be unfit to offer:—"Art thou not worthy of the sacrifice nor of the participation?" He is addressing persons who wished to stay without receiving, and he assumes that, if they had their wish, the sacrifice would profit them as little as the participation. His conclusion is that they ought not to stay at all:—"If so, then neither art thou of the prayer," *i.e.*, of the prayers used at the celebration.¹

It is evident that, when the case of a person in full communion with the Church declining to receive though present, was actually brought under the consideration of the early Fathers, they had no disposition to regard him as "joining in the sacrifice." Some few thought his attendance a proper act of devotion; others condemned it strongly; but they agreed in this, that they supposed him to remain to *pray*, and not to *offer*.

¹ Hom. iiii. in Eph. c. i.; tom. xi. p. 23. "He does not mean that prayer in general requires the same preparation that the Communion does, or that every one who may be properly admitted to the former may be as properly admitted to the latter also. . . But what Chrysostom meant was, that it was very absurd and even downright impudent for a man to claim a right to stand by, all the while that the Communion was administered, and to *join* in those most sacred and mystical prayers and hymns which were proper to it, and at the same time to pretend that he was not worthy of it; for if he really was not worthy to *receive*, he was not worthy to be *present* during that holy solemnity, or to bear a part in the *prayers* which peculiarly belonged to it." Waterland's Review, c. xiv.; vol. iv. p. 790.

⁹ Strom. i. p. 241. See p. 14.

¹⁰ Pandect. Bever. tom. ii. p. 167.

The same thing might be inferred, *a fortiori*, from an early rule which forbade the clergy to receive offerings for the use of the holy table from persons who did not intend to partake of them at it.² They were not even allowed to supply the elements, and how can it be imagined that they were believed, by those who stigmatized them, to be able, if present in church, to "join in the sacrifice" for which the elements were provided?

It is quite certain, then, that in the early Church there could be no inducement to permit the presence of a non-communicant from the existence of any belief that he could offer without partaking, or, as Mr. Wilberforce expresses it, that he could derive benefit from "joining in the sacrifice without going on to the Sacrament."

VI.—*Mortal Sin only, held to disqualify for Communion.*

I next proceed to show that the opinions, which prevailed generally for several centuries respecting fitness for the reception of the Sacrament, were not such as would in themselves have induced those who held them to recommend persons to be present without partaking. Some of them might have permitted or even urged it upon other grounds; but they could not have done so for the chief reason that we hear alleged as a motive for encouraging the practice among ourselves; viz. that an habitual communicant may sometimes, though free from great sin, esteem himself unfit to communicate, and yet desire to be present at the celebration.

The common persuasion seems to have been that all who were not guilty of *deadly* sin not only might communicate, but ought by all means to do so, whenever they were able, infirmities notwithstanding, or rather as a remedy against them. In other words, all who were not excommunicated, or deserving of excommunication, were held bound to receive constantly; i.e., as often as the rite was administered, unless kept away from the assemblies of the faithful by sickness, necessary business, or other lawful cause. . . .

Thus, Cyprian, commenting on the Lord's Prayer:—"We daily ask for this bread to be given to us, lest we, who are in Christ, and receive the Eucharist daily for the food of salvation, should by the commission of some more

grievous sin (while, being kept away and not communicating, we are forbidden the bread of heaven) be separated from the body of Christ."³ St. Chrysostom:—"Let no one be there who is insincere, no one who is laden with iniquity, no one who has poison in his mind, lest he partake to condemnation." I do not say this to frighten you, but to make you safe. . . . Let no one therefore have wicked thoughts within; but let us purify our mind: for we are approaching a pure sacrifice. Let us make our soul holy; for *this may be done even in one day*. How and by what means? If thou hast aught against thine enemy, put away wrath; heal the wound; make an end of the enmity, that thou mayest receive healing from the Table."⁴ St. Augustine:—"Take care then, brethren; eat the heavenly bread spiritually: take innocence to the altar with you. Though your sins be of daily commission, in any wise *let them not be mortal*. Before you approach to the altar attend to that which you say:—"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Forgive: it shall be forgiven thee. *Approach without fear*: it is bread, not poison."⁵ For mortal sins, i.e. "for sins of which the Apostle says, They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven," he prescribed abstinence, but as a recognized part of public penance, to which he advises the secret sinner to submit:—"Let such a sentence proceed from his own mind, that he judge himself unworthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, that he who fears to be separated from the kingdom of heaven by the last sentence of the supreme Judge may for a time be separated by ecclesiastical discipline from the sacrament of the heavenly bread."⁶ Again:—"We may not prohibit any one from communion (although this prohibition is not yet for death, but for remedy), unless they have either confessed of their own accord, or been accused and convicted in some court, either secular, or ecclesiastical."⁷ The author of the work on the Sacraments, formerly ascribed to St. Ambrose:—"Receive daily that which may daily profit thee. So live that thou mayest daily deserve to receive. *He who does not deserve to receive daily, does not deserve to*

³ De Orat. Dom. Tract. p. 147. The passage is quoted by S. Augustine c. Epp. Pelag. l. iv. sec. 25; tom. x. col. 894; and De Don Persev. sec. vii.; col. 1398; and by many other early writers.

⁴ Hom. i. in Prod. Jud.; tom. ii. pp. 453, 454.

⁵ Tract. in Joh. Ev. xxvi. sec. 11; tom. iii. P. ii. col. 1983.

⁶ Serm. coeli. de Util. Pœnit. sec. 7; tom. v. P. ii. cc. 2011.

⁷ Ibid. sec. 10; col. 2015.

² Conc. Illiber. circ. A.D. 305, can. xxviii. Labb. tom. i. col. 973.

receive at the year's end. . . . Thou hearest, then, that so often as the sacrifice is offered, the death of the Lord, the resurrection of the Lord, the lifting up of the Lord, and remission of sins are signified,—and dost thou not take daily that bread of life?—He who has a wound seeks medicine. There is a wound, for we are under sin. The heavenly and venerable sacrament is the medicine.”⁸ Eusebius of Alexandria, who seems to have written in the fifth century, has been already cited:—“If thou hast a pure conscience, draw near and partake of the Body and Blood. But if thy conscience condemn thee of wicked and flagitious actions, decline the communion till thou hast corrected it through repentance;” *i.e.* through penance. Genadius of Marseilles, A.D. 495:—“A daily reception of the Eucharist I neither praise nor blame. Nevertheless, I advise and exhort to communion every Lord's day; provided the mind be free from sinful affection; for I say that one who has still the will to sin is rather hurt than cleansed by receiving the Eucharist. Therefore, *though a man have remorse for sin*, if his will is not to sin for the future, let him, when about to communicate, make amends by tears and prayers, and trusting in the mercy of the Lord, who is wont to pardon sin on a devout confession, let him come to the Eucharist free from fear and anxiety.”⁹ Isidore of Seville, more than a century later:—“He that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself; *for this is to receive unworthily, if one receive at a time when he ought to be doing penance.* But if his sins are not so great that he is deemed worthy of excommunication, he ought not to cut himself off from the medicine of Christ's Body. . . . He who has now ceased to sin should not forbear to communicate.”¹ The words of Isidore are adopted by Rabanus Maurus,² Archbishop of Mayence in the ninth century. Walafridus Strabo, a contemporary of Rabanus, says to the same effect:—“When more grievous stains of mind or body do not stand in the way, let us seek without intermission the Bread and the Blood of the Lord, without which we cannot live; and let us take them rather with a desire of His pro-

tection, than a presumption of our own purity.”³ The third Council of Tours, in the same century, directs that “laymen shall communicate thrice in the year at least, if not oftener, unless prevented by any greater crimes.”⁴ Much later still, the Greek Canonist Zonaras, commenting on the decree of Antioch, A.D. 341, by which persons were condemned who came to Church, but “turned away from the holy reception of the Eucharist in a disorderly manner,” says that it was directed against those who shrunk from receiving “out of reverence, it might be, and, as it were, from humility.” His reason is that any worse feeling would deserve a greater punishment than that awarded.⁵

It is quite clear from the above extracts that, for a long period, only some “greater crime,” for which a public penance was thought the proper remedy, or at the most a wilful persistence in less serious sin, was allowed as a sufficient reason for abstaining from the Table of the Lord. There was no difference in this respect between Eusebius, who advised the conscience-stricken sinner to remain without partaking, and St. Chrysostom, who bade him “not be present.” All who believed themselves penitent and free from sinful affection were expressly told that they *ought* to communicate. Writers who held such language as this might have allowed the plea of a mind pre-occupied by grief, or by necessary business, as an excuse for occasional absence from Church, especially when (as in the case which we have seen considered by St. Augustine) there was a daily administration of the Sacrament; but they could not have understood, much less would they have undertaken to justify, the conduct of one who, though free from gross sin, and actually present and able to give a devout attention to every part of the holy office, should, notwithstanding, decline to join in that which is its chief and crowning act. Such persons they declared bound to receive. The only one who advises the presence of non-communicants does not contemplate their case; but assumes that none will be non-communicants, who are not great sinners. It is obvious, however, that many who would not confess themselves such might yet desire at times to avoid communicating; and it would soon be a question

⁸ De Sacram. l. v. c. lv.; Inter Opp. Ambr. tom. v. p. 299

⁹ De Dogm. Eccl. c. llii.; in the collection of Cigheri, tom. ii. p. 163. Flor. 1791.

¹ De Eccl. Off. l. i. c. 18; in Hittorp. p. 7.

² De Instit. Cler. l. i. c. 32. Hittorp. p. 327.

³ De Reb. Eccl. c. xx. Hittorp. p. 405.

⁴ Conc. Turon. A.D. 813. can. l. Labb. tom. vii. col. 1269. Grat. F. iii. Dist. ii. can. xvi. *Et si non frequentius.*

⁵ In can. Antoch. ii. Pand. tom. i. p. 432.

how to treat *them*. At Alexandria they would, as it appears, have been permitted to remain, but subject to the suspicion of grievous sin. St. Chrysostom told them that only penitents were non-communicants, and that if they did not receive, they ought to leave the Church with the penitents:—"Thou hearest the herald (*i.e.* the deacon) standing and saying, 'As many as are in penitence, all depart.' As many as do not partake are in penitence. If thou art one of those that are in penitence, thou oughtest not to partake; for he that partakes not is one of those who are in penitence. Why then does he say, 'Depart, ye that are not qualified to pray,' whilst thou hast the effrontery to stand still? But no! Thou art not of that number. *Thou art of the number of those who are qualified to partake, and yet art indifferent about it, and regardest the matter as nothing. . . .* Thou hast sung the hymn (*Holy, Holy, &c.*) with the rest. Thou hast declared thyself to be of the number of them that are worthy by not departing with them that are unworthy. Why stay, and yet not partake of the Table?—"I am unworthy," thou wilt say. Then art thou also as unfit for that communion thou hast had in the prayers," *i.e.*, the prayers proper to the Eucharist.⁶

The disorder censured by St. Chrysostom had called for the authoritative interference of the Church a full century, it is most probable, before he wrote; for there are two canons in the Ante-Nicene, or Pseudo-Apostolical code, which bear directly on it. They will be found, as might be expected, in strict accordance with those Scriptural views which we have seen prevailing through several centuries with regard both to the nature of the Sacrament and fitness for its reception. The eighth directed that any clergyman who did not communicate when the Sacrament was administered, should be "suspended," unless he could show "reasonable" cause for the omission. The ninth runs thus:—"All the faithful who come in and hear the Scriptures, but do not remain at the prayer, and the holy reception, must be suspended, as bringing disorder into the Church." These canons would be explained to those for whose guidance they were intended by the traditional sentiment and custom of the contemporary Church; but there is an ambiguity in the latter of them which presents a difficulty to those who are without

that assistance. To "remain at the reception," does not necessarily mean to remain *for* it, and from this it has been argued that the canon merely obliged all who came to the service to stay to the end, whether they communicated or not. It therefore becomes our duty to inquire how it was understood by the Church itself. The earliest comment on its meaning is found in the second canon of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, the decrees of which form part of "The Code of the Universal Church." By this it was provided that "all who entered the Church and heard the sacred Scriptures, but did not communicate with the people in prayer, or turned away from the holy reception of the Eucharist in a disorderly manner, should be cast out of the Church. It seems probable, from the use of the particle *or*, that at this period, some were accustomed to stay, if not to the end, yet through some material part of the service, without partaking; whereas the earlier canon, in condemning those who did not remain at the prayer *and* the reception, seems to imply that the custom then was to take part in both, or in neither. . . .

More direct evidence as to the meaning of the Apostolic canon is supplied by the Latin version of Dionysius Exiguus, which was published at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. This version, says Dupin, "was approved and received by the Church of Rome, according to the testimony of Cassiodorus, and by the Church of France and other Latin Churches, according to that of Hincmarus." It was necessarily, therefore, in accordance with the tradition, if not altogether with the practice, of the Western Church from the sixth century downwards. Dionysius, moreover, was thoroughly versed in the Greek writers, and could not fail to know how the ambiguous clause in question was understood throughout the East. His testimony, therefore, is virtually the testimony of the whole Church. The following is his rendering of the canon:—"It is meet that all the faithful, who come into Church, and hear the Scriptures, but do not persevere in prayer, *nor receive the Holy Communion*, be deprived of communion, as bringing disorder into the Church."

[We here conclude this Section from Mr. Scudamore's Essay. The subject of the Canon Law of the Primitive Church will be fully treated in the next Section by the Rev. Dr. Biber, and we shall resume Mr. Scudamore's Essay in the

⁶ Hom. iii. in Eph. ad Eph.; tom. xi. pp. 26, 27. I use here the Oxf. Tr. 1845, pp. 132-134.

3rd Section, with a brief historical sketch of the several changes that took place in the Mediæval Western Church after the first departure from the primitive rule, to the period of the Reformation, before treating the question historically in the 3rd Division, in connection with the doctrine of the Reformed Church of England.]

SECT. 2.—TESTIMONY TO THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, FROM THE CANONS, &c. *By the Rev. Dr. Biber.**

I.—THE CANON LAW OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. II.—TESTIMONY TO THE SAME FROM GREEK CANONISTS. III.—AND FROM WRITERS OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION. IV.—PROOF FROM THE ANCIENT LITURGIES. V.—RETROSPECT AND PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

The next division of the present inquiry has for its object to ascertain what was the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church, as shown by her Canons, with regard to the presence of non-communicants at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. This, indeed, scarcely deserves the name of an "inquiry," seeing the exclusion of non-communicants from the celebration of the Highest Mysteries of the Christian Worship is a fact so well known, and so generally acknowledged, that to adduce evidence in support of it would appear almost superfluous. That the Reformers, in the measures they took for putting an end to non-communicant attendance on the Eucharistic Service, and endeavouring to restore the custom of general communion by the whole congregation, except those not qualified to communicate, proceeded on the assumption that they were following the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church, will be shown in the third Division; meanwhile we will here give the statement of a contemporaneous writer, whose information on liturgical questions is of no mean order. "It is so well known," observes Mr. Maskell, "that during the first five centuries at least, the universal practice was to allow no one to be present except communicants, and the last class of penitents"—(a class of attendants on public worship which does not exist where discipline is in abeyance, as unhappily it is in the English Church)—"that it would be a waste of space and time to repeat authorities which have been cited over and over again."⁷ And elsewhere the

same writer says: "As a fact none is so undeniable, none rests upon greater authorities than this, that in the first ages all who were present at the Service, except those under discipline, partook of the Communion."⁸ Nevertheless, the singularly confident tone in which the contrary is asserted by the advocates of non-communicant attendance, seems at this time to require the reproduction of the evidence by which the fact thus concisely stated by Mr. Maskell is established, the more so as the proofs are drawn from sources not accessible to the general public, who are thus unable to decide on which side the truth lies.

Those proofs are altogether of three kinds—the law of the Primitive Church, as laid down in her Canons; her practice as illustrated by her Liturgies; lastly, the testimony of her most eminent Bishops and Divines, and the judgment formed by them of non-communicant attendance at the period when that "lewd and irreligious custom," as Bishop Cosin designates it, first grew up through the corruption of the times, and the waxing cold of the Church's first love.

I.—*The Canon Law of the Primitive Church.*

The law of the primitive Church as laid down in her Canons is clear and express upon the above point. In the collection of Canons which goes by the name of "the Apostolical Canons," and which, though probably not compiled till the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century, may yet, in the judgment of Bishop Beveridge, be taken to embody the Canons or rules of the Primitive Church,⁹ the ninth Canon is to this effect:—"All the faithful who enter the Church, and listen to the Scriptures, but do not remain for the Prayer and the Holy Communion,"—literally, "the holy partaking,"—"are to be excommunicated, as causing disorder in the Church."¹⁰ That this is not to be understood of "disturbance to the congregation" caused by the departure of non-communicants, but of the disorder introduced into the Church by a hanging back from the common worship of the Church, of which the communion, the partaking of all the faithful in the Holy Eucharist, is an essential part, is not only evident from

* From "The Communion of the Faithful, essential to the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist." (J. Masters.) Now out of print: revized by the Author for this Series.

⁷ Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 2nd Ed. 1846, p. lxxix.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 129, note.

⁹ *Beveregii Synodicon*; Annot. in *Cann. Apost.* Ed. 1672 x., xiv.; T. II., P. II., pp. 4, 5.

¹⁰ *Canones Apost. Can. 9*, *Beveregii Synodicon*. Præf., s. Tom. I., p. 6.

the nature of the case, and from all that is known of the form of worship in the early Church, but is expressly affirmed by the Greek Canonist Theodore Balsamon, who terms it "a most severe enactment, which excommunicated all who attend Church, and do not remain to the end nor communicate." And lest it should be objected that the Canon would seem to constrain unworthy persons to communicate, he goes on to observe that "by other Canons it is decreed that all the faithful are to be both ready and worthy communicants, and that those who for three consecutive Sundays do not communicate, are to be excommunicated;"¹ the practical result of which would be that persons not desirous of communicating, or not being fit to do so as "worthy receivers," had to absent themselves from the Church,—on pain of excommunication if they remained without communicating; and if they continued in that state for three Sundays together, they would be excommunicated on the ground of their absenting themselves from the Holy Communion.

This interpretation of the Canon receives a further, and not less remarkable, because indirect, confirmation from the commentary made upon it by the Canonist Zonaras, who explains the Canon in a similar sense. "The present Canon requires all, while the Holy Sacrifice is celebrated, to persevere to the end in the Prayer and the holy Communion (partaking); for at that time the Laics were required to communicate (partake) constantly."² And then he refers to a Canon of the Council of Sardica (347), which, as he quotes it, inflicted excommunication on those who, for three consecutive Sundays, being present, should not communicate. The Sardican Canon, however (the 11th of that Council), does not say this in so many words. What it says is, that "of old the Fathers had decreed that any layman who, dwelling in a town" (where there were opportunities of worship), "did not attend public worship on three Sundays within three weeks, should be excommunicated."³ It appears,

therefore, that, in the opinion of Zonaras, not to attend public worship on the Lord's Day and not to communicate were synonymous terms; in other words, that attendance on public worship on the Lord's Day of necessity involved the act of Communion.

The Council held at Antioch in 341 embodied the same provision in its second Canon in the following terms:—"All that enter the Church, and listen to the Holy Scriptures, but do not join with the people in prayer, or turn away from the Holy Communion" (partaking) "of the Eucharist, through some unruliness, to be thrust away from the Church, until having confessed and shown fruits of repentance, and sued for pardon, they may obtain forgiveness."⁴ This Canon is in effect precisely the same as that in the Apostolic Canons; it is, however, more explicit, both as to the fact that non-communicant presence is the ground of excommunication, and as to the course to be pursued with regard to persons excommunicated under this provision.

II.—Testimony to the same from Greek Canonists.

In commenting upon the Canon, Balsamon observes: "It has been explained in the 9th Apostolic Canon who they are that do not remain for the Prayer and the Holy Communion, and how they are punished. . . . In pursuance thereof the present Canon also decrees that those who enter the Church and do not remain for the Prayer, nor come to the Holy Communion, through some unruliness, shall be excommunicated, and thrust from the Church, until they show proper repentance with confession. . . . And what is so written in the Apostolic Canons, and in like manner in the present Canon, is to be so understood, that by 'those who turn away from the Holy Communion' are not meant those who loathe it, or, as some have interpreted it, those who through piety and humility fly from it (for the former will not only be excommunicated, but cut off altogether as heretics, and the latter will be held worthy of pardon on the ground of their piety and reverence for holy things); but those who through contempt and pride leave the Church in a disorderly manner before the Holy Communion, and cannot endure to see the Divine Communion (partaking) of the Holy Mysteries." Zonaras, likewise, observes, that the Canon follows the rule of the 9th Apostolic

¹ Balsamon wrote towards the close of the 12th century, and was appointed to the Patriarchal See of Antioch. For his note to the 9th Apost. Canon, see Bevereg. I. c.

² Zonaras wrote early in the 12th century. See for his Note to the 9th Apost. Canon, Bevereg. I. c.

³ Conc. Sardic. Can. 11. Bevereg. Synod., T. I., p. 497. On this Canon, Balsamon observes that, as there was no Canon then extant containing this provision "it is probable that it was so observed in the Church from ancient times without any written rule, as was the case with regard to many other things." (Bevereg. Synod., T. I. p. 498).

⁴ Conc. Antioch. Can. 2. Bevereg. Synod., T. I., p. 431.

Canon, which provided that "all who enter the Church and hear the Scriptures, and do not remain for Prayer and the Holy Communion, are to be excommunicated, as causing disorder in the Church." So now, he adds, the Fathers of the Council of Antioch also have decreed that "those who having come into the Church, do not remain for prayer, nor do communicate, through some unruliness, that is to say, without any reasonable cause, but wantonly and causelessly, should be thrust out of the Church, as excommunicate and aliens from the congregation of the Faithful. But by 'turning away' the Fathers here understood not the hating of the Divine partaking, and abstaining from the Communion on that ground, but the flying from it, perchance through piety and in some sort through humility; for any who as hating and loathing it should turn away from this holy partaking, would have to be punished not by excommunication, but by absolute expulsion and anathema."⁵ From a comparison of these two commentaries it would appear that in dealing with the offence of withdrawing from the Holy Communion, and not communicating, as all the Faithful present were expected to do, a distinction was made between two classes of non communicants, the scrupulous, and the worldly or careless;—that both alike were liable to the penalty of the Canon, but the former were regarded with greater leniency, and obtained pardon more easily than the latter, whose offence was of a more grievous nature. The case of persons hostile to the Holy Eucharist was evidently not contemplated in the Canon; which was, as has been already shown, a rule of discipline intended to secure the general communion of the Faithful.

In connexion with the English Church it may not be uninteresting to note that the substance of this Canon was embodied by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-693 (by whose judicious conduct the union between the British and Anglo-Saxon Churches was effected) in his *Capitula*, or collection of ecclesiastical statutes, in these words:—"All the faithful who enter the Church, but do not remain for the Holy Oblation, nor partake of the Sacrifice, are to be deprived of communion"—i.e., excommunicated;⁶ the wording of the provision again clearly confirming the inter-

pretation before given of the Apostolical Canon, that the ground of excommunication was not "disturbing the congregation" by walking out of the church, but refusal to partake of the Holy Communion.

III.—From Writers of the Roman Communion.

To the testimony of the before-mentioned Greek Canonists to the fact that the duty of communicating, incumbent upon all that were present at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist—such celebration taking place, at least, every Lord's Day, and forming the central point of the public worship of the Church on that day—was understood to be the universal law of the Church, may be added that of writers of the Roman Communion. Micrologus, whose work on Church Observances was composed towards the close of the eleventh century, states that "according to the ancient Fathers none but communicants were wont to be present at the Divine Mysteries; for which reason, according to the Canons, Catechumens and Penitents, as having not yet prepared themselves to communicate, were bidden to go out of the church before the Oblation. And this," he continues, "the very structure of the Sacramental Office indicates, wherein the priest makes prayer not only for his own oblation and communion, but for that of others also; and more especially in the prayer after communion he seems to pray for communicants only. Nor can it properly be called a communion, unless several partake of the same sacrifice. And with the Greeks, likewise, the books say that whosoever for three successive Sundays does not communicate is to be excommunicated."⁷

Cardinal Bona, whose work on Liturgical matters was published at Rome in 1671-2, makes this statement:—"In the first age of the Church it is certain and well known that all the faithful, who were of one heart and one soul, continued daily in the communion of the breaking of Bread, as the Acts of the Apostles witness; nor was any one permitted to be present at the Holy Mysteries but such as were qualified to offer and to partake of the things offered; which custom it is evident continued a long time."⁸

The Roman Canonist Van Espen, writing in the middle of the last century, after quoting the

⁵ Bevereg. Synod., T. I., p. 432.

⁶ Theodor. Cant. Archiep. Capit. sel. c. 120; D'Achery Spicilegium, Tom. I., p. 490.

⁷ Micrologus, De Eccles. Observat., c. 51. La Bigne Max. Biblioth. Patrum. T. XVIII. p. 487.

⁸ Bona, Rer. Liturg. Libri. II., L. II., c. xvii., s. 2, ed. 1672. d. 478.

foregoing statement from the work of Cardinal Bona, thus accounts for the change of custom in later ages: "The fervour of the Faithful waxing cold afterwards, the receiving of the Eucharist came to be less frequent, and the taste for this spiritual sustenance to decrease, so that the people who formerly crowded to this meat as hungering for it, had at length to be not only invited, but urged, nay even by penalties in a manner to be constrained, to receive it, like sick persons pressed to take medicine; and that not daily, but so that they might at least on the principal festivals be strengthened with this Divine food."⁹ In treating of the obligation of the faithful to communicate, the same writer observes: "As regards the communicants, it is certain that the Mass was originally so appointed, and all the prayers so ordered, that not the priest alone, but all present were supposed to communicate; nay, in ancient times none (or scarcely any) but communicants were permitted to be present at the Sacrifice of the Mass." And further on he says, "the people ought to be instructed that *the Communion or participation of the Sacrament in a manner constitutes part of the Sacrifice*; and that therefore it is extremely (*summo pere*) convenient that, while together with the Priest they offer the Sacrifice, they should also, by sacramentally communicating, partake together with him of the Sacrifice."¹⁰ In another part of this work he states: "This also is certain that in the first ages the practice was that those who were present at the Sacrifice of the Mass did also sacramentally communicate."¹

IV.—Proof from the Ancient Liturgies.

What is thus clearly established, both from the ancient Canons, and from the interpretation put upon them by Canonists and Divines of both the Eastern and the Western Churches, viz., that from the beginning the communion of the faithful was inseparable from the celebration of the Holy Eucharist,—that by the law of the Church all present were required to communicate, and none but communicants were suffered to remain during the celebration of the Holy Mysteries,—is, by the structure of the

ancient liturgies, not less clearly proved to have been the custom of the Primitive Church.

The most ancient account of the Christian worship, more ancient than any of the Liturgies, in the form in which they are still extant, is that given by Justin Martyr, who distinctly states that "the consecrated elements are distributed to, and partaken of, by *every one*;" the Sunday, as the day of our Lord's resurrection, being the day on which all were gathered together for this Celebration.²

The form of Celebration set forth in the Apostolical Constitutions, which, whatever may be their precise date, certainly represent the practice of the primitive Church, is to the same effect. The part of Divine Service appropriated to the Eucharistic Celebration commences with this proclamation to be made by the deacon:—"Let none of the catechumens, none of the hearers, none of the unbelievers, none of the heterodox remain. You that have prayed the first prayer, go forth; mothers, take charge of your children."³ After the consecration the order for the administration of the Communion stands thus:—"Then let the bishop communicate, afterwards the presbyters, and the deacons, and the subdeacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; and among the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; afterwards the children;⁴ and then the *whole*

² Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* I., c. 67, ed. Bened., p. 83.

³ *Constit. Apost.*, L. viii., c. 12. Ed. Cotel., T. I., p. 402; see Brett's *Liturgies*, ed. 1720, p. 1; and Neale's *Liturgies translated*, p. 76.

⁴ The question has been asked, not without a good deal of point, whether the exclusion of children from the Church during the administration of the Holy Eucharist is justifiable. So far as it is attempted to make a point of this in favour of non-communicant attendance, it is wholly beside the question. The children that were allowed to be present during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist were communicants; and if any fault is to be found with our present discipline, the question to be raised is, not whether children are to be retained in the church as spectators during the Eucharistic Office, but whether they ought not to be admitted to Holy Communion at an earlier age than that which is called "years of discretion." But in connexion with this question too, it should not be lost sight of how careful the Primitive Church was to guard those little ones from profanation. In the preceding part of the Service the children were placed under the charge of a deacon, who was to see to their orderly conduct (*Constit. Apost.* L. VIII., c. 11, ed. Cotel., T. I., p. 402); but when the celebration of the Holy Mysteries began, the mothers were commanded to take charge of their children. They were the children of *communicate mothers* that were permitted to remain and to communicate. Would to God that the piety of the present age could come up in this as in other respects to the primitive pattern! The pious mother leading her child to Communion, even at a much more tender age than the discipline of these later and colder times will permit, must indeed have been a sweet spectacle in the sight.

⁹ Van Espen, *Jus Eccl. Univ.*, P. II., S. i., Tit. iv., c. 3 § 2, Vol. I., p. 401.

¹⁰ Van Espen, *J. E. U.*, P. II., S. i., Tit. v., c. 3, §§ 4, 10, Vol. I., pp. 416, 7.

¹ Van Espen, *Observ. in Tertiam Partem Gratiani. Dist. II.*, Vol. III., p. 654.

people in order, with reverence and godly fear, without disturbance. And let the Bishop give the Offering, saying, 'The Body of Christ;' and let him that receives it say, 'Amen'; and let the deacon hold the cup, and giving it, let him say, 'The Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life,' and let him that drinks say, 'Amen.' And let the thirty-third Psalm be said while all the rest communicate. And when *all the men and all the women have communicated*, then let the deacons take what remains," &c.⁵

The oldest liturgy extant, though evidently not preserved in its original form, that of the mother Church of Jerusalem,⁶ the composition of which is attributed to St. James our Lord's brother, and the first Bishop of Jerusalem, has a similar form for bidding those depart who are not admissible to Holy Communion. At the point where the proper Eucharistic Service begins, the Deacon makes proclamation: "Let there be none of the catechumens, none of the uninitiated, none of them that cannot pray with us. Recognize one another. Attend to the doors."⁷ After which the Service proceeds evidently on the supposition that all who remain will communicate, the prayer offered on their behalf being that "this Bread" may be made "the sacred Body," and this Cup the precious Blood, of Christ, so that they may be to all that partake thereof unto forgiveness of sins and life eternal, unto sanctification of their souls and bodies, unto fruitfulness in good works, and unto the establishment of the Holy Catholic Church."⁸

Similar in substance and effect, though with occasional variations in the language, is the structure of several ancient Liturgies, handed down under the names of Apostles

both of men and angels. But to adduce the fact that children were under these circumstances present as *communicants*, as a precedent for keeping the mixed multitude of our school children, under the charge of a master and mistress, together with the rest of the mixed multitude composing the congregation, in church, "as gazers and lookers on," seems a strange mode of reasoning, and an odd way of showing deference for the customs of the primitive Church.

⁵ Constit. Apost. L. VIII. c. 13, ed. Cotel. T. I., p. 409. See Brett, p. 13; Neale, pp. 89, 90.

⁶ This Liturgy was in use also throughout the Patriarchate of Antioch. It thus presents the ritual customs of the two great sections of the Apostolic Church, the Jewish section, of which Jerusalem, and the Gentile section, of which Antioch, was the Mother Church.

⁷ Liturgia S. Jacobi. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T., P. III., ed. 1719, p. 52. Assemani Cod. Liturg., T. V., pp. 15, 72; see Neale, p. 39.

⁸ Lit. S. Jac. Fabr. C. A., pp. 85, 86. Assemani, T. V., pp. 40, 41. Brett, p. 18; Neale, pp. 52, 53.

and Evangelists; which, although manifestly interpolated with additions of a later date, yet exhibit the general order of Eucharist Celebration.⁹ A number of these documents, edited by Fabricius, give only that part of the Office which belongs to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and do not therefore contain the form of dismissal of the non-communicants; their evidence being valuable chiefly as showing that the whole Service was intended for communicants, and communicants only. In one of them, however, a Liturgy handed down under the name of St. Matthew in the Ethiopian Church, there is this form of the order to depart pronounced by the Deacon after the reading of the Gospel: "Depart hence, ye that will not receive the Sacrament (or the Eucharist); catechumens, go away."¹ The same order to depart, in almost the same words, is to be found in the Liturgies the use of which was established at a later date in the several Patriarchates; as for example in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: "As many as are catechumens, depart; ye catechumens, depart; as many as are catechumens, depart; let none of the catechumens remain;"² and the very same words are used in the Liturgy of St. Basil.³ In the Liturgy of Malabar, translated by Mr. Neale, the form of "expulsion of the catechumens runs thus:—*Deacon*: Amen. He that hath not received baptism, let him depart. *Choir*: Amen. *Deacon*: He that hath not received the seal of life, let him depart. *Choir*: Amen. *Deacon*: He that hath not received it, let him depart. *Priest*: Go, auditors, and see [?] to the doors."⁴

Not to accumulate quotations which, from the nature of the case, can be no other than reiterations of substantially the same fact, in very nearly the same words, it may suffice to state in conclusion as far as this part of the inquiry is concerned, that a careful and laborious research among ancient liturgical forms has failed to bring to light a single instance of a liturgy comprehending the entire Service—for many, as has been already noted, give the latter part only, constituting the form of Celebration and Communion subsequent to the dismissal of

⁹ Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus N. T. Tom III. He gives Liturgies of S. Peter, S. John, S. Matthew, S. Mark, and a Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles.

¹ Lit. S. Matth., Fabr. C. A., T. III., p. 232.

² Liturgia S. Johannis Chrysostomi; ap. Goar, p. 70; Neale, pp. 104, 105.

³ Liturgia S. Basilii; ap. Goar, pp. 162, 182.

⁴ Neale, p. 139.

non-communicants—in which there is not some form of proclamation by the deacon, directing all those who were not about to partake of the Holy Mysteries, to depart. The form most commonly in use, apparently, was that addressed to the catechumens; very naturally so, as they were the only class of regular worshippers in the congregation, whose withdrawal the law of the Church rendered necessary. Any others that might be present, such as unbelievers attracted by mere curiosity; enigmatics, under the care of exorcists; or penitents of the lower grades, were exceptional cases; and, as they were, in regard to exclusion from the Eucharistic Celebration placed on the same footing as catechumens, any such, being present, would naturally quit the Church along with them.

The faithful, that is all who by baptism and confirmation were qualified to communicate, and had not incurred any penitential disqualification, were all, as has been seen, expected to communicate, and that, under severe disciplinary penalties. An order to withdraw, addressed to any of them, on the assumption that they were not willing or ready to communicate, would have been a stultification of the Church's law, and of the nature of the Eucharistic Office. Such of them as would not wish to communicate, would generally prefer to stay away altogether; as may be inferred from the provision affixing to absence from public worship for three successive Sundays the same penalty as to abstinence from communion when present. But if any, having come, subsequently changed their minds, they would, without any command on the part of the Church (which the Church was from the nature of the case precluded from giving) slink away along with the catechumens, rather than exhibit their contumacy before the communicant congregation. Their departure, in fact, was, though in a different way, as exceptional as the continued presence of the *consistentes*, the highest class of penitents, on the eve of restoration to full communion, who were, as a special favour, permitted to remain and witness the Celebration, in the character of probationers; with a view, doubtless, on the one hand to sharpen their spiritual appetite for the enjoyment of those Holy Mysteries, and on the other hand to render their readmission to the privileges of churchmembership more slow and gradual, and thereby more permanently salutary, as well as comforting, to their souls.

V.—Retrospect and Practical Conclusions.

Reviewing, then, the results arrived at under this head of the inquiry, they may be thus summed up:—

The Primitive Church regarded the communion of all the Faithful as an essential part of that act of worship through the Sacrifice of Christ which formed the central feature of the Christian system of worship, in contradistinction to the system of worship established under the Law by way of typical preparation.

This worship, of which the communion of the Faithful was thus an essential part, and which was jealously guarded against the intrusion of all others, the Primitive Church offered in the first instance daily; and at a later period either daily, or on the Lord's Day; to which afterwards other days were added as days of special observance, according to the custom of particular Churches.

On this basis, the participation of all the Faithful in those Holy Mysteries, and the exclusion from them of all who were either not qualified, or not ready to communicate, all the formularies of worship in use in the Primitive Church were framed; and when the necessity arose, the arrangements for worship so made were enforced by disciplinary enactments, which made non-communicant presence at the worship, and continued absence from the worship, alike penal.

Through the wilfulness of man, and the general tendency to degenerate incident to everything human and earthly, the Primitive Church gradually came to fall short of this Divine Ideal of her worship; but this declension, so far from receiving the sanction of the Church, was disallowed by the authorities of the Church, causing profound regret to the minds of her Chief Pastors and her most eminent divines, and drawing from them constant and sharp rebukes.

Whence, as a further conclusion, it follows that in appealing to the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church against the abuses they were called upon to rectify, and against the tendency of their own times, the Reformers of the English Branch of the Holy Catholic Church were entirely justified; and that they did perfectly right in endeavouring to restore to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist its essential character as a communicant worship offered by the whole congregation of the Faithful.

SECT. 3.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHANGES IN THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.—*By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.*

I.—AUTHORIZED DEPARTURE FROM THE PRIMITIVE RULE: WHEN NO LONGER OBSERVED, NON-PARTICIPANTS LEFT BEFORE THE COMMUNION. II.—GROWING NEGLECT OF COMMUNION BY THE LAITY. III.—RISE OF SOLITARY AND PRIVATE MASSES. IV.—THEORY OF "SPIRITUAL RECEPTION." V.—STATE OF THINGS AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

It has been shown in the preceding sections, by the concurrent testimony of the primitive and of the mediæval Church, confirmed by the less willing witness of Roman Catholic divines, that during the first ages all present at the celebration of the holy Eucharist were under obligation to communicate. We have also seen that such a rule and practice are in accordance with the intent and nature of the Sacrament, whether as prefigured in the law, or more plainly taught us in the Gospel, and with the opinions that are known to have prevailed, both on that subject and on due fitness for reception, among the early doctors of the Church. I now proceed to a brief sketch of the several changes that took place, and the varieties of practice that obtained in western Christendom, from the first deviation from the primitive rule down to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the full-blown result of ages of corruption was formally adopted and established in the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent.

I.—Authorized departure from the Primitive Rule: when no longer observed, Non-participants left before the Communion.

By the latter part of the fourth century, it had evidently become impossible to enforce a strict observance of the Apostolic rule, and opinions differed as to the best course to be then taken. At Alexandria, as we have said, the laity who did not communicate had long been permitted, as a century or less later they were encouraged, to remain till the dismissal.¹ But the more general custom was for them to leave before the communion. Whether they ever left with the penitents,—the course indignantly suggested by St. Chrysostom to some whom he found staying without receiving,—may be thought doubtful. The reasons which

made this course distasteful at an earlier period would still exist; though the growing laxity of the age must have impaired, in some degree, their force. It should be remembered, too, that a much longer service was now in use which gave them a suitable opportunity of withdrawing somewhat later than the penitents. There was, in fact, a considerable interval between the departure of the latter and the offertory, which was employed in secret supplication, and in praying, at the dictation of the deacon, for the world and the Church, in a form which was the original of our Prayer for the Church Militant.² The conclusion of this, as it was immediately followed by the kiss of peace and other preparations for communion, was clearly a very proper time for non-communicants to withdraw. There is, notwithstanding, unless I am much deceived, no evidence to show that they anywhere took advantage of this opportunity. The only notice of the time of their leaving with which I am acquainted occurs in a homily of St. Cæsarius, and he says most distinctly that they "went out of the Church after the reading of the lessons,"³ i.e. before the time appointed for the withdrawal of the catechumens, and with the unbelievers, if any such happened to be present. The precise point at which they left is, however, of less importance; the fact is certain that from the fourth century downwards it was a very common thing for

² The Council of Laodicea (most probably A.D. 365) orders that after the sermon by the Bishop shall be said the prayer for the catechumens, and when they have withdrawn, that for the penitents, and that after the latter have received imposition of hands and departed, the three prayers of the faithful shall be said, "the first secretly (*δὲ ἀσυνήγως*), the second and third at bidding, and then the kiss of peace shall be given." Can. xix. Pand. Bever. tom. i. p. 461. A form of bidding prayer (so called because dictated to the people by the deacon) occurs in the Apostolical Constitutions, i. vii.; cc. ix. x., and is given at length by Bingham, b. xv. ch. i. sect. ii.; vol. i. p. 727. It is worthy of remark that these prayers, though part of the Office of Holy Communion, were used in the daily morning service, even when there was no communion. Bingham, b. xiii. ch. x. sect. iv. p. 647. I mention this, because it gives a sanction to the similar practice of the Church of England, condemned by Mr. Wilberforce (p. 380) and others in language with which I could not sympathise, even if that practice had been without a precedent.

³ Hom. xii. in Biblioth. PP. tom. ii. col. 291. Par. 1624. As it is not likely that they would be willing to lose the sermon, their leaving after the lessons seems to imply that the general practice of the French Church at this period was to omit the sermon, which should have followed the lessons. There is reason to believe that at Rome, both before and after the time of Cæsarius, there was no preaching. "There," says Sozomen, "neither the Bishop, nor any other, teaches in the Church." Hist. Eccl. i. vii. c. xix.; p. 596. Cassiodorus, who had lived at Rome (A.D. 514), says the same thing. See Valois, notes to Sozom. u.s. p. 123. Par. 1686.

¹ See p. 479. From the course which custom took at Alexandria, I should doubt if the Apostolical canon were ever enforced there.

persons in full communion to depart before the distribution of the consecrated elements. We gather from St. Chrysostom that, during one part of his ministry at least, this was the custom of the great majority of his hearers:—"I have grieved exceedingly," he tells them, "because, when I your fellow-servant am preaching, great is the zeal, intense the eagerness of the people, who crowd one on another, and stay to the end; but when Christ is about to appear in the sacred mysteries, the Church becomes empty and deserted."⁴ In an ancient homily, formerly ascribed to this Father, we find the usual warnings to leave the Church, given by the deacon to the catechumens and others, amplified and paraphrased in such a manner as to show that they included all who, *for whatever reason*, did not communicate:—"Let not any one of the catechumens (be present), not any one of those who do not eat, not of the gazers (or spies), not of those who are not able to look on the calf that is eaten, not of those who are not able to look upon the heavenly Blood that is shed for the remission of sins; let not any one who is unworthy of the living sacrifice, let not any one who is uninitiated, any one who is not able, with unclean lips, to touch the dread mysteries."⁵

In the former half of the sixth century, three Councils held in France, the first at Agde, and the two others at Orleans, ordained that none should leave the Church before they had received the Bishop's blessing; by which some writers have been led to think that all were then *obliged* to stay throughout the entire service. This opinion is, however, inconsistent with the language of Strabo; and an explanation of the decree has been given by Mabillon and others, which is perfectly satisfactory on independent grounds. The last of those Councils, the third of Orleans, 538, ordered that "none of the laity should depart from mass *before the Lord's Prayer was said*, and that if the Bishop were present they should wait for his blessing." The order that they should not leave before the Lord's Prayer actually implies that they were still to leave some time before the conclusion of the service; nor does the other provision of the canon intend that that custom was to be broken when the Bishop happened to be present; for the blessing

of which it speaks was given before the communion, and immediately after the Lord's Prayer.⁶ The remarks of Bona upon this subject are worth quoting:—"But you will say, 'It was lawful, then, to leave before the communion, the mass being not yet over!' It was so, clearly, if the customs of that age are attended to, in which all who were present at the mass communicated; for as many as were unable or unwilling to be partakers of the mysteries used to leave the Church at the end of the Canon,⁷ before the Lord's Prayer was said (*i.e.* until the Councils ordered otherwise); for the remainder of the service belonged to the communion, to wit, that prayer itself, and the Bishop's blessing, and the kiss of peace,—a sort of preparation, that, cleansed by these things, they might approach God's Table with greater purity."⁸ Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles from 501 to 543, presided at Agde, the earliest of the three Councils to which I have referred,⁹ and it so happens that two of his extant sermons are upon the duty of staying till the Bishop gave his blessing. In one of these he says:—"He who would celebrate mass completely, with profit to his soul, ought to continue in Church. . . . until the Lord's Prayer be said, and the blessing given to the people." The other shows distinctly that it was the consecration and not the communion at which he urged them to be present; for he entreats them to stay "until the food of souls be *placed* on that spiritual table and the spiritual Sacraments are *consecrated*."

⁶ Bona understands the canon of Agde to speak of the prayer at the end of the service, though he interprets both Councils of Orleans and the passage of Cæsarius of the blessing before communion. *Rer. Lit.* i. li. c. xvi. § iii. p. 357. There appears no real ground for the distinction, and it appears highly improbable that the two later Councils,—one of them more than thirty years later, should exhibit a nearer approach to the primitive discipline than the earlier. This inconsistency in Bona seems to have misled Bingham. "Cardinal Bona," he says, "understands this (the canon of Orleans III.) of the final benediction, which followed the communion." *B.* xv. ch. iii. sect. xxix.; vol. i. p. 765. He seems to have read no farther than the remarks on the canon of Agde, and to have assumed that Bona understood all three in the same manner. Bingham, in his *1st*, has been misunderstood by Waterland, who *implies* that he supposed the Council of Agde and the first of Orleans to order non-communicants to stay throughout. *Review*, ch. xiv.; vol. iv. p. 792. The sentence which he quotes from the *Antiquities* (u. s. ch. iv. sect. ii. p. 770) is not quite clear; but the sense in which he takes it is opposed to the drift of the whole context, and to the author's opinion elsewhere expressed.

⁷ I do not know on what authority he makes this statement; and it is certainly at variance with the custom in France at the beginning of the sixth century. See *Sect. 3-1*.

⁸ *Rer. Liturg.* i. li. c. xvi. § iii.; p. 358.

⁹ See *Labb.* tom. iv. col. 1391.

⁴ *De Incompr. Del. Nat. Hom.* iii.; tom. i. p. 573.

⁵ *De Filio Prod. Hom.*, inter *Opp. Chrys.*; tom. viii. p. 655.

And because," he adds, "after the Lord's Prayer a blessing is given you, not by man, but through man. . . . receive the dew of the Divine blessing."

It is probable that in those Churches, in which a Bishop was generally present at holy communion, the non-communicants would continue for a lengthened period to regard his blessing as their dismissal. Elsewhere, as the time fixed for their departure was less marked, and the remainder of the service very short, they would naturally fall soon into a habit of staying to the end. I know nothing of the steps by which the latter custom gradually became general; but its progress was clearly rapid; for by the end of the eighth century it had already so gained ground as to be considered the more correct and fruitful mode of hearing mass. In the Capitulary of the French kings the following clause is added to the canon of the third Council of Orleans, already quoted:—"Nor let any one presume to go out before the mass is finished." The compilers naturally assumed that the canon was in accordance with the custom of their day, and we may suppose that by this addition they merely intended to make it more clear to the sense in which they understood it.

II.—Growing neglect of Communion by the Laity.

Concurrent with these changes, there was, as might be expected, a gradual but rapid decline in frequency of reception among the laity. This was certain to follow, when men were taught that a special benefit attended the hearing of mass by those who did not communicate, and that a less careful preparation (if any) was needed for that than for the actual reception of the Sacrament. Such a result must have been very observable by the beginning of the sixth century; for we find the Council of Agde attempting by one decree to check the mischief, which it helped to foster by another. In its eighteenth canon, it determined that "laymen who did not communicate on the Lord's Nativity, at Easter and Pentecost, should not be believed to be Catholics, nor reckoned among them." Towards the close of this century an attempt seems to have been made in Spain to restore the earlier rule; for in 572 the council of Lugo adopted a number of canons, collected by Martin, Bishop of Brago, chiefly from the decrees of the Greek Church, among which appears, with some difference of

wording, the first part of the second canon of Antioch, already quoted:—"If any one enter the Church of God, and hear the sacred Scriptures, and out of caprice turn away from the communion of the Sacrament, and break the rule of discipline appointed in the observance of the mysteries, we determine that such an one be cast out of the Catholic Church." There is no reason to think that the fathers at Lugo had in view the peculiar practice of any sect, as has been pleaded with regard to those of Antioch. Another effort in the same direction meets us in France, a few years later. The council of Macon, in Burgundy, held in 585, ordered that "on every Lord's day the oblation of the altar should be offered by all men and women, both of bread and wine."¹ This of course implies communions, as offerings for the use of the altar were received from communicants only.² In the latter part of the next century, the canon of Agde, which ordered the laity to communicate at least three times a year, was revived by a synod of Bishops assembled at Autun.³ About the same time, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668), states that, while in the Greek Church the ancient rule was still observed, by which both clergy and laity who neglected communion for three successive Sundays were excommunicated, the Romans communicated those who desired it, but inflicted no penalty for the omission of the duty.⁴ In the eighth century, the venerable Bede, writing to Ecgbriht, Archbishop of York, says that in England even the more religious laity did not presume to communicate in the most holy mysteries except on Christmas-day, the Epiphany, and Easter. At the same time he asserted the utility of daily communion for all classes, and urged that there were numbers of all ages, "innocent and of most chaste conversation," who might communicate without the least scruple every Sunday and Saint's day;—a practice which Ecgbriht himself, he adds, had seen at Rome.⁵ Nevertheless, when, only a few years later, the same Ecgbriht compiled a set of canons for the use of his province, he

¹ Conc. Matisco. II. can. iv. Labb. tom. v. col. 981.

² See p. 40.

³ Conc. Augustod. A.D. 670, can. xiv. Labb. tom. v. App. col. 1887.

⁴ Penitentiale, tom. i. p. 46. Lut. Par. 1677.

⁵ Opp. Hist. p. 311. Cantab. 1722. This was in 734. He asserts (*ibid.*) that daily communion was the practice in Italy, Gaul, Africa, Greece, and all the East. From other authorities, some of which are given in the text, we infer that it could only have been so with a few.

contented himself with the rule of Agde, which obliged him to communion only thrice in the year.⁶ The Capitulary of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, assigned to the year 797, enjoins a reception every Sunday in Lent, and every day from Maundy Thursday to Saturday in Easter week inclusive.⁷ About the same time,⁸ Charlemagne inserted the canon of Lugo, already given, in a collection of ecclesiastical decrees, designed by him to direct the practice of the Bishops of the empire.⁹ In 813, the third Council of Tours ordained that the laity should "communicate, if not more frequently, at least thrice in the year."¹⁰ In the later books of the Capitulary of the French kings, compiled by Benedict of Mentz, in 845, it is decreed that "all shall communicate in the sacred Eucharist on Lord's days and the great Festivals, except those who have been enjoined to abstain."¹¹ In the same collection is an order in accordance with the ninth Apostolical canon, that "all who enter the Church shall communicate, unless they have been excommunicated by their Bishop."¹² The tide still flowed as well as ebbcd, though on the whole the cause of piety lost way. In 858, Herard, Archbishop of Tours, ordered in his province, that "the people should communicate every third or fourth Lord's day."¹³ Nicholas I., who became Pope the same year, was somewhat singular in his rule; for

we find him exhorting the Bulgarians to receive the Sacrament every day in Lent.¹⁴ An unknown homilist, probably of this age, joins a daily communion in Lent with reception every Lord's day throughout the year.¹⁵ Nearly two centuries after the time of Theodulf, we find his Capitulary adopted by the Anglo-Saxon Elfric, who became Bishop of Wilton in 994, and Archbishop of Canterbury in the year following.¹⁶ Not long after, while St. Alphege sat at Canterbury, a Council of the lay and clerical rulers of the nation was held at Eanham (supposed to be Ensham, in Oxfordshire), from which proceeded many useful regulations in matters ecclesiastical as well as secular. Among them was the following:—"Let every one, who will understand his own need, prepare himself to go to housel at least thrice in the year, so as it is requisite for him."¹⁷ This canon is repeated in the Church laws of Canute the Dane eight years later."¹⁸

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the neglect of the holy communion by the laity must have increased continually throughout the Western Church. Had it been otherwise, men would hardly have been prepared for the next downward step which was taken, under the guidance of Innocent III., at the beginning of the thirteenth. His famous constitution, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, adopted by the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, enjoins, under a penalty, but one reception in each year, viz., at Easter.¹⁹ The general practice in the communion of Rome has been determined from that time by this unfortunate decree; though some provincial Synods in the same or the next century endeavoured, to their honour, to establish a better rule. The Council of Toulouse, for instance, in A.D. 1229;²⁰ that of Albi in Languedoc, 1254;²¹ and that of Lambeth,²² 1378, republished the rule of Agde. The Council of Avignon, in 1281, exhorted, and perhaps obliged to communion at least twice in the year, viz., at Easter and Whitsuntide.²³

⁶ Excerptions of Eggbriht, A.D. 740. can. xxxviii. Johnson's English Canons, P. i. p. 192. Oxf. 1850.

⁷ Cap. xli. Mansi. tom. xiii. col. 1005.

This is shown by the mention of Erchembald the Chancellor in the Preface. He is known to have been Chancellor in 797. See the notes of Baluz. in Capit. Reg. Franc. tom. ii. col. 1247. Par. 1867.

⁸ Capit. u.s. Add. iv. c. li.; tom. i. col. 1204. The canon as given in the Capit., differs in one word from the common reading of the excerpts of Martin. It begins thus:—"If any one enter the Church of God, and hear *not* the sacred Scriptures," &c. The negative particle is found in one ancient MS. of the original; but has evidently crept in by mistake. See Baluz. not. Capit. tom. ii. col. 1250.

¹ Labb. tom. vii. col. 1269. This canon is in the earlier part of the Capitulary of the French kings, compiled by Angesius A.D. 827, l. ii. c. xlv.; tom. i. col. 750. They appear to have recommended weekly communion, where it was possible; but to have enforced it only thrice a year. See the next note.

² Capitul. l. v. c. ccxxxiv.; tom. i. col. 896. This order is ascribed to the advice of the Bishops and others, i.e. of the sixth Council of Paris, under Louis the Pious, in 829. See L. iii. c. xx. Labb. tom. vii. col. 1664. The Council, however, specified no days, but advised communion, "when it was possible." In Capitul. l. vi. c. clxx.; u.s. col. 951, it is ordered that the faithful shall "communicate, if it can be done, every Lord's day, unless criminal and open offences prevent them."

³ L. vii. c. cccclxxii.; tom. i. col. 1130.

⁴ Cap. liii. Capit. Reg. Franc. tom. i. col. 1291.

Resp. ad Bulg. ix. Labb tom. viii. col. 520.

⁶ Serm. xxv. in App. ad Opp. Ambros.; tom. viii. p. 129.

⁷ Johnson's Engl. Canons, P. i. p. 477; c. 41.

⁸ Ibid. p. 487; cap. 20. Mr. Thorpe's Tr. in note. Alphege sat from 1006 to 1013.

⁹ Ibid. p. 509; c. 19. He reigned from 1017 to 1036.

¹ Can. xxi. Labb. tom. xi. P. i. col. 172.

² Can. xlii. Ibid. col. 430.

³ Can. xxix. Ibid. col. 728.

⁴ Constitutions of Sunbury, c. iv. Johnson's Engl. Cann. P. ii. p. 444.

⁵ Cap. v. Labb. tom. xi. P. i. col. 1178. "Recipere . . . student diligenter, praesertim in festis Resurrectionis Domini-

Others, however, and by far the greater number, contented themselves with enforcing the law of Innocent.⁶ Among these was the so-called General Council of Trent by which the following canon was established in 1551:—"If any one shall deny that all and singular the faithful of Christ of either sex, when they have come to years of discretion, are bound to communicate every year, at least at Easter, according to the precept of holy mother Church, let him be anathema."⁷

III.—Rise of Solitary and Private Masses.

When the laity had learnt to neglect the communion, and to satisfy themselves with *hearing mass*, it would of course often happen that, although many were present, the priest was the sole communicant. How early such a result became observable it is impossible to say. Some writers quote St. Chrysostom to show that instances of it occurred, occasionally, at least, in the fourth century:—"In vain is there a daily sacrifice. To no purpose do we stand at the altar. There is no one to communicate."⁸ This is, however, I am persuaded, no more than an example of the hyperbolical language so common with this Father; for it is really incredible that a teacher so zealous and influential as St. Chrysostom should have failed—and that in Antioch, the fourth great city of the world—to induce at least some few of the laity to receive at every celebration. His meaning must have been that only a few—or a few compared with the vast numbers who flocked to hear his preaching—were wont to partake at the daily communion. In the seventh and eighth centuries, however, it was probably a very common thing for the priest to receive alone; for in the early part of the ninth, there appear clear traces of a still further development of the corrupt practice which we have seen sanctioned by the Councils of Orleans and Agde. In 813 the Council of Mentz found it necessary to for-

bid priests to say mass when no one else was present.⁹ The same prohibition was thought necessary in France a few years later:—"A blame-worthy custom," says the Council of Paris, A.D. 829, "has in very many places crept in, partly from negligence, partly from avarice—viz., that some of the presbyters celebrate the solemn rites of masses without attendants."¹¹ The same prohibition occurs in the Capitulary of the French kings,² and in the excerpts of Herard, Archbishop of Tours, 858, made for the use of his own clergy.³ Regino, A.D. 892, ascribes a similar but spurious decree to Anacletus;⁴ and after him the tradition was handed on by Burchard, A.D. 996;⁵ by Ivo, 1092;⁶ and Gratian, 1131.⁷ The three last named quote from a decree falsely assigned to Soter, which orders that "no presbyter should presume to celebrate the solemn rites of masses, unless two persons were present, and answered him, so that he himself made the third."

The practice here forbidden was unquestionably one consequence of the general remissness with regard to the holy Eucharist, which had been encouraged by the almost authorized neglect of that which all men knew to be its most important part. It has appeared to some a lawful subject of regret⁸ that the indolence of the many should have been allowed to intercept the blessing which the more frequent commemoration of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, though by a solitary worshipper, may be expected to bring down upon the Church at large. My own opinion is, that the general good is better consulted by the retention of our present rule, except in the communion of the sick, when from the infectious nature of the disease, or other causes, the required number cannot be obtained. In the ninth century, however, men had less experience of past evil to teach them caution,

et Pentecostes...Qui si venire recusaverint seu recipere, eorum ordinarii...ipsos puniant."

⁶ *E.g.* see the Council of Sens, A.D. 1269, can. iv., in Labb. tom. xi. p. i. col. 914; of Nismes, A.D. 1284, *ibid.* col. 1210; of Bourges, 1286, cap. xiii. *ibid.* p. ii. col. 1252; Ravenna II., 311, Rubr. xv. *ibid.* col. 1536; Valladolid, 1322, cap. xxvii. *ibid.* col. 1707; Avignon, 1337, cap. iv. col. 1853; Toledo, 1339, cap. v. col. 1871.

⁷ Sess. xiii. De Euch. can. ix.

⁸ Hom. lxi. ad Antioch.; cited as a testimony to private masses by Harding, Answer to Jewel, Div. 34, in Jewel's Reply, Art. i. p. 65 (Lond. 1609); by Espenæus, De Euch. Ador. l. i. c. ii. Opp. p. 1071, col. i. Comp. c. iii.; p. 1074, col. 2.

⁹ Can. xliii. Labb. tom. vii. col. 1251.

¹ Cap. xlviii. Labb. col. 1628.

² Lib. v. c. clix.; tom. i. col. 855. Sim. in Addit. see c. ix, col. 11, 37.

³ Cap. xxviii. Capit. Reg. Franc. tom. i. col. 1289.

⁴ Lib. i. c. cxxxii. In c. xcxi. he ascribes a decree very similar to those of Mentz and Paris to a Council of Nantes, which is not in the collection of canons under that name in the *Concilium*. Mansi, tom. xviii. col. 165. See note 5, p. 60. These multiplied prohibitions, however, whether we know their source or not, equally illustrate the rapid progress of the evil.

⁵ Decr. l. iiii. c. lxxiv.; fol. 93, fa. 1.

⁶ Decr. P. ii. c. 127. Opp. P. i. p. 71.

⁷ P. iii. Dist. i. c. lxi. *Hoc quoque*.

⁸ See a note of Bishop Cosin in Nicholls on the Book of C.P.; vol. i. Addit. Notes, p. 53. See p. 110, note 2.

and it is probable that a practical absurdity involved in the solitary mass led to its condemnation far more than any doctrinal difficulty, or anticipation of bad consequence. The Councils above quoted, in common with many early writers ask, "How can the priest say, *The Lord be with you*, when there is no one to answer, *And with thy spirit?* Or, for whom can he be supposed to pray when he says, *Remember, Lord, all those who stand around*, when none but himself is there?"

When the abuse had fully established itself, some writers, as Peter Damian, A.D. 1057,¹ Odo of Cambray, 1105,² and Stephen of Autun, 1112³, attempted to meet the above-mentioned difficulty by suggesting that the priest addressed himself to the absent Church "as present by faith, and communicating in the Sacraments by charity," and made the responses in its name, one member answering for all. This explanation is approved by Cardinal Bona.⁴ Others, as Innocent III., said that the angels present at the mass were the bystanders to whom the prayer in the canon must be referred.⁵

IV.—Theory of "spiritual reception."

The ingenuity of the mediæval divines and their successors in the Church of Rome was exercised on many other speculations in defence, or, as they would view it, in explanation of the novel practice. For example,⁶ since all acknowledged that the sacrifice of the mass was incomplete unless the victim was consumed,⁷ it became necessary to provide a mode of reception that did not require actual communion. "The taking of this Sacrament is of three kinds," says one; "that which is sacramental only, i.e. when sinners take it; that which is spiritual only, in which manner the pious take

it through an ardent desire, both in Church, and out of it whenever they please, when they do not actually take the Sacrament; and that which is both sacramental and spiritual, in which the righteous receive, when they actually take the Sacrament."⁷ This doctrine held its ground in England until the abolition of the practice which it was introduced to justify. Thus Tunstal, A.D. 1538, in a reply, drawn up at the command of Henry, to the ambassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany, employs the following argument:—"If things are closely examined, private masses will amount to a sort of private communion, where if circumstances are duly managed, if the laity there present are under dispositions for repentance, if they be heartily sorry for their sins and address to God for His pardon, if they 'present themselves a living sacrifice acceptable to God,' there is no question but that they communicate with the priest in a spiritual manner, though their number is small, and they abstain from a corporal receiving."⁸

The next step was to maintain that the priest received sacramentally for and in behalf of the people, while they communicated spiritually, by which means all were enabled to offer a perfect sacrifice. A notion somewhat resembling this seems to have occurred to thinking men, almost as soon as the difficulty was presented to their minds by the corrupt custom of the Church. Thus Strabo argued in the ninth century:—"That the same holy celebration of masses may be believed to benefit not a few but many, we may and ought to say that the others (i.e., those who do not communicate), persevering in the faith and devotion of those who offer and communicate, are said to be and are partakers of the same oblation and communion. . . . When the priests celebrate masses alone, it may be understood that they for whom those offices are celebrated, and whom the priest in certain responses represents, co-operate with him in that action."⁹ In the course of time, when communion was, except at Easter, almost universally neglected, the notion in which the serious had found consolation, and the irreligious an excuse, assumed with some,

¹ He wrote a treatise on the subject, with the title, *Dominus vobiscum*. It is in the collection of Ferrarius de Divin. Offic. Rom. 1591. See especially c. 10; p. 374.

² Can. Miss. Expos. Dist. ii. ad id "Et omnium circumstantium;" in Biblioth. PP. tom. xii. col. 404. Colon. 1618.

³ De Sacram. Alt. c. xiii. Opp. Honor. et Allor. col. 1239. Par. 1854.

⁴ Rer. Liturg. l. ii. c. v. § i.; p. 319. Sim. Sala, note (4) to l. i. c. xlii. § vi.; tom. i. p. 275.

⁵ De Myst. Miss. l. ii. c. xxv. Opp. tom. i. p. 344. Colon. 1575.

⁶ Thus Bonacina argues from 1 Cor. xi.—"Hence it may be inferred that the fruit and the effect of the sacrifice is not given 'ex opere operato,' except where there is reception; forasmuch as reception belongs to the essence of the sacrifice." Disp. de Sacram. iv. Q. viii. Punct. ii. § 7. Opp. tom. i. p. 83. Par. 1632. Sim. Jodoc. Lorichius Thesaur. Theol.; De Sacram. Euch. c. xvii.; p. 1728 (Frib. Brig. 1609); Summa Sylvestriana, P. i. p. 344; De Euch. c. iii. § 2 (Lugd. 1593), &c.

⁷ Lorich. u.s. c. xvi.; p. 1725; Aquinas, P. iii. Q. lxxx. A. i. ad 3m; p. 180; &c.

⁸ Collier, Eccl. Hist. P. ii. p. 147. It is astonishing that writers who speak thus of the preparation for hearing mass do not perceive that persons so disposed are wrong in not receiving.

⁹ De Reb. Eccl. c. 22. Littorp. p. 410.

as might be expected, a more precise and formal shape. Thus Hugo de St. Victore, in the early part of the twelfth century :—"The communion, which is then sung (after the Agnus Dei), intimates that all the faithful communicate in the Body of Christ, because the minister takes it sacramentally for all, that it may be received spiritually by himself and all."¹ Honorius of Autun, a cotemporary of Hugo, declares his belief that if any one in danger of death "were to refuse, in his zeal for righteousness, to receive the communion" from a wicked priest, "and did not doubt but that he communicated daily by the mouth of the priests in the unity of the Church, he would be saved, if he died, by that faith."² "Every Christian," says Lyranus, A.D. 1320, "is still bound to be refreshed by this Sacrament once in the year. He is also refreshed by it daily ; for the priests not only take this Sacrament for themselves, but for the people too."³ Similarly St. Vincent Ferrer : "The mouth eats and receives food, and all the other members are refreshed. The same with the Sacrament of the altar. All Christendom is one body, united by faith and charity, having many members. The priest is the mouth of this body. When, therefore, the priest communicates all the members are refreshed."⁴ And again :—"As the mouth eats for all the members, so the priest spiritually for all Christians."⁵ Eggeling and Biel, about 1480 :—"We have all been baptized into one body. The prelate, or priest, is the mouth of this body. . . . That bread, therefore, which is daily eaten by any priest,—by that bread the whole body, which is the Church, is daily refreshed. . . . The Priest who communicates daily is a member of the Church : therefore all the members of the Church eat that bread daily."⁶ This principle was employed to explain those passages in the canon which implied a general communion of all present. Thus Clicktovæus, who died in 1543, commenting on the prayer, "Grant that this most holy mixture of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may become health of mind and body to us who receive,"—says that it

is a petition that "it may become health of mind and body both to the priest who offers, and to all who by wish and desire receive spiritually through the priest."⁷ The Protestant ambassadors, in their address to Henry VIII., speak of this as the common opinion of that day, nor is the truth of their assertion questioned in the reply of Bishop Tunstal.⁸

V.—*State of things at the time of the Reformation.*

For a long period before the Reformation there seems to have been as little alteration in habits of the people as in the opinions of their teachers. The picture which Erasmus gives us of the popular religion of his day exhibits, therefore, with sufficient truth the state of things prevailing in the West for many generations. "There are some," says the writer, who is by no means always the most willing witness against corruptions which the Church had fostered,— "there are some who ask for a communion in the mass. So (I confess) was it ordained by Christ, and so was it wont of old to be observed. But it is not the priests who stand in the way of a return to this practice, but the laity, in whom charity, alas ! hath grown too cold. That heavenly food must not be thrust upon the unwilling, or those who nauseate it. It will not be denied to those who earnestly seek it. Now what communion can there be, when in some places the Churches are well-nigh empty at the time of communion ? Some go home as soon as they are aspersed, and make their exit before the introit. Others after they have heard (but not understood) the Gospel. Yet, after the priest has said, *Lift up your hearts*, and *Let us give thanks*, then were the people's chief part ;—when, the priest keeping silence, each one is speaking with God. And *they* meanwhile are gossiping in the market-place, or drinking in the tavern ;—though even these act with more reverence than those who are trifling through the whole sacred rite in the Churches."⁹ In throwing the whole blame upon the laity, Erasmus implies that as a body the clergy desired

⁷ Elucidat. P. lii. ; fol. 148, fa. 1.

⁸ Collier. P. II. B. II. ; p. 144. Controversial writers did not fail to take advantage of this notion, when obliged to defend the denial of the cup to the laity. Thus Eckius, the opponent of Luther :—"The priest in the person of the whole people offers and receives under each kind ; in whose person the whole people ought joyfully to believe that it drinks the blood of Christ by a kind of spiritual reception." Enchiridion adv. Luther, c. x. in fine ; fol. 76, fa. 2. Ingolst. 1541.

⁹ De Amab. Eccl. Concord. Opp. tom. v. col. 500. Lugd. Bat. 1704.

¹ Specul. Myst. Eccl. c. 7. Ferrer. p. 727.

² Elucidarium, l. i. § 30. Opp. col. 1131. Par. 1854.

³ In Luke xv. *Et manducemus*. Bibl. P. v. fol. 165, fa. 2.

⁴ Serm. in Epiph. ii. ; Sermonum P. Hiemal. fol. xliii. fa. 1. Lugd. 1513.

⁵ Serm. in Oct. Corp. Christ. ; Serm. P. Æstiv. fol. cviii. fa. 2.

⁶ Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. lxxi. ; fol. clix. fa. 1. Par. 1516.

the communion of all present. It is quite clear, however, that no such desire could have been generally entertained, or some attempt would have been made to re-establish the ancient practice. At the same it is probable that Bucer, to whom we owe a very different representation, has exaggerated as greatly on the other side. He tells us that it was a most rare thing to find a priest who "thought that the sacrament ought to be distributed in masses—and that, not only in those private masses, as they were called, with which they filled every corner of the Churches, nay, even of private houses, but even in those which they called public and great, as being celebrated on the high altar, and with greater solemnity." He adds that, "in France matters had in consequence arrived at such a pass, that persons intending to communicate in the Eucharist, thought that they ought to hear mass first, and afterwards receive communion of the Eucharist in another place."¹

The Council of Trent had it in its power to provide an effectual remedy for these evils by a resolute condemnation of private masses, and a strict return to the early rule. Nevertheless, it contented itself with a very faint expression of disapproval, and deliberately perpetuated the practice to which so many abuses, and so

much error in doctrine, could trace their rise. "The most holy Synod could wish," it said, "that in every mass the faithful assisting would communicate, not only in spiritual affection, but also by the sacramental reception of the Eucharist, that more abundant fruit of this most holy sacrifice might accrue to them; and yet, if that may not always be, it condemns not for that reason, as private and unlawful, those masses in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally, but approves, and recommends them; forasmuch as those masses also ought to be esteemed in reality common, partly because in them the people communicate spiritually, but partly because they are celebrated by the public minister of the Church, not for himself only, but for all the faithful who belong to the body of Christ."²

We see that the Council has here adopted fully the scholastic distinction between sacramental and spiritual communion, and teaches that the people may truly communicate, though they purposely neglect the only mode of doing so ordained by Jesus Christ. By this means it not only perpetuated the custom which it affected to regret, but has provided a ready answer to every future demand for a return to the Apostolic practice.

¹ De Cœn. Dom. Admin. 1, li. c. xxix.; pp. 271, 272, Neubr. Danub. 1546.

² Sess. xxii. cap. vi. *De sacrific. Missæ.*

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—PAGE 462.

The Peace Offering of Thanksgiving.

Notwithstanding the plain command given in this text (Leviticus xxii. 29, 30), Mr. Wilberforce says:—"To all other parties except the sacrificing priest the eating of the victim appears to have been optional." (Eucharist, p. 389). To prove this he professes to quote, not the Bible, from which he would have learnt differently, but Josephus:—"For the overplus, says Josephus, they that offer the sacrifice *may* eat of it during two days." He infers that their eating was optional from the use of the word *may*, to which he calls attention by printing it in italics. Yet, if Josephus had expressed himself thus, his obvious meaning would have been, not that after one prescribed portion had been burnt, and another given to the priest, the offerer might eat of the remainder or not, as it pleased him, but that he had *two* days allowed him to consume it in. But the fact is, that Josephus does not use the word *may*, or anything equivalent to it. Mr. Wilberforce has not consulted him, but trusted to Wilson's translation, in which I find the

passage as he quotes it. What is it then that Josephus does say? He actually tells us, in the passage to which Mr. Wilberforce refers (see text, p. 14), that such sacrifices as he is there speaking of were "transacted by feasting of the sacrificers," and that "the offerers feast (not *may* feast) on the flesh that is left for two days." De Antiq. l. iii. c. ix. Opp. tom. i. p. 121. Oxon. 1720. Josephus is inexact in saying "*two* days" without distinction; for the statement is not true of Thank-offerings, properly so called; though it is of other Peace-offerings. Maimonides says similarly of all Peace-offerings, "that they were eaten within two days and one night." De Sacrif. tr. i. c. x. § xiii. p. 49. Lond. 1683. Yet other Jewish authorities, as Abarbanel and Philo, have observed the distinction, and accounted for it. See De Compeigne's note on Maimon. u. s.

Furthermore, there were, among the Rabbis, two explanations of the general Hebrew word for Peace-offerings, which were founded on the notorious circumstance, that "in this kind of sacrifices, God, *the offerers*, and the priests, each had their share." Some

derived it from the Hebrew word *to be at peace*; because the *common* feast of God and man was a token of peace between them; others from the same word in the sense of *paying*; because a prescribed portion was assigned as a due to each of the aforesaid several parties. *Outram de Sacrif. l. i. c. xi. § i. p. 114. Lond. 1677.* These explanations both imply that the worshipper was as much bound to consume his portion, as he was to burn that which was assigned to God.

NOTE B.—PAGE 462.

The Passover commanded to be eaten by all those for whom it was offered.

"The man that is clean and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the Passover, even the same soul shall be cut off from among his people." (Num. ix. 13.) Mr. Wilberforce (p. 390) says that "there is no injunction in Scripture that women should eat of it." Neither, it might be answered, is there any injunction that they should *offer* it. His argument required that they should be enjoined to offer, though not enjoined to eat. There can be no doubt, however, that women were required to keep the Passover, and that they were included in the general commands of Holy Scripture. It is notorious that the Jews were of this opinion. "Men and women," says Maimonides, "were equally bound by this precept." *Tr. i. de Pasch. c. i. § i. p. 3.* The only distinction made by the Rabbis was, that if women from any defilement, or physical hindrance, or other innocent cause, did not keep it at the proper time, they were not considered bound to observe it, as men similarly situated were, on the same day of the next month. *Ibid. c. v. § viii. p. 27: c. vii. § iii. p. 35.*

Mr. Wilberforce quotes from the Gemara Hieros. to the effect that "it was held by the Jews illegal to offer the lamb for a sodality in which none were able to partake of it." This tells against him, for it implies that those who could not eat were not allowed to offer. He adds, therefore:—"But the incapacity of some members was no reason why it should not be offered for the sodality at large." For this he appeals to the same authority, giving the following extract in a note:—"Pro comedentibus suis, et pro non comedentibus suis; pro annumeratis et pro non annumeratis; pro circumcisis, et præputiatis; pro immundis et inmundis, est legitimum." *Gemara Hieros. c. v. § iii. in Ugolini's Thesaur. Antiq. Sacr. tom. xvii. col. dccc.* But Mr. Wilberforce appears to have misunderstood his author. The meaning is, not that those who could not eat were supposed to have an equal interest in the sacrifice with those who could, but that it was not vitiated by the victim's having been offered in the name of *some* who proved unable to partake of it. If it happened that *none* of those in whose names it was slain partook of it, the sacrifice became unlaw-

ful, and was expiated by a sin-offering. See the Gemara, c. vi. § x.; Ugol. u.s. col. dcccxiv. Moreover, in direct opposition to the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, it was actually a principle with the Jews that, if any member of a sodality, on whose behalf the victim had been slain, did not eat of it, *he lost his part in the offering*, as well as in the feast:—"If one should slay for persons of whom part could eat a piece of the size of an olive, and part could not, &c., he would not be at fault, forasmuch as those who were qualified would eat as the law prescribes; but the rest would be excluded, *as if they had not been in the mind of him who slew the victim.*" *Majemon. u.s. c. ii. § v. p. 12.* But Mr. Wilberforce has been able to find one Rabbi who "goes so far as to say that if the lamb fell short, so that none remained for a person who was legally bound to eat, he was exempted from the duty of repeating the rite, because the blood of the first victim had been sprinkled in his name." If this had been found in the Bible itself, it would have been to the purpose; though an exceptional case, and that necessarily of most rare occurrence, could have given no adequate sanction to the *general* practice which it is sought to introduce. As it is, however, this extreme opinion of a single Rabbi, for such it is confessed to be, is entitled to no weight. It is obviously one of those expositions, though comparatively an innocent one, by which the Jewish casuists "made the commandment of God of none effect."

Mr. Wilberforce's last argument from the Passover is, that "the benefits of the ordinance, regarding it as a sacrifice for the nation at large, were not supposed to be confined to those by whom it was eaten." This may be true, but it is wholly beside the question. We should not deny that the celebration of the Eucharist is a means of benefit to the Church at large; but the point at issue is, whether it is a means of *special* benefit to individual members of the Church, who, though present at it, decline to partake of the consecrated elements. It is singular that while one peculiarity of the Church of Rome is defended by maintaining that eating of the paschal lamb was left optional; an argument in favour of another is sought from the fact that it was not optional. Thus Bishop Fisher urges the analogy in support of transubstantiation:—"That old lamb was a kind of a figure and a shadow of this new; and similarly that Passover, of our Passover. Wherefore that this our Truth, that Christ Jesus, I say, our true Lamb, may answer in some manner to the past shadow, it is necessary that He also should be corporally eaten. But that no where takes place but in the Eucharist, under the appearance of bread. Wherefore it is also inferred that He is truly present there, forasmuch as He is truly eaten by *us*." *C. Ecclamp. l. v. Præf. Opp. pp. 1132, 3. Wirce. 1597.*

Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated.

PART VII.—(*Third Division.*)

HOLY COMMUNION—NOT AN ORDINANCE OR SERVICE FOR NON-COMMUNICANTS:—*THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

By the late REV. W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham,

AND

By the late REV. G. E. BIER, LL.D., Rector of West Allington,—late Vicar of Roehampton.

“Come, for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse.”—
Luke xiv., 17, 18.

And art Thou ready, Saviour dear!
And is Thy Table spread for me,
But the poor soul that should draw near
Still all unreadiness for Thee?

Hast Thou come down with tender care
Thy weary people's hearts to bless,
And Host, and Feast—dost Thou prepare
A Table in the wilderness?

And will faint souls refuse to eat
The Heavenly food while yet they may,—
Their sin excuse with self-deceit,
And cold and heartless turn away?

Teach me, my God! the “better part,”
When I some vain excuse would plead;
What stills not my own anxious heart,
How could it e'er with Thee succeed?

—DR. MONSELL'S *Spiritual Songs*.

SECT. 1.—TESTIMONY TO THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—*By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.*

I. THE PRAYER BOOKS OF EDWARD VI.—THE FIRST BOOK ORDERED NON-PARTICIPANTS TO LEAVE *the Quire*. II. THE SECOND BOOK OF EDWARD VI. ORDERED NON-PARTICIPANTS TO LEAVE *the Church*. TIME OF DEPARTURE. III. TESTIMONY TO THE REFORMED RULE,—FROM AUTHORIZED LATIN VERSION, AND FROM THE 2ND BOOK OF HOMILIES.

We turn now to that part of the question which immediately concerns ourselves, viz., the rule and practice of the Reformed Church of England with respect to the presence of persons at the celebration of the Holy Communion who do not communicate.

I.—*The Prayer Books of Edward VI.—The First Book ordered Non-Participants to leave the Quire.*

In the year 1547, the first of Edward the Sixth, was published a translation in Eng-

lish of the “Simple and Religious Consultation” of Herman de Weiden, Archbishop of Cologne. As the reformed offices of our Church (of which the first was drawn up in the following year) were to some extent indebted to this work, it will be well to show the direction in which its influence would tell. The clergy are commanded in it to exhort the people “to receive, and not to stand there as despisers of so great gifts which in the Holy Supper be offered to all that are present, nor to make to themselves a hurtful spectacle of a blessed feast.”¹ It is then shown that in the Primitive Church all present were under obligation to receive, and the clergy are thus taught how to act in the peculiar circumstances of the time without losing sight of, or rather under the guidance of, the ancient principle: “As the pastors then must diligently teach and dissuade them, which with the rest of the congregati-

¹ Fol. 171. Ed. 1548.

cannot communicate, because they stick in divers open sins, that they be not present at the Holy Supper, and testify unto them that, if they stand at the Supper with such a mind, they do spite unto Christ, and that it shall be damnation unto them; so they must also diligently warn and exhort them which with a good conscience may be present at the Supper, that is to say, who truly believe in Christ the Lord, that they receive the sacraments with the other members of Christ. But forasmuch as this institution of the Lord—that all they which be present at the same Supper of the Lord should communicate of one bread and cup, His Body and Blood,—is so much out of use, and covered a great while since through common ignorance, it shall be needful to call men back again treatably and gently to the observation of this tradition of the Lord.” The clergy are therefore not to “fray away” the well-disposed, and “drive them from the holy action of the Supper, while they have any hope of them that they will go forward in the study and communion of Christ.”²

By the first statute of Edward VI., passed on the 4th of November in the same year, 1547, the priest was ordered “at the least one day” before the celebration of the Holy Communion to “exhort all persons which should be present, likewise to resort, and prepare themselves to receive the same.” The reason assigned for the order is, that “it is more agreeable to the first institution of Christ, to the usage of the Apostles, and the Primitive Church, that the people being present should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone.”³ The immediate effect of such an exhortation would probably be small; but it would help to prepare the people for a rule. It was the first authoritative step in the return to primitive practice, and was avowedly taken because it tended in that direction.

In the First Book of Edward VI., published in 1549, the sentences of the offertory were followed by this rubric:—“Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place near the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side.

All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks.”⁴

This rubric presents such difficulties, that Mr. Maskell,⁵ and others, have declared their inability to understand either parts of it. This was my own case when the former edition of this essay appeared; but an explanation has been since offered,⁶ which certainly removes the chief difficulty. It has been pointed out that at this period those who offered alms placed them with their own hands in the alms-box, which was directed to be placed “near unto the high altar.” This would bring them into the quire, and as many who gave alms might not intend to communicate, it became desirable to direct those who wished to do so that they should stay there, or as near as their numbers would permit, while the rest retired to a more distant part of the Church. The last clause of the rubric appears to be still open to the charge that has been brought against it; for it allows “ministers,” not intending to receive, to remain in the quire, and therefore to be present; whereas a subsequent rubric in the same office implies that all the ministers present are to receive. “Then shall the priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any there be present (that they may be ready to help the chief minister), and after to the people.” It should be added, that if strictly pressed, the former of these rubrics gives even the “chief minister” or celebrant licence to abstain from receiving.

In the same year in which this Liturgy was published, we find Cranmer, the chief of the commissioners for its translation and revision, while lamenting the presence of non-communicants, yet speaking as if the alternative of sending them out of the church had not yet occurred to his mind; (unless it be rather thought that he believed the time for it not yet come). He

⁴ See Maskell's “Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England,” p. 223. In the former edition of this essay, the last clause of this rubric stood thus, “except the minister and clerks” (for ministers, &c.) This was a clerical error or misprint; but it has led the writer of “The Anglican Authority” into much needless discussion.

⁵ Ibid. Pref. p. lxxvii.

⁶ “The Anglican Authority,” p. 5. The explanation is here most aptly illustrated by a reference to Ridley's Visitation Articles, 1550, in which the following inquiry is made:—“Whether any tarryeth in the quire *after the Offertory*, other than those that do communicate, except clerks and ministers.”

² Fol. 172-3. Ed. 1548.

³ 1 Edw. VI. cap. I. sect. 7. I am indebted for this reference to a writer in the “Ecclesiologist,” (the Rev. T. W. Perry) whose articles (Aug. and Oct., 1858) have been reprinted under the title of “The Anglican Authority for the Presence of Non-Communicants.”

says, "Although I would exhort every good Christian man often to receive the Holy Communion, yet I do not recite all these things to the intent that I would, in this corrupt world, where men live so ungodly as they do, that the old canons should be restored again, which command every man present to receive the Communion with the priest; which canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would now receive it unworthily."

In Ridley's Injunctions, delivered in 1550, the curates, churchwardens, and questmen of his diocese, are exhorted to "set up the Lord's board" . . . "in such place of the quire or chancel, as shall be thought most meet," . . . "so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people."⁷ In Hooper's Visitation Book, after a direction similar to that of Ridley for "placing the Lord's Board," the reason for it is thus given: "So that the ministers and communicants may be seen, heard, and understood of all the people then being present."⁸

It is evident that at this time, notwithstanding the injunction of the statute 1 Edward VI., but little progress could have been made towards the exclusion of non-communicants, and this is confirmed by the language of Bucer in his Animadversions on the Book of Common Prayer, published in 1550:—"All means should be employed to bring about that those who are present at the Communion be partakers of the Sacrament."⁹ Bishop Hooper's instructions to his clergy in the year following show the same thing. "The Communion," he said, "ought not to be kept or celebrated within the church, unless that the whole congregation (or at least a good part of the same) do receive it."¹⁰ His remedy was, not to dismiss the non-communicants, but in effect to diminish the frequency of the celebration, as might have been anticipated from the general leanings of his theology. Three years later, writing from prison, shortly before his death, he says that "Romani neoterici," contrary to the institution of Christ, "illis qui adsunt non dant."¹¹

Among many charges, for the most part of

⁷ Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i., p. 94.

⁸ Later Writings published by the Parker Society, 1852, p. 128. Art. xliii.

⁹ Censura in Ord. Eccl. c. xxvii. Script. Anglic. p. 495. Basil. 1577.

¹⁰ Later Writings, u.s. p. 126; Art. xxvii.

¹¹ Hyperaspismus. *ibid.* p. 466.

very frivolous character, brought before the Privy Council in February, 1551, against Ferrar Bishop of St. David's, are two which illustrate the differences of opinion and practice prevailing at the time. It was alleged against him by his accusers, that "he being often in Caermarthen, and other places, in the chancel, at the time of Holy Communion, not only tarried there himself neither communicating nor ministering, bare-headed and uncoiffed reverently kneeling, but also permitted the people there to continue, the chancel and choir full, kneeling and knocking their breasts,—which manner," they added, "is yet used in all the diocese, without any reformation or gainsay of him, or any of his officers."² The Bishop acknowledged that he had been so present himself without receiving, and stated that "the choirs of Caermarthen and other places there were not close at the sides, so that the people might come in and forth at their pleasure."³ Another charge against him was, that having on a certain occasion "celebrated matrimony in his own person," he neither communicated himself nor required the persons married to do so, his chaplain celebrating, and "only one other priest communicating for the married."⁴ In reply he explained that he was disabled himself, having been obliged to break his fast before the ceremony; and with regard to the married persons, he said, that "being not disposed to receive the Holy Communion, he could not compel them against their conscience."⁵ He had done nothing illegal; but he had sanctioned by his example a practice which the more influential Reformers were already anxious to suppress, and this was enough, as his enemies probably thought, to prejudice his cause with the tribunal before which he was accused.

II.—*The Second Book of Edward VI. ordered Non-Participants to leave the Church. Time of departure.*

A further step towards the suppression of the practice was made in the year following, when the revised book of Common Prayer, known as the Second Book of Edward VI., was published by authority. An Exhortation therein appointed to be read after the Prayer for the Church Militant contained the following admonition:—"Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort and beseech you that unto this unkindness ye will

² Foxe's Acts and Monuments. By Townsend, Lond. 1847 vol. vii. p. 6. Art. xxi.

³ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 6; Art. xix.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12

not add any more, which thing ye shall do if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. . . . Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called; but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this holy Communion with other. . . . What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising and mocking of the testament of Christ? Wherefore rather than that you should so do, depart you hence and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with yourselves from whom you depart. Ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things, if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by God's grace return to a better mind, for the obtaining whereof we shall make our humble petitions when we shall receive the Holy Communion."⁶

It has been argued that this warning is addressed only to "curious or idle spectators;" but there is no trace of such a limitation in the document itself. Its evident object is, first to win *all* present to communicate *at the time*, or failing that, to induce those who still "refused the holy banquet" to leave the Church without delay. The composers of the Exhortation were clearly ignorant of any reason that could justify the presence of those who did not intend to receive. Nor would a spectacle so familiar (for all who had been confirmed were then communicants) be likely to attract "curious and idle spectators," especially if, as the objectors suppose, it was still to remain free and open to everyone who behaved at it with common reverence. There can be no doubt that the more natural interpretation is also the true one, viz., that the admonition was directed against the custom in which every adult of that day had been trained, of attending the celebration as a religious exercise without communicating. In other words, the Reformers endeavoured by this means to put an end to the mediæval practice of "hearing Mass," and to restore the ancient rule of actual Communion. Even the late Mr. Wilberforce saw that it was intended to send away all who did not partake. "Whereas," he says, "according to the previous book, all who were in fellowship with the Christian body might remain in the nave, and communicate in the Church's offering, even if any temporary

hindrance prevented them from drawing nearer to the altar; the Second Book of Edward ordered such persons to go away, and thus excluded them from the Eucharistic Sacrifice, unless they were prepared at the moment to participate in the sacrament."⁷ So clear and positive a statement from an unwilling witness ought to have had more weight with those who have followed him in other respects only *too faithfully*.

Mr. Wilberforce, without a shadow of proof, asserted that this "sentence of exclusion" was introduced by "the Puritan party."⁸ Another writer on the same side ventures to characterize it as "that spawn of Calvinistic theology."⁹ Are these representations true? The avowed principle of the English Reformation was conformity, as far as possible, to the undivided Church of the first ages. It is right therefore to assume, until the contrary shall be shown, that the framers of the exhortation believed it to be in accordance with the primitive rule. No proof can be required of their acquaintance with the early canons. We have heard Cranmer referring to them. I have met with no evidence more direct than that quoted from him, either in his writings or in those of the divines associated with him in the revision; but Bishop Jewel, who may be said to be almost one of them,¹⁰ distinctly avers that in this, as in everything else, they claimed to be, and believed themselves to be, true followers of the ancient and uncorrupted Church. "Good brethren," he says, in his well-known sermon at Paul's Cross in the spring of the year 1560, "I will make it plain unto you through God's grace, by the most ancient writers that were in and after the Apostles time, and by the order of the first primitive Church, that there then could be no private Mass, and that whoso would not communicate with the priest were then commanded out of the congregation." He accordingly quotes the Apostolical Canon and other authorities, and then, apostrophizing those to whom he appeals, proceeds:—"If we be deceived therein, ye are they that have deceived us. . . . Thus ye ordered the

⁷ Eucharist, p. 378. ⁹ Right of all the Baptized, p. 21.

⁸ Eucharist, p. 380. In p. 379 he speaks of it as "this order to send the multitude away." The allusion to Matthew xiv. 15 is infelicitous, if not profane. *That* multitude was fainting for lack of food, and to send them away to seek it when Christ was at hand showed some forgetfulness of His power, or of His willingness to relieve every distress; but in the case before us, the multitudes, though affectionately pressed to eat, refuse to do so. Can it be wrong to send such away?

¹⁰ See note at end of Sect. 3, p. 508.

⁶ Cardwell's Liturgies Compared, p. 285.

holy Communion in your time; the same we received at your hands, and have faithfully delivered it unto the people. . . ."¹

As the exhortation, in which this warning to depart occurred, was read after the Prayer for the Church Militant, its natural effect would be to cause the non-communicants to leave at that time, even when it did not happen to be read. *We shall presently see from a statement of Bishop Cosin, that this is what actually took place.*

III.—Testimonies to the Reformed Rule,—from the Elizabethan Revision, the authorized Latin Version, and the 2nd book of Homilies.

In the year 1559, the first of Elizabeth, several changes in the Liturgy were proposed, though but a few were carried into effect. Among those agitated at the time was one which, though of minor importance, would have brought the Church of England still nearer to its professed model of antiquity. It appears from a letter of Guest, one of the commissioners of revision to the Queen's Secretary, that it was originally proposed to send away the non-communicants before the recital of the Nicene Creed:—"The creed is ordained (*i.e.* in the draft of the revised Book) to be said only of the communicants, because Dionysius and Chrysostom, and Basil in their Liturgies, say that the learners were shut out or the creed was said;² because it is the prayer of the faithful only, which were the communicants. For that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom saith, that they which do not receive be as men doing penance for their sin."³ The time of dismissal was not altered; nor does the testimony of Guest reach to the motives of the change made at the earlier revision; but we may at least infer from the foregoing extract, that the principle on which the Elizabethan divines continued to dismiss the non-communicants was the same as that on which the question

had been decided by S. Chrysostom more than a thousand years before.

In April, 1560, in compliance with a petition from the Universities and the Colleges at Winchester and Eton, the Royal sanction was given by letters patent to the use of a Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer in College Chapels, and by the clergy in their private devotions. The version thus authorized was not made from the revised English book, but was based on Aless's translation of the first book of Edward, published complete in 1551, which differed in many particulars, mostly of little importance, from its professed original. Among these variations is the following:—In the Prayer Book of 1549, in the order for the Communion of the Sick, the priest was directed to reserve a portion of the elements consecrated at the "open Communion," when a sick person was to receive the same day, and after the public service to "go and minister the same first to them that were appointed to communicate with the sick (if there be any), and last of all to the sick person himself."⁴ It was not provided that those who received with the sick should have been present at the previous celebration in church. The version of Aless, however, (under what influence is not known), did represent the Church as having made this provision; for having ordered the reservation as before, it directs that "Mass being ended, the priest together with some of those who are present, shall go to the sick person, and shall first communicate those who are present with the sick and have been at the Supper, and last of all the sick person himself."⁵ By the second Book of Edward, reservation was no longer to be practised, and therefore the safeguard introduced by Aless was not needed; but very significantly, when the later Latin version permitted reservation for the Communion of the sick in colleges, it also retained, and therefore, so far as it could, authorized the rule that, with the unavoidable exception of the sick person, those present should have been at the previous consecration in church, and should communicate. As the later version of this rubric is by no means a blind transcript from the earlier, I think that we shall not be wrong in ascribing its adoption of Aless's unauthorized interpolation to the still growing jealousy of that "separation of the sacrifice

¹ Serm. at Paul's Cross, pp. 56, 57, Lond. 1599. Sim in his Apology, in the Enchirid. Theolog. vol. i. p. 217.

² "There is no reason to think that any creed was ever used in the Liturgy during the first ages of the Church; but when admitted (at various times in different parts of the Church, beginning at Antioch, about A.D. 471), it was placed both in the Eastern and Western Churches, "in that part, which followed the dismissal of the catechumens and hearers, and before the solemn prayers, or canon." Palmer, Origines Liturgice, Ch. iv. Sect. v. vol. ii. p. 54.

³ Cardwell's Conferences, ch. ii. p. 51. The letter was written to explain "some causes of the order taken in the new service" by the committee of divines appointed to prepare it. To whom the subsequent changes are due is uncertain. U. s. ch. i. p. 21.

⁴ Cardwell's Two Liturgies compared, p. 353.

⁵ In Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 448.

from the sacrament," for which some writers of our own day contend.

In the Second Book of Homilies, published in 1562, the following allusion to the condemned practice was deemed necessary:—"As of old time God decreed His wondrous benefits of the deliverance of His people to be kept in memory by the eating of the Passover with its rites and ceremonies, so our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of of His great mercy, expressed in His passion, in the institution of His heavenly supper, where *every one* of us must be guests and not gazers, eaters and not lookers, feeding ourselves, and not hiring others to feed for us, that we may live by our own meat and not perish for hunger, while others devour all. To this His commandment forceth us, &c. (Luke xxii. ; 1 Cor. xi.) To this His promise enticeth, &c. (Matt. xxvi.) So then, as of necessity, we must be ourselves partakers of this table, and not beholders of others; so we must address ourselves to frequent the same in reverent and comely manner, &c."⁶ The reader will observe that no improper motive is suggested here. The homilist is evidently not aware of *any* reason that can justify our being present without communicating.

SECT. 2.—By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.

I. TESTIMONY OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION, AND OF BISHOP JEWEL, TO THE REFORMED RULE. II. TESTIMONY OF HOOKER, COSIN, ANDREWES, LAUD, AND OTHER ENGLISH DIVINES TO THE REFORMED RULE DOWN TO THE REVISION OF THE LITURGY IN 1662. III. THE WARNING TO DEPART WITHDRAWN AT THE LAST REVISION, BECAUSE NO LONGER NECESSARY: TESTIMONY OF THE LATER DIVINES OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

I.—*Testimony of the Lower House of Convocation, and of Bishop Jewel, to the Reformed Rule.*

If it should be asked why the notice to withdraw was not at once obeyed in every Church in England, the answer is very obvious. It was not enforced by any penalty. The non-communicants were exhorted to depart, but not *driven* out if they insisted on remaining. The reformed rule was not embodied in a rubric or canon, but in a solemn appeal to the conscience of the worshipper. At the same time, we have reason to think that many were far from being contented with the moderate step which had been taken by the Church. In 1562, a petition actually passed the Lower House of

Convocation for the direct prohibition of the practice in question.¹ As the proposal was rejected by the Bishops, we may infer that, on the whole, the country at large was not ready for the change; but the fact that it was desired by the representatives of the parochial and cathedral Clergy, must be taken to show that the balance of general opinion was against the practice of staying without partaking.

Two years later we find the existing discipline spoken of by Bishop Jewel without disapprobation, though he at the same time affirmed that it was not that of the ancient Church. His opponent, Harding, had objected that it "appeared by his sermon (at St. Paul's Cross) that all the people ought to receive or to be driven out of the Church."² To this Jewel replies:—"You know that this is neither the doctrine nor the practice of our Church. Howbeit the ancient doctors have both taught so and also practised the same. Anacletus saith, "after the consecration is ended, let all receive, unless they will be thrust from the Church."³ This answer was undoubtedly true to the letter: the English Church did not oblige the non-communicants to retire; and yet in large Churches with "close" chancels exclusion from the chancel would cut them off from the celebration as effectually as if they had been "driven out of the Church." This must have been the case, for example, in the Cathedral at Canterbury, the Chapter of which, in this very year, 1565, are found certifying that "none are suffered then (*i.e.*, in communion-time) to tarry within the chancel, but the communicants."⁴

The instance just given in illustration is not quite without force as evidence. That statement of the Chapter was part of a return made to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a reply to certain "advertisements" drawn up at the Queen's command with a view to the general suppression of several Puritanical irregularities.⁵ There was no reference to the case of non-communicants in the advertisements; so that the notice of it by the cathedral clergy was

¹ Stype's Annals, vol. i. c. 30, p. 341. "That no person abide within the church during the time of the communion, unless he do communicate; that is, they shall depart immediately after the exhortation be ended, and before the confession of the communicants." Requests and Petition, n. vi.

² Harding's Answer, div. 32, in Jewel's Reply, Art. i. p. 57. ³ Reply, u. s., p. 59.

⁴ The return of which this is part, may be seen in Stype's Life of Parker, b. ii. ch. 26, p. 183.

⁵ See Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i. Nos. lxx., lxxvii. "These advertisements, and the proceedings consequent thereon, occasioned the first open separation of the non-conformists," p. 321.

⁶ Of the worthy Receiving of the Sacrament, part I.

without apparent motive. This much is clear, however, that, as their wish would be rather to exculpate than criminate themselves, their statement was not a gratuitous confession of a suspected practice. Not being obliged to speak, they would have been silent, had they known that their practice would be viewed with jealousy by the Archbishop and his colleagues.

Two years later we meet with a piece of negative evidence of some value. It is allowed by all that the avowed Puritans did not hesitate to withdraw before the celebration, if not intending to communicate. Was this regarded by the more Catholic of the clergy as an innovation or an irregularity in them? If it were, there would surely have been some reference to it in Parker's Articles of Visitation, 1567, directed, as they were, especially, against the principles and practices of that section of the Church⁶. No reference to it, however, is to be found in them.

It is probable that the practice, whose history we are endeavouring to trace, though now greatly discouraged, would nevertheless keep its ground here and there, at least, in the more remote dioceses of Wales and the North, during a considerable part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In 1573, Cartwright, the Puritan, having complained that in "divers places the ignorant people, that had been misled in Popery, had kneeled unto the consecrated bread, and held up their hands whilst the minister gave it," adds, incidentally to our purpose, that this had been done not by "those only which had received it, but by those which had been in the Church and looked on⁷."

II.—Testimony of Hooker, Cosin, Andrewes, Laud, and other English Divines to the Reformed Rule, down to the revision of the Liturgy in 1662.

In such allusions to the case of non-communicants as I have met with in writers who lived before the last revision of the Liturgy, it is, with

⁶ They are in Srype's Life of Parker, App, p. 85, and in Cardwell. u.s., No. lxviii. "This visitation [of the Collegiate Churches in the Province of Canterbury] was more especially directed against the diocese of Norwich," already noted for its disorders, but the articles, says Dr. Cardwell, "were strictly applicable to the general condition of the Church, and afford evidence that...Puritanism and not Popery was now the opponent to be dreaded, &c." The first meeting for "worship and a communion after the ritual of Geneva, was on the 19th of June," in this same year. Pp. 237 8.

⁷ Reply to Ans. to Admon., p. 130. Sect. ult. in Whitgift's Def. of Ans., tr. xv. ch. i. div. vi. Works, vol. iii. p. 85. Camb. 1-53. See note A, Appendix.

one exception, either assumed or stated that they left before the celebration. The instances will be given in the present section, interspersed with brief extracts from the divines of the same period designed to show the principles on which they would have upheld the reformed rule. The latter class of testimonies will probably appear to most minds quite as decisive of the point in question as the former: for it is incredible that so many writers should have deliberately approved the ancient discipline in this respect without regretting, or even noting the difference, if any such existed, between that and the practice of their own Church, whose fidelity to her primitive model they were ever ready to maintain. The quotations will be arranged, as far as practicable, in the order of their dates.

One ground of complaint perversely urged by the early Puritans against the Church was that it permitted a few to receive by themselves, while the majority of the congregation *went away*. "This Sacrament," they said, "is a token of conjunction with our brethren, and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent show of distraction."⁸ To this Whitgift replied (A.D. 1574) that "the Book of Common Prayer doth greatly commend and like the receiving of the whole Church together, but if that cannot be obtained (and it cannot, and they will not have men compelled to it) it secludeth not those that be well disposed, so that they be a competent number. And the Book doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they depart, so that you may well understand that the meaning of the Book is that all that be present should communicate."⁹

Hooker's reply to the same cavil shows clearly that at the time when he wrote (A.D. 1597) it had become the *general* custom for those who did not receive to leave the Church, and that he thoroughly approved of their so doing:—"I ask them on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs that *being left behind, do communicate*. First, in the one, it is not denied that they may have reasonable cause of departure, and that then even they are delivered from just blame. Of such kind, of course two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and necessary business requiring our presence elsewhere. And may not a third

⁸ See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. b. v. ch. lxviii., § 10; vol. ii. p. 376, Jxf. 1841.

⁹ Defence of Answer, Tr. ix. c. vi., div. viii.; vol. ii. p. 549

cause, which is unfitness at the present time, detain us as lawfully back as either of these two? True it is that we cannot altogether excuse ourselves, for that we ought to prevent this and do not. But if we have committed a fault in not preparing, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse, the crime of unworthy participation? . . . There is in all the Scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemn communicating among a few, *when the rest are departed from them.*"¹ It is now urged that habitual communicants who feel their *unfitness at the present time*, both may remain and ought to remain, though not intending to receive. The reader will observe that when Hooker wrote, no exception was made in their favour. They left the church with the other non-communicants.

In one of the controversial works of Whittaker, who died in 1595, it is affirmed that "anciently the whole Church used to assemble to partake of the Lord's Supper, and that, in some places, daily."²

From the Appendix to Field's Book of the Church (A.D. 1610) I borrow the following testimony:—"Doth not the Canon of the Apostles prescribe that all the faithful that come together in the Church and communicate not in the sacrament, shall be excommunicate, which also the Council of Antioch receiveth and confirmeth?"³ In the 2nd edition of the same work this author says, "It is known that the celebration of the Holy Mystery and Sacrament of the Lord's body and blood had the name of *mass*, from the dismissing of all non-communicants before the consecration began, so that none stayed but such as were to communicate."⁴ The following extract from a sermon preached by Bishop Andrewes on Easter-day, 1609, makes us acquainted both with the practice that prevailed then, and with one ground on which he would have maintained it:—"There hath not, these sixteen hundred years, this day passed without a peace-offering, and the law of a peace-offering is, he that offers it must take his part of it, eat of it, or it doth him no good."⁵ This day, therefore,

the Church never fails, but sets forth her peace-offering. . . . Then can it not be but a great grief to a Christian heart, to see many this day give Christ's peace the hearing, and there is all; hear it and then turn their backs on it; every man go his way and forsake his peace."⁶

The first series of Cosin's Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer were written in an interleaved copy printed in 1619, and most of them are supposed to have been made in that year or soon after. He thus comments on the warning to depart then addressed to those who did not intend to receive:—"A religious invective added here, against the lewd and irreligious custom of the people then nursed up in popery, to be present at the Communion and to let the Priest communicate for them all, whence arose that abuse of private masses; so repugnant to the Scripture and to the use of the ancient Church, that at this day not any but the Romish Church, through all the Christian world are known to use it, as the Greek, Syrian, Armenian, and Ethiopian Liturgies do testify; nay, the Roman Liturgy itself is full against the Roman practice." He then quotes the Apostolical canon, and St. Chrysostom's third Homily on the epistle to the Ephesians before cited, concluding with a conjecture which has probably occurred already to the reader:—"So this preface and exhortation seem to have been taken out of St. Chrysostom's words: they are in all points so like one to the other."⁷

In the year 1620, Bishop Andrewes had occasion to consecrate a chapel near Southampton. This led him to prepare the form known by his name, which has since been much used in the consecration of Churches. In the first rubric relating to the celebration of the Holy Communion, we find this direction:—"All the people not intending to communicate are dismissed, and the doors shut."⁸

Sir Humphrey Lynde in his "Via Tuta," first published in 1628, thus comments on one of the

Contrast this with the representation of Mr. Wilberforce. See Sect. I. II.

¹ Eccl. Pol. u. s.

² Prælect. Controv. Sec. Q. vi. c. iii.; p. 474. Camb. 1599.

³ App. to B. iii., p. 43; at the end of B. v. Lond. 1610.

⁴ App. to B. iii., p. 187. Oxf. 1628. Field died in 1616, so that the second extract was written between that date and 1610.

⁵ Similarly in Serm. vii. of the Resurrection:—"If Christ be a propitiatory Sacrifice, a peace-offering, I see not how we can avoid but the flesh of our peace-offering must be eaten in this feast by us, or else we evacuate the offering utterly, and lose the fruit of it." Works, vol. ii., p. 298. Oxf. 1841.

⁶ Serm. iv. of the Resurr.; vol. ii., p. 251.

⁷ Works, vol. v. p. 98. Oxf. 1855. These notes were first printed by Nicholls as an appendix to his commentary on the Book of Common Prayer. By him many were ascribed to Overall, and among them the note now quoted in the text. In the former edition of this essay, it was accordingly attributed to Overall; but in the fifth volume of Cosin's works in the Anglo-Catholic Library (published shortly after this essay) the series in which it occurs is shown to have been written by the latter.

⁸ Works, vol. v. p. 326. Oxf. 1846.

decrees of Trent :—"The council concludes in that canon of private mass with a well-wishing to the truth of the Protestant doctrine, 'The Sacred Council could wish that the faithful people which stand by would communicate with the priest not only in spiritual affection, but in sacramental participation.'"⁹ He also gives extracts from Cochläus, Durandus, and many others, which show that in the Primitive Church all who were present communicated.¹ Of those testimonies Featly, in his defence of Lynde published ten years later, asserts that "all know that for which he produceth them, viz. that by confession of our adversaries, antiquity is for us in this point, and that there was a Church celebrating the Lord's Supper as we do in the first and best ages."²

A letter of Bishop Bedel to Archbishop Usher, written in 1630, shows incidentally what was the practice of the Church in Ireland at the same period. He is speaking of one who desired to be reconciled to him before receiving the Holy Communion :—"As I was at the Lord's table, beginning the service of the Communion before the sermon, he came in, and after the sermon was done, *those that communicated not being departed*, he stood forth and spake to this purpose."³

Archbishop Laud has been claimed as a witness on the other side, because, in Prynne's lying account of the consecration of the Church of St. Catherine Cree (Jan. 16, 1630), it is said that only some of the principal persons present received the Communion with him. This is probably true, for Laud does not notice it in his defence ; but it will hardly bear the inference sought to be drawn from it. It may well be doubted whether Laud could, by any quiet exercise of authority, have excluded non-communicants on such an occasion at that period. The event showed that there were persons present who viewed the whole ceremony with dislike, and yet were determined to see what was done, "thinking," as one of them said, that "it would one day be called to account."⁴ However, the fact that Prynne made an offence of the presence of non-communicants on this occasion shows that it was not in accordance with the general practice, while the fact that Laud used Bishop Andrewes' form of Consecration,⁵ which orders them to be dismissed, must go some way to prove his disapprobation of it. That he really did disap-

prove of it, at least a few years later, may be shown by a reference to the Scottish Liturgy of 1637. In this office the warning to depart was retained, although the part of the Exhortation in which it occurred was in some other respects altered.⁶ It need only be said that it did not except habitual communicants who might plead "unfitness at the present time." As this Liturgy, though drawn up in Scotland, was overlooked and approved by Laud, Nixon, and Wren ;⁷ it is clear that those divines could not have objected to the dismissal of the non-communicants.

It is objected that "this same Laud, in his order for the Coronation service, expressly lays down that no one is to receive except eight or ten of the great officials concerned in the rite."⁸ The allegation is deprived of all force when we learn that the same rule has been adopted by later Archbishops of whatever school. Are the objectors prepared to urge this as a proof that Secker and Howley were also in favour of "non-communicating attendance?" The truth is that this is an exceptional case of a very extreme kind. It would be simply impossible to enforce the common order on the occasion of a Coronation, and the authorities have very wisely provided that the actual reception should occupy as brief a space of time as possible by limiting it (in effect) to a few. It is, however, altogether a mistake to ascribe any order for the Coronation Service to Archbishop Laud. He only had an exact copy made of the book used at the Coronation of James.⁹

It appears certain, from the foregoing evidence that the custom of withdrawing had become general before the Great Rebellion ; but it was not absolutely universal, as the following circumstance will show :—In a synod held in Ipswich on the 8th of October, 1639, Bishop Montague gave the following directions to his clergy for the orderly administration of the Sacrament :—"After the words, or exhortation, pronounced aloud by the minister standing at the Communion-table to the parishioners, as yet in the Church, 'Draw near, &c.' all intending to communicate are to come out of the Church into the Chancel. . . . All being come in, the chancel door is to be shut and not to be opened till the communion is

⁶ Bulley's Variations of the Communion and Baptismal Offices, p. 23. ⁷ Ibid. Pref. p. xviii.

⁸ Christian Remembrancer, vol. xxv. p. 21. The Rubric does not "expressly lay down that no one is to receive except, &c." It merely specifies those who are to receive. See Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, v. iii. p. 133.

⁹ See his works, vol. iii. pp. 179, 263 ; iv. p. 211.

⁹ Sect. 9, p. 132. Lond. 1629. ¹ Ibid. p. 125.

² Strictura in Lyndo-Mastigem, p. 51. Lond. 1638.

³ Life by Burnet, p. 54. Lond. 1635.

⁴ History of the Troubles and Trial, ch. xxxv. § ii. div. 1 ; Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 247. Oxf. 1854. ⁵ Ibid.

done, that no communicant depart till the dismission, no *non-communicant* come in among them, no boys, girls, or gazers be suffered to look in as at a play."⁹ It is evidently implied here that some might still wish to stay who did not intend to receive, and that the Bishop did not think fit to send them out of the Church. It is probable that in that diocese, which had been long noted for its disorders, the Exhortation of 1552 had been less respected than in most other parts; or it may be that at this time, only three years before the standard of rebellion was set up, it was impossible to enforce the discipline of the Church. However, whether the Bishop really preferred the custom which the Exhortation had condemned, or was obliged to yield something to the unruly temper of his diocese and of the times, it is clear that he was not providing for the convenience of any who might desire, in the language of Mr. Wilberforce, "to join in the Sacrifice without going on to the Sacrament." The prohibition to look in and gaze was practically universal; for it would be impossible for those who had to enforce it to know whether a gazer was influenced by devotion or curiosity.

We may infer from the language of Hooker and others that the custom of staying without receiving had become nearly extinct before the close of the sixteenth century. It would perhaps linger longest in a few Cathedral and Collegiate churches, favoured by the wish to retain the services of the choristers throughout the office. There is some evidence, however, to show that the distinction, if it ever existed, had ceased before the outbreak of the great rebellion. In a calumnious attack on the clergy of Durham, printed in 1642, one charge preferred against them is that they "took for their assistants at the Communion the whole quire-men and children, which communicated not, *contrary to the custom and practice of all Cathedral Churches.*"¹

The second edition of "Hammond's Practical Catechism," being the first that contained the doctrine of the Sacraments, was published in 1646. According to him "Christ's pleasure was that all that were present should partake of both elements in the Sacrament."² He also

teaches that "the benefits of the sacrifice" belong only to those who partake. After laying down the principle that "they that eat any part of (the ancient sacrifices) . . . are conceived to have joined in the service performed by the priest or sacrificer, and to have right together with him in all the benefits of the sacrifices," he applies it to the Christian anti-type of those sacrifices:—"Thus, 'The cup of blessing which we bless,' . . . i.e., that whole eucharistical action (and that expressed to be the action of the people, as well as the presbyter, by their *drinking* of it) is the communication of the Blood of Christ, a service of theirs to Christ—a sacrifice of thanksgiving, commemorative of that great mercy and bounty of Christ in pouring out His blood for them, &c. . . . So, in like manner, 'The breaking and eating of the bread,' is a communication of the Body of Christ, a sacrifice commemorative of Christ's offering up His body for us, &c."³ This author, then, held with the Fathers, before cited, that we do not duly commemorate the sacrifice of Christ unless we actually eat and drink of the appointed symbols of His Body and Blood.

The second series of "Cosin's Notes," consists almost entirely of extracts from various authors, in accordance with his own sentiments. The following passage, which he adopted from Calixtus, occurs in the later part of this series: "the character of which," says the recent editor of his works, "is to oppose the Anglican view of doctrine to the Roman."⁴ The treatise of Calixtus was published in 1644; but the year in which Cosin made his extracts is not known. "The true etymology of this word *missa* or *mass*, we do yet retain in our churches in the *dismissal* of the people—namely, of the *ancient and genuine* mass, in which not only hymns may be sung, prayers made, Scripture read and expounded, bread and wine blessed and consecrated, but even distributed to eat and to drink to *all that are present*, for such a mass or celebration of the Sacrament, our Lord appointed, and commanded to be frequently used to His coming again."⁵

About the year 1652, Cosin, then in exile, wrote his tract, entitled *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica*. As it was penned with the express view of giving foreigners a just idea of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Eng-

Prynne's History of Laud's Trial, p. 100. London. 1656.
A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations, &c. p. 28; in Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 363.

¹ Lib. vi. Sect. iv. p. 378. Oxf. 1847.

³ Ibid. pp. 392-3. Compare, sect. i. div. iii. of this essay, and the extracts from Andrewes, p. 326, and note 5.

⁴ Works, vol. v. Pref. p. xix. ⁵ Ibid p. 356.

land, the author must be supposed to have weighed every statement in it with unusual care. He was, in fact, in putting it forth taking a position similar to that of Jewel in the Apology, and offering himself to the communions abroad as the representative and mouthpiece of his church. His testimony, then, must be decisive as to the custom of his day. But he tells us, in rather a full description of the celebration of the Sacrament, that, after the prayer for the Church Militant, "those who are not going to communicate are sent out."⁵ Both here and in another writing of uncertain date, he speaks of this dismissal as the effect of the warning in the exhortation:—"A two-fold exhortation to the people immediately follows: the one, that those who come not to communicate go out; the other, that the rest prepare themselves worthily."⁶

In 1645 appeared the *Instructio Historico-Theologica* of John Forbes, a professor at Aberdeen, and son of the good Bishop of that city, in which he argues at some length against the practice of remaining without communicating.

In Sparrow's "Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer," published in 1657, are these remarks:—"After this (*i.e.*, the Prayer for the Church Militant) follow some wholesome exhortations to those that are coming to the Holy Communion, seriously exhorting the unprepared to forbear. So was the custom of old in the Greek Church. The priest admonishes all that are coming to that Holy Sacrament, *driving away* the unworthy, but *inviting* the prepared. . . . Those that after these exhortations *stay* to receive, the Church supposing prepared, invites to draw near."⁷

In 1659, only three years before the last revision of the Liturgy, L'Estrange published the first edition of his "Alliance of Divine Offices." Though writing so short a time before the omission of the warning to depart, we find him as clear as any of our earlier authorities, with regard to the usage of the first Christians:—"True it is that, according to the primitive rules, no man of the faithful people might stay behind and not communicate, upon pain of excommunication."⁸

We remark the same thing in Thorndike, whose "Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England," appeared the same year. "We

shall be bold to conclude," says this writer, after adducing the proper evidence, "that, so far as appears by the Scripture, all that did celebrate did communicate; as all that assisted did celebrate, &c."⁹ In another work, published the very year of the revision, he says:—"I will not here undertake that all which remained did always communicate; though I doubt not I may undertake that the rule of the church required them always to communicate. For when the world was come into the Church, the rule that prevailed in the time of persecution, there is no marvel that it could not then prevail. By St. Chrysostom alone it appears sufficiently that the rule was well enough known, but not in force even in his time. So when they that might not communicate were dismissed, they that would not communicate remained nevertheless. For the eucharist was not to be set aside for their negligence."¹⁰ Thorndike held also that the communion was essential to the sacrifice. "This representative and commemorative sacrifice is of the nature and kind of peace offerings, inasmuch as it is celebrated on purpose to communicate with the altar in feasting upon it."¹¹

III.—*The Warning to Depart withdrawn at the Last Revision, because no longer necessary: Testimony of the later Divines of the 17th Century.*

Such being the practice and opinions of our divines between the first compilation and the final revision of the Liturgy, it will be asked, why the warning to non-communicants was not retained? The answer is very simple. They were now, as we have learnt from some of the foregoing extracts, in the habit of withdrawing as a matter of course. The "sentence of exclusion," had, therefore, become unnecessary, and, indeed, unsuitable, so that it became expedient to remove it, especially as its retention would have prevented the use of the exhortation in which it occurs. It was accordingly omitted, and the exhortation, only slightly altered in other respects, was appointed to be read as a notice of celebration, "in case the minister should see the people negligent to come."

That the altered habits of the people were the cause of the withdrawal of the warning, could not reasonably be doubted, even if we had no evidence of the fact. There is a direct proof, however, that that circumstance did influence the divines of 1662, and, as if to complete his testimony, it is supplied by Cosin, who

⁵ Vol. iv. p. 359.

⁶ Second Series of Notes; Works, vol. v. p. 304. See note i.; p. 303. 7 P. 169. London, 1722.

⁸ Ch. vi. Annot. M; p. 269. Oxford, 1846.

⁹ Book III. ch. xlv. § 9; Works, vol. iv. p. 565. Oxford, 1853. 1 Just Weights, &c., ch. xv. § 7; vol. v. p. 181.

¹¹ The Epilogue, b. iii. ch. v. § 9; vol. iv. p. 107.

has already informed us that the non-communicants were sent out after the Prayer for the Church Militant. This great bishop, it is well known, was "one of the principal commissioners" for the revision, and it so happens that there have come down to us some memoranda which he made of "Particulars to be considered, explained, and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer," to which it "is plain that those reviewers had very great regard, they having altered most things according as was therein desired."³ Now among these notes is one which points out that the first and second exhortations (as they then stood) were "more fit to be read some days *before* the Communion, than at the very same time when the people are come to receive it;" and one of the reasons assigned is, that "they that tarry for that purpose are not negligent, and they that are negligent be gone, and hear it not."⁴ Another alteration was also made at this review, evidently with the same purpose of bringing the office into closer agreement with the actual state of things. The Invitation to "draw near," as left in 1552, contained the following sentence:—"Make your humble confession to Almighty God, before this congregation, here gathered together in His Holy Name, meekly kneeling upon your knees." As this, if strictly taken, implied the presence of others besides the communicants, the words, "before this congregation, &c.," were omitted in 1662.⁵

That the true reason for the omission of the charge to withdraw has been given, is further evident from the fact, that no advantage was taken of it by any party in the Church. At least I do not remember to have read of any attempt, either by the divines of the Restoration or their successors, to revive the practice which it had suppressed; nor am I aware that a single instance has been produced by the modern advocates of the mediæval custom. Scandret alone, if I mistake not, has been quoted, as condemning the custom of his day:—"There is not one that does approach the altar except those who have prepared themselves to receive it as the Sacrament of Communion. And whence is this practice, but from the great ignorance of this Divine Service?"⁶

This author, however, is more respected for piety than for judgment; and, were it other-

wise, his single voice could not be held entitled to much weight. In general, and perhaps with this sole exception, our later writers agree entirely with their predecessors, both as to the nature and the propriety of the primitive usage. This will appear sufficiently from the testimonies that follow.

In Brevint's *Missale Romanum*, published in 1672, we are told that anciently "no man was suffered to stand or remain in the church that either could not, or would not, receive the Holy Sacrament; and, therefore, such persons, of what condition soever, as had a mind only to see and hear what was then said and done, were all without any exception *dismissed*, and, if need were, turned out, after one of the deacons or exorcists, had cried out with a loud voice, "*Si quis non communicat, det locum.*"⁷

Beveridge, in 1678, commenting on Justin Martyr's description of the Holy Communion, says:—"From these words of this Apostolic man it is clear that on every Sunday or Lord's Day, all the Christians, whether living in towns or in the country, were wont to meet together. When assembled, they heard the writings of the Apostles and other Scriptures, and offered their common prayers and thanksgivings to Almighty God; after which they celebrated the Eucharistic prayers and thanksgivings, that is to say, those by which the elements offered are consecrated to be the mystical Body and Blood of Christ; which being consecrated, were distributed to all present, to all who had been at the prayers and heard the Holy Scriptures, and were partaken of by them. No one, therefore, went out before he had been fed with this spiritual food. So that these two Apostolical canons (viii. ix.,) prescribe nothing else, but that the Apostolical discipline of the first Christians described by St. Justin the Martyr, should be strictly observed by all who desire to remain in the Communion of the Church."⁸

To the same effect Payne, an able opponent of the Church of Rome, in the reign of James II., after quoting Justin, Ignatius, the Apostolic canon, and that of Antioch, proceeds to say:—"So great a crime was it for any not to keep to constant communion, which was to be done as much by all the faithful as by the priest himself; every Christian in those devout ages who was baptised, and had not notoriously violated

³ Nicholls' Comment. App. to vol. i., p. 67.

⁴ Ibid. p. 69, No. lii.; or Cosin's Works, vol. v. App. I. p. 515.

⁵ Bulley's Variations, p. 42.

⁶ Christian Sacrifice, p. 45, quoted in The Right of all the Baptised, &c., p. 10.

⁷ Ch. ii. : p. 12. Oxford, 1672.

⁸ Codex Prim. Vind. l. ii. c. lii. § vi. Works, vol. xii. p. 22. Oxford, 1848. See also § v. p. 20.

his baptismal covenant, so as to be put into the state and number of the public penitents, did always communicate as often as there was any sacrament, which was, I believe, as often as they assembled for public worship; and he that had not done that in those first and purest times, would have been thought almost to have been a deserter, and to have renounced his Christianity. . . . Only the *πιστοί*, faithful, who received the Communion, were allowed to be present at the celebration of it, which is a very good argument against our adversaries' opinion of the sacrifice of the mass; for had they believed the Eucharist, though received only by the priest, had done good as a sacrifice to those who were present, although they did not partake of it, as they now do in the Church of Rome, what need they have put out and excluded all those who were non-communicants?"⁸

Nelson, in "The Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice," 1706, interprets the Apostolic canon of those who "did not continue to partake of the Holy Sacrament." "According to this rule the Primitive Christians practised, who never withdrew themselves from the Lord's Supper, when it made a part of the public worship. . . . Whosoever, therefore, shall neglect to communicate, and retires from the holy table when the banquet is prepared, either does not thoroughly understand his duty in this respect or must be very defective in the performance of it."⁹

Marshall, the author of "The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church," 1714, suggests "that some brand be fixed upon the practice of joining in the other parts of public worship, and of departing from it without the reception of the blessed Sacrament."¹⁰ A suggestion which he founds upon the Apostolic and other canons, and St. Chrysostom's denunciation of those who stayed without communicating. In other words, he thought that all present were bound both to stay to the end and to partake, while allowing, as an inference from the allusion of Clemens Alexandrinus before cited,¹ that "in the smaller number of churches" the reception was at an early period left to the conscience of the worshipper.

The notion of a separation of the sacrifice and sacrament, and the corrupt practice in defence of which it is alleged, might have been expected to find patrons, if anywhere, among such of our

divines as adopted that view of the Holy Eucharist which is maintained in Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, yet we do not find that they either endeavoured or desired to effect its restoration.

Johnson himself says:—"I only speak of the efficacy of the oblation on behalf of such as were detained from the Communion by some involuntary and invincible obstacle; and am so far from having any good opinion of the solitary masses among the Papists, that I am fully satisfied that in the primitive Church the oblation and communion were inseparable; and that they had but one altar in every Church, where all, both clergy and people, both attended and received."²

Bingham, who has treated the subject at some length, affirms that "the most ancient and primitive custom was for all that were allowed to stay and communicate in prayers, to communicate in the participation of the Eucharist also, except only the last class of penitents. . . . These only excepted, all other baptized persons were not only admitted, but by the rule of the Church obliged to communicate in the Eucharist, under pain of ecclesiastical censure."³ Waterland, speaking of the decree of Agde, which ordered all to wait for the Bishop's blessing, says:—"Though the dismissal of the non-communicants might be perhaps deferred somewhat later now than in Chrysostom's time, yet dismissed they were before the communion properly came on, and the absurdity which Chrysostom complained of, that of staying out the whole solemnity without communicating, never was admitted in those days."⁴

SECT. 3.—By the Rev. Dr. Biber.

THE DOCTRINE AND INTENTION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS SHOWN BY HER OFFICES.

I.—THE PRE-REFORMATION USAGE AND THE EXISTING PRACTICE. II.—THE "ORDER OF THE COMMUNION." III.—RESISTANCE TO THE "ORDER OF THE COMMUNION." ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S DEFENCE OF IT. IV.—THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., IN 1549. V.—THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1552.

In considering the question whether according to the doctrine and intention of the Church of England the communion of the faithful be essential to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist: and the presence of the non-communicant portion of the congregation, either the whole or

⁸ Sacrifice of the Mass in Gibson's Preservative. tit. vi. ch. ii.; vol. ii. p. 74. London, 1738. ⁹ Pp. 32, 34; ed. 2, 1727.

¹⁰ Chapter iv. p. 163. Oxford, 1844.

¹ See before in this essay, p. 460.

² Unbloody Sacrifice, ch. ii. sect. ii.; vol. i. p. 401. Oxford, 1817. ³ Antiquities b. xiv. ch. v. sect. i.

⁴ Review ch. xiv. vol. iv. p. 793.

any of them, agreeable to that doctrine and intention,—we have presented to us two facts upon which it is not likely that any difference of opinion will arise, viz. :—

(1.) That previous to the Reformation of the English Church, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or, as it was then termed, the “Mass,” was entirely independent of the participation of any of the congregation as communicants; that besides many private masses connected with superstitious practices, it was celebrated and formed the chief feature of Divine Service on Sundays and Holy-days, and was attended by the people generally; that one essential part of the Celebration, as then ordered, was the “adoration of the Host,” connected with the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, and that the participation of any of the congregation in the service as communicants was a secondary consideration, and a matter of individual concern.

(2.) That up to the present time (with the exception of a few congregations, now increasing in number, in which, as an innovation upon the long existing custom, the practice of non-communicants remaining during the celebration of the Holy Communion, has, by the sole authority of the clergy ministering to them, been taught and more or less adopted), the uniform practice of the English Church has been to celebrate the Holy Eucharist,—unhappily through the lukewarmness of the times too unfrequently,—at such times only when it may be expected that there will be a sufficient number to communicate with the priest; on all which occasions the non-communicant portion of the congregation, having been present at the previous part of the Morning Service, withdraw; generally after the sermon, or, when an offertory collection is made, after the Prayer for the Church Militant; the remaining part of the Communion Office being considered as a Service intended exclusively for communicants.

The question, then, which under this head has to be resolved, is, in what manner, and with what design, if any, the transition has been effected from the pre-Reformation practice of “the Mass” to the present practice of celebrating the Holy Eucharist.

That the change was not a fortuitous one, consequent upon the general changes which took place at the Reformation in the religious belief of the Church of England and her mode of worship, but was the result of a deliberate design

on the part of the Reformers, will probably be admitted by all, and can scarcely require any proof. But although the fact does not call for proof, it may be useful, with a view chiefly to connect the present point with previous parts of the inquiry, to take notice, as occasion may serve, of the views entertained by the leading Reformers, which undoubtedly determined them in the changes they made in the form of the Service.

II.—The “Order of the Communion.”

The first change made by authority in regard to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, was in 1547, when a new “Order of the Communion” was set forth by King Edward VI., preceded by “godly Injunctions,” and a “Proclamation,” authorizing and enjoining the use of it. In this “Order” the curate is directed, “the next Sunday or Holy-day, or at the least one day before he shall minister the Communion,” to give “warning to his parishioners, or those which be present, that they prepare themselves thereto;” for which purpose a form of exhortation is subjoined, which, or some “such like” exhortation, he is to use. From its opening words, “Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have cure and charge,” it is clear that its contents are addressed to *all* the parishioners,—except of course such as are not qualified to receive the Holy Communion. To them the curate signifies his intention “by God’s grace to offer to all such as shall be there godly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembrance of His most fruitful and glorious passion; by the which passion we have obtained remission of our sins, and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven; whereof we be assured and ascertained if we come to the said Sacrament with hearty repentance for our offences, steadfast faith in God’s mercy, and earnest minds to obey God’s will, and to offend no more; wherefore our duty is to come to these holy mysteries with most hearty thanks to be given to Almighty God for His infinite mercy and benefits, given and bestowed upon us His unworthy servants, for whom He hath not only given His Body to death, and shed His Blood, but also doth vouchsafe in a Sacrament and Mystery to give us His said Body and Blood spiritually to feed and drink upon.”

In the rubric following the exhortation from which the above is an extract, it is ordered that

“the time of the Communion shall be immediately after the priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass (until other orders shall be provided); but, as heretofore usually the priest hath done with the Sacrament of the Body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate *so much as will serve the people*: so it shall yet continue still after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate *the biggest chalice*, or some fair and convenient cup or *cups* full of wine, with some water put into it. And that day, not drink it up all himself” (as he would do in a private Mass, which was not yet disallowed), “but take one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion” (which the exhortation apparently assumes will be all that are at church that day, after the notice previously given; seeing there is no indication of any separation of the congregation into communicants and non-communicants), “and shall thus exhort them as followeth.”

This exhortation commences, “Dearly beloved in the Lord, *ye coming to His Holy Communion*, must consider,” &c.; the exhortation continuing in nearly the same words as that now in use in this part of the Office.

After this the priest is directed to address to “them which be ready to take the Sacrament,” a warning to this effect:—“If any man here be an open blasphemer,” or otherwise a grievous sinner, or one that “doth not trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God, and in charity with all the world, let him yet awhile bewail his sins, and *not come to this holy table*, lest after the taking of this most blessed Bread, the Devil enter into him as he did into Judas, to fulfil in him all iniquity, and to bring him to destruction, both of body and soul.”

Up to this point it is evident that the “Order” proceeds on the supposition that all the parishioners present will communicate. They are instructed that it is their Christian duty to do so; there is not one word to encourage them to abstain as they had done heretofore, and to limit their devotion to non-communicant attendance. At the same time the fact is not lost sight of, that there may be those present who are not in a suitable disposition of mind to communicate; and for fear lest the earnest exhortation to do so should lead any to communicate unworthily,

all such are solemnly warned off, bidden not to draw near. In what sense this injunction “not to come” is intended, is made abundantly clear by the rubric which follows:—

“Here the priest shall pause awhile, to see *if any man will withdraw himself*.” But it is not supposed that any will do so except on consideration of his unfitness to communicate; for the rubric goes on to say: “And if he perceive any so to do, then let him commune with him privily at convenient leisure, and see whether he can with good exhortation *bring him to grace*.” None, evidently, but a graceless person is supposed to withdraw from the Communion; all the rest, it is assumed, will remain to communicate; for to them, “after a little pause,” the priest is directed to say, in the very words (but slightly varied) of the exhortation as it stands at present—“You that do truly and earnestly repent” &c., “*draw near and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort*, make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to His Holy Church here gathered together in His name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.” From the words, “to His Holy Church here gathered together in His name,” it has been inferred by some that a congregation must have been present, independently of those who intended to communicate, and in whose name this confession was made. It is evident, however, that these words import nothing more than that each individual among those so addressed is reminded that his confession is a public one before the whole Church,—the primitive *ἐξομολόγησις*,—an observation which had more point than it seems to have to our ears, at a time when private confession was commonly used as a preliminary to the Holy Communion. The idea that the communicants were here exhorted to confess to the non-communicants is so palpably absurd, that it needs only to be pointed out to carry with it its own refutation.

The next rubric is as follows:—“Then shall a general confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.” Here it should be observed, that this confession is ordered to be made, not by the celebrant, nor yet by one of the assistant ministers, if there be a layman present to make it, and that it is not to be repeated after him (as now)

by the whole body of communicants, but made by one person alone in their name. This accounts for the introduction of the words, "in the name of all those that are minded to receive," and shows that these words give no countenance whatever to the notion that in them a distinction is implied between the communicants, and a congregation of non-communicants supposed to be likewise present.

The priest is next directed to "turn him to the people"—evidently to those in whose name the confession has been made, and to none others—and to pronounce the Absolution in a form somewhat differing from the present. This is followed by the "comfortable words" to be said by the priest "turning him toward the people." Next follows the prayer of access, "We do not presume to come," &c.,—to be said by the priest kneeling, "in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion." After which follows: "Then shall the priest" (who has already communicated) "rise, the people still reverently kneeling, and the priest shall deliver the Communion, first to the ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the priest, and after to the other." Directions are next given for the administration of "the Sacrament of the Body of Christ" by the priest, and after that of "the Sacrament of the Blood," either by the priest, or by the assistant minister following him, "to every one;" which being done, "the priest, turning him to the people," is to "let the people depart" with the blessing; which consists of the former part of that now in use, stopping short at the words "Jesus Christ our Lord."¹

It is further to be noted that there is not at the end of this "Order of the Communion" any rubric providing for the omission of the Service in case there be not a sufficient number to communicate with the priest. The "Order" being intended as a guide for the Communion to be added to the celebration of the Mass, it is taken for granted that the congregation will be present, and will, according to the terms of the "Order," receive the Holy Communion with the priest. This is further evident from the "Articles to be inquired of in the Visitations to be had within the diocese of Canterbury" in the second year of Edward VI.; in which, among a number of most minute inquiries as to the performance of Divine

Service, as well as other matters, there is no inquiry whatever as to the frequency of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, whether it be celebrated "every Sunday and Holy-day," as the inquiry runs touching other parts of the public Service of the Church, but only this question: "Whether they minister the Communion any other ways than only after such form and manner as is set forth by the King's Majesty in the Book of Communion."²

III.—Resistance to the "Order of the Communion:" Archbishop Cranmer's Defence of it.

Nothing can be plainer than that the design of this first "Order of the Communion" was to restore the celebration of the Holy Eucharist to its primitive character, as a communion of the whole Church, excluding only those that were unworthy, and bidding all the rest to partake of the Christian Sacrifice, the Body and Blood of Christ. That it was so understood by the people, is evident from the effect which so great a change in the order of the Service, enjoined by authority, produced. Had the change consisted only in the administration of the cup as well as the bread to the laity,—had it been confined to an invitation for such of the congregation as felt disposed to do so, to communicate with the priest, leaving those who were otherwise minded to follow their own course, and in accordance with the previous custom to look on while the priest and others with him communicated,—had this been the intention, not only would there have been no occasion to warn any "not to come," meaning thereby that they should "withdraw themselves;" but no violence would have been done to the feelings of any one, and no provocation given for the determined resistance which this "Order of the Communion" had to encounter. It was the fact that the new form of Service forced upon every individual present the alternative of "withdrawing himself" as a person who needed to be specially dealt with and "brought to grace," or else "drawing near" to communicate, that caused the "Order of the Communion" to be regarded in the light of a grievance. "The issue," Strype tells us, of the promulgation of this new Service-book, "was that there arose a marvellous schism and variety of factions in celebrating the Communion Service: some followed the King's proceedings; others admitted them, but did patchingly use but some part of the book.

¹ Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c. Lond. 1684, pp. 18-24.

Sparrow's Coll., p. 31.

But manly carelessly contemned all, and would exercise their old wonted popish Mass.³

To such a height did this sense of a grievance inflicted by the authorities rise, that serious disturbances broke out in various parts of the kingdom. Among these was a regular rebellion in Devonshire, to which we are indebted for a highly instructive document, throwing light upon the views by which the alteration from the priest's solitary "Mass" to a Communion Service, requiring the people to partake of the Sacrament, was determined. The rebels presented to Archbishop Cranmer fifteen Articles, the third of which was as follows:—"We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him."⁴ Cranmer's reply to the latter part of this Article is conclusive as to the point at issue between the people and the ecclesiastical authorities, and at the same time clearly shows upon what grounds the latter proceeded as they did.

"You say that you will have neither men nor women communicate with the priest. Alas! good simple souls, how be you blinded with the Papists! How contrary be your Articles one to another! You say in your first Article that you will have all General Councils and Decrees observed, and now you go from them yourselves. You say you will have nobody to communicate with the priest. Hear then what divers Canons, Decrees, and General Councils say clean against you. There is one decree which saith thus:—'When the consecration is done, let all the people receive the Communion, except they will be put out of the Church.' And in the Canons of the Apostles, in the eighth chapter, is contained, 'That whensoever there is any Mass, or Communion, if any Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not communicate (except he can show some reasonable cause to the contrary), he shall be put out of the Communion, as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of the ministers.' And in the ninth chapter of the same Canons of the Apostles, and in the General Council held at Antioch, is thus written, 'That all Christian people that come into the church, and hear the Holy Scriptures read, and after will not tarry to pray, and to receive the Holy Communion with the rest of the

people; but for some misordering of themselves will abstain therefrom, let them be put out of the Church, until by humble knowing of their fault, and by the fruits of penance and prayers, they obtain pardon and forgiveness.' And the Council Nicene also sheweth the order how men should sit in receiving the Communion, and who should receive first. All these Decrees and General Councils utterly condemn your third Article, wherein you will that the priest shall receive the Communion alone without any man or woman communicating with him. And the whole Church of Christ also, both Greeks and Latins, many hundred years after Christ and the Apostles, do all condemn this your Article; which ever received the Communion in flocks and numbers together, and not the priest alone.

"And besides this, the very words of the Mass, as it is called, show plainly, that it is ordained not only for the priest, but for others also to communicate with the priest. For in the very Canon which they so much extol, and which is so holy that no man may know what it is (and therefore is read so softly that no man can hear it), in that same Canon, I say, is a prayer concerning this; 'that not only the priest, but also as many beside as communicate with him, may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction.' How agreeth this prayer with your Article, wherein you say that neither man nor woman shall communicate with the priest? In another place also of the said Canon, the priest prayeth 'for himself and for all that receive the Communion with him, that it may be a preparation for them unto everlasting life.' Which prayer were but a very fond prayer, and a very mocking with God, if nobody should communicate with the priest. And the Communion concludes with two prayers, in the name of the priest and them that communicate with him, wherein they pray thus: 'O Lord, that thing which we have taken in our mouth, let us take it also with pure minds, that this Communion may purge us from our sins, and make us partakers of heavenly remedy.' And besides all this there be an infinite sort of post-Communions in the Mass-books, which all do evidently show that in the Masses the people did communicate with the priest.

"And although I would exhort every good Christian man often to receive the Holy Communion, yet I do not recite all these things to the intent that I would in this corrupt world

³ Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials of Edward VI. Oxf. 1822, Vol. II., Pt. 1, p. 96.

⁴ Append. to Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, No. xl. Oxf. 1812, p. 810.

(when men live so ungodly as they do) that the old Canons should be restored again, which command every man present to receive the communion with the priest. Which Canons if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it unworthily. But I speak them to condemn your Articles, which would have nobody, neither man nor woman, to be communicated with the priest. Which your Article condemneth the old Decrees, Canons, and General Councils, condemneth all the old Primitive Church, all the ancient holy Doctors and Martyrs, and all the forms and manner of Masses that ever were made, both new and old.”⁵

The concluding paragraph of this reply shows that Archbishop Cranmer was anything but blind to the immense drawback upon the restoration of the practice of the Primitive Church, arising from the ignorance and irreligion of vast numbers of the people. His remedy for such a state of things, however, was, not to accommodate the celebration of the Holy Eucharist to this low state of religious feeling, but to make the Order of its celebration the very means of awakening men's consciences to their real condition. This would be most effectually done by setting forth the actual participation of the Holy Communion as the rule, and as a duty incumbent upon all; and making the exceptional cases in which it was a duty to abstain from Communion appear in their true character, as abnormal departures from the proper Christian state of mind. He felt that to those who were not fit nor ready to communicate the Church owed a twofold duty,—first to bring them to a sense of their spiritual state by presenting to their minds the alternative between communicating and “withdrawing;” and, secondly, to bring the spiritual power of the ministry to bear upon such as did “withdraw themselves,” with a view to “bring them to grace.” That this was the true Christian view of the matter will be readily conceded; it cannot, indeed, be denied.

IV.—The change made in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549.

The ill success which attended the promulgation of the “Order of the Communion” led in the following year (1548) to the appointment of a Commission of Bishops and other Divines, charged to draw up a general Service Book in English which, having obtained the approval of

Convocation, was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and ordered to come into general use on Whitsunday, 1549; and hence is commonly referred to as the First Book of Edward VI., or the Book of 1549. The differences between this Book and the “Order of the Communion,” so far as the question now under consideration is concerned, may be considered as the natural results of the experience which the ecclesiastical authorities had gained of the state of public feeling, not only among the clergy, but especially among the laity. The theory upon which the “Order of the Communion” was constructed, that, after the model of the primitive Church, the whole congregation present should communicate, was abandoned, and the order of administration adapted to the necessity of the case. The following are the principal modifications introduced in that part of the new Service Book which provides for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and which bears the title, “The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.”⁶ A rubric at the beginning requires “so many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion” to “signify their names to the curate over night, or else in the morning before the beginning of Matins, or immediately after.” Passing over the other rubrics, and the introductory part of the Service, as not affecting the question in hand, we find the notice which, in the “Order of the Communion,” was to be given on “the next Sunday or Holy-day, or at the least one day before,” altogether omitted. The Office proceeds, as did the “Order for the Communion,” on the supposition that there will be Communion every Sunday and Holy-day; for it is specially provided that in cathedrals and other places where there is daily Communion, the exhortation which follows after the sermon need not be read more than once a month; and that in parish churches it may be left unsaid on week-days. Moreover, this exhortation (substantially the same as that now in use), is to be “given” only “if the people be not exhorted in the sermon or homily,” now made part of the Service, “to the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament.” It differs from the exhortation in the “Order of Communion,” chiefly in this, that the warning given to blasphemers and other grievous sinners “not to come,” which in the earlier office was appended

⁵ Append. to Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. No. xi. Oxf. 1812. p. 812-814.

⁶ See Pickering's reprint of the First Book of Edward VI., printed by Whitechurch, in March, 1549.

to the general exhortation, and followed by a pause to see "if any man will withdraw himself," is incorporated in it, and no direction to "pause awhile" is given.

At the same time another exhortation is added, to be used "if upon the Sunday or Holy-day the people be negligent to come to the Communion," in which case it is ordered that "the priest shall earnestly exhort his parishioners to dispose themselves to the receiving of the Holy Communion more diligently, saying these or like words unto them." This commences in the same terms as the exhortation for giving notice in the "Order of the Communion," and is, like that, prospective: "Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have cure and charge." In this exhortation, as in the invitation given on some previous day in the "Order" of 1547, the people are reminded, that by "the most fruitful and glorious passion of Christ we have obtained remission of our sins, and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven; whereof we be assured and ascertained, if we come to the said Sacrament with hearty repentance for our offences, stedfast faith in God's mercy, and earnest mind to obey God's will, and to offend no more. Wherefore our duty is to come to these holy mysteries, with most hearty thanks to be given to Almighty God for His infinite mercy and benefits given and bestowed upon us His unworthy servants, for whom He has not only given His Body to death, and shed His Blood, but also doth vouchsafe in a Sacrament and mystery to give us His said Body and Blood to feed upon spiritually."

After the Offertory is this rubric, "Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks." This separation most clearly shows that the rest of the Service was intended for the communicants only; and that these were to be strictly separated from the general congregation, giving the latter to understand that, as they did not intend to receive, the Service was not for them. The rubric next following is to this effect: "Then shall the Minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion." After this follows the

"Sursum corda," and "Trisagion," including the "proper prefaces," and after this the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church;" being the original form of the Prayer for the Church Militant, fused into one with the Consecration Prayer, substantially the same as now; and, with a rubric intervening which prohibits "any elevation or showing of the Sacrament⁸ to the people,"—a prayer of Oblation, which now stands in a somewhat altered form in the post-Communion Office. This part of the Service concludes with the Lord's Prayer, the "*Dominus Vobiscum*," and the words "Christ, our paschal lamb, is offered up for us once for all," &c.

The priest is then directed to turn him toward those that come to the Holy Communion, and to say: "You that do truly and earnestly repent you, &c., make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to His Holy Church here gathered together in His name, meekly kneeling upon your knees." The next rubric says: "Then shall this general confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees;" and after the confession: "Then shall the priest stand up, and turning himself to the people" pronounce the Absolution, which, as well as the Confession, is almost word for word the same as now. The "comfortable words" follow next, and after these, this rubric: "Then shall the priest, turning him to God's board, kneel down and say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion," the prayer of Access, in a form nearly resembling the present.

After this comes the Communion proper, introduced by this rubric: "Then shall the priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be present (that they may be ready to help the chief minister), and after to the people," the priest and assistant minister being directed to deliver "the Sacrament of the Body of Christ," and "the Sacrament of the Blood," "to every one." During the administration of the Sacrament, or, as it is termed, "in the Communion time," the clerks are directed to sing two sentences of invocation of the "Lamb of

⁸ This would appear to have been still in use up to this time, since in the "Order of the Communion," which was in effect appended to the usual Service of the Mass, the consecration of an additional cup or chalice, if the first be found insufficient, is directed to be performed "without any levation or lifting up," implying that in the previous part of the Service there was a "levation."

God ;" and when the Communion is ended, the "post-Communion," consisting of certain passages of Holy Scripture.

Next there is this rubric: "Then the priest shall give thanks to God in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people." The form of thanksgiving, preceded by the *Dominus Vobiscum*, is almost *verbatim* the same as the second of the post-Communion Prayers in the present Prayer Book, after which, "the priest, turning him to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing."

At the end of the Communion Office stand "six Collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, every such day one," with two prayers for rain, and for fair weather ; and after these certain general directions, of which the following are the material points :—Upon Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany shall be said ; and "though there be none to communicate with the priest, yet these days" he shall put on the Communion vestments, and "say all things at the altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper) until after the Offertory ; and then shall add one or two of the Collects afore written, as occasion shall serve, by his discretion ; and then, turning him to the people, shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing." The same is directed to be done "all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the Church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest." And likewise "in chapels annexed and all other places, there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be some to communicate with the priest."

An important rubric is added, with regard to the supply of the Communion elements. "Forasmuch as the pastors and curates within this realm shall continually find at their costs and charges in their cures sufficient bread and wine for the Holy Communion (as often as their parishioners shall be disposed for their spiritual comfort to receive the same), it is therefore ordered that in recompense of such costs and charges, the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their pastors and curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf." The intention of this rubric is more fully explained by another immediately

following, in which, with a view to insure the celebration of the Holy Eucharist on every Sunday and Holy-day, so that "the receiving of the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ may be *most agreeable to the institution thereof and to the usage of the primitive Church*," it is ordered that "in all cathedral and collegiate churches there shall always some communicate with the priest that ministereth. And that the same may be also observed everywhere abroad in the country, some one at the least of that house in every parish to whom by course, after the ordinance herein made, it appertaineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall provide to offer for them, shall receive the Holy Communion with the priest: the which may be the better done for that they know before when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the Communion, all other who be then godly disposed thereunto shall likewise receive the Communion. And by this means, the minister having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the priest on the week day shall forbear to celebrate the Communion except he have some that will communicate with him."

Touching the positive obligation to communicate, a separate rubric is added, declaring "every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the Divine Service, in the parish church where they be resident, and there with devout prayer, or godly silence or meditation, to occupy themselves ; there to pay their duties, to communicate *once in the year at the least* ; and there to receive and take all other Sacraments and rites in this book appointed. And whosoever willingly, upon no just cause, doth absent themselves, or doth ungodly in the parish church occupy themselves, upon proof thereof, by the ecclesiastical laws of the realm to be excommunicate, or suffer other punishment, as: shall to the Ecclesiastical Judge according to his discretion seem convenient." Lastly, there is a rubric which declares that "although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in their own hands," yet to prevent the secreting and carrying away of it for superstitious uses, "it is thought con-

venient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths, at the priest's hand."

Upon a review of the whole of these modifications of the "Order of the Communion," the following appears to have been the intention of the compilers of the first Liturgy of Edward VI., and, so far as its rules were observed, the custom during the period during which the Book was in force :—

(1.) The Holy Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday and Holy-day throughout the year, provision being made that there should always be some of the parishioners to communicate with the priest. The Office was commenced on Litany days,—Wednesdays and Fridays,—but no consecration took place except there were some to communicate with the priest ; and on week days the use of it was altogether optional, though in this case also dependent on the fact of there being other communicants, besides the priest. No number of communicants requisite for Celebration was specified, and it may be inferred that one communicant besides the celebrant himself would have satisfied the letter of the rubric.

(2.) The non-communicant part of the congregation is ignored throughout the Office from the point where, after the Offertory, the communicants are collected in the quire, or in some convenient place near the quire. The sermon or homily, supposed to contain an exhortation to communicate, — or the exhortation specially provided, in case the sermon or homily should contain no reference to the Holy Communion,—is addressed to the whole congregation ; so is the exhortation "to be used in case the people are negligent to come ;" and all are present, and supposed to present their offerings, at the Offertory. No further notice is taken of them beyond this, except that they are made to retire from the place where the communicants are assembled. There is no express command for them to "withdraw themselves" altogether, as in the "Order of the Communion," nor is there any recognition of them as being present, unless the rubric which provides for the punishment of those who should "occupy themselves ungodly" in the parish church be construed, as undoubtedly it may be, to apply to non-communicants who, remaining after the communicants have been collected together, should be guilty of any misconduct. There is no trace, however, of any intention that they should remain. No part of

the Celebration makes the slightest reference, or can in any way be held applicable, to non-communicant worshippers ; the whole worship being essentially a Communion. Those who remained outside the quire, or apart from the place in which the communicants were collected, did so simply by sufferance,⁹ without being commanded or encouraged, or even directly authorized to do so. No provision was made for their edification, for the obvious reason that those who sought for edification would, agreeably to the nature of the Service, take their place among the communicants. Considering the state of public feeling (evidenced by the rebellion in Devonshire, which broke out on the very day on which the New Prayer Book came into force), of which doubtless the compilers of the Book were well aware, it was the course of wisdom and moderation neither to press, as the "Order of the Communion" had done, every person present to communicate,—unless he were a person requiring to be specially dealt with by the priest and "brought to grace,"—nor yet to insist on those who had no mind to communicate quitting the Church. The fact of their being ignored altogether in the remainder of the Service, was sufficiently significant, while it afforded them no just ground for complaint ; and it might be reasonably hoped that in course of time the practice of communicating would become more general.

V.—Further changes made in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1552.

This state of things, however, did not continue long. The new Service Book had scarcely been brought into use before its revision was proposed. It was taken in hand, as before, by a Commission of Bishops and Divines under the presidency of Archbishop Cranmer, in the year 1550, though it did not receive the sanction of Convocation and Parliament till the year 1552, nor was brought into use till All Saints' Day of that year. There has been a very general opinion that the foreign Reformers, especially Bucer and Peter Martyr, had a hand in this revision, and some have even supposed that it was influenced by Calvin. This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Although the opinions of both Bucer and Martyr were invited, their suggestions seem to have found little favour with the Divines occupied in the revision ; as has been conclusively shown by the Rev. Gloucester Ridley in his life of Bishop

⁹ See Note B. Appendix.

Ridley,¹⁰ by Archbishop Laurence in the notes to his Bampton Lectures,¹ and by Dr. Cardwell in the Preface to his Edition of the two Books of Edward VI.² The alterations were the subject of much debate in Convocation as early as the year 1550,³ and they may be taken to express the mind of those in authority as modified by the progress which the doctrines of the Reformation had made in the public mind in England no less than elsewhere.

The principal alterations, and those more particularly which affect the question in hand, are the following:—The term “the Mass” is omitted in the title, which runs thus: “The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion.” The word “altar” is expunged, and the word “table” substituted. The directions respecting the “table” are, that it shall have “at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it,” and “stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said.” The priest is directed to stand “at the north side of the table,” instead, as in the former Book, “afore the middle of the altar.” In the place of the Introit and the Angelical Hymn, after the collect for Purity, the Ten Commandments are introduced, the hymn being removed to the post-Communion. The sermon or homily is followed immediately by the Offertory; the exhortations being placed after the prayer for “the whole State of Christ’s Church,” to the title of which the words “militant here in earth” are added, and which is separated from the Consecration Prayer, and concludes with the petition for “all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity;” the thanksgiving for the Saints and prayer for the departed being altogether omitted.

The Prayer for the Church Militant is followed by an exhortation to be used “at certain times when the curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion,” and which, taken in conjunction with the direction to place the “table” in the accustomed place of Morning Prayer, shows that the whole Service proceeds on the assumption that the Holy Eucharist will be celebrated in

due course, as part of the regular Service; the Communion of the faithful being an essential part of it, and intended for the whole congregation present. This exhortation⁴ is as follows:—

“We be come together at this time dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord’s Supper, unto the which, in God’s behalf, I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God Himself.” The exhortation then proceeds in the same terms as the present exhortation to be used if the people be negligent, down to the words, “hangeeth over your heads for the same,” except that instead of the words, “I, for my part, shall be ready,” the priest says, “I, for my part, am here present.”

At this point the exhortation changes from the tone of expostulation to that of severe rebuke: “And whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God? Truly, it is a great unthankfulness to say nay, when ye be called; but the fault is much greater when men stand by and will neither eat nor drink this Holy Communion with others. I pray you what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take ye and eat, Take and drink ye all of this, do this in remembrance of Me. With what face, then, or with what countenance, shall ye hear these words? What will this be else, but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should do so, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you, ponder with yourselves from whom you depart. Ye depart from the Lord’s table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by God’s grace return to a better mind, for the obtaining whereof we shall make our humble petitions, while we shall receive the Holy Communion.”

Following this sharp exhortation, which is to be said only when the people are negligent to come

¹⁰ Bk. V. sect. 6, p. 333.

¹ Rampton Lecture for 1804, Sermon II., note 30.

² Editor’s Preface, p. xxv., see especially note 1.

³ Heylyn *Ecclesia Restaurata*. London, 1670. p. 107.

⁴ Now the second Exhortation in our Prayer Book.

to the Holy Communion, there is another to be said "sometime also, at the discretion of the curate." This is substantially the same as that now used for giving warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion,⁶ for which there was no occasion when the celebration took place, as part of the regular morning Service, every Sunday and Holy-day. It commences with the words: "Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, most hearty thanks for that He has given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be *our spiritual food and sustenance*, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's Word as by the *Holy Sacraments of His Blessed Body and Blood*, the which being so comfortable a thing," &c., continuing almost *verbatim* like the present exhortation for "giving warning," except that the words "in the mean season" are omitted, and the clause warning off blasphemers and other grievous sinners by the example of Judas, which stands in that exhortation now, is wanting, being contained in the next exhortation, always appointed to be used in the Second Book, without reference, as in the former Book, to the question whether in the sermon or a homily the people have or have not been "exhorted to the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament."

This exhortation, taken from the "Order of the Communion," and substantially the same as the 3rd now in use, agrees with the First Book (1549) in that the clause warning blasphemers and other grievous sinners, "not to come to this holy Table" (which now is transferred to the exhortation for "giving warning,"⁶) is embodied in it between the words "sundry kinds of death," and the words "Judge therefore yourselves, brethren." In the "Order of the Communion" this clause formed a separate exhortation, after which the priest is to "pause awhile to see if any man will withdraw himself."

After this exhortation comes the short exhortation, which in both the "Order of the Communion" and in the Book of 1549, as well as in the present Book (1552) precedes the Confession and Absolution. After the words "make your humble confession to Almighty God," instead of "and to His holy Church here gathered together in His Name," the Book of 1552 has "before this congregation here gathered together in His holy Name,"

which, though a verbal alteration, confirms the correctness of the construction before put upon those words, and the inadmissibility of the construction which would refer them to a congregation of non-communicants supposed to be present, seeing in how positive and severe terms all non-communicants have been bidden to "depart." The confession is still ordered to be made "in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself;" again confirming the inference before drawn, that the words "in the name of," &c., originated in the fact that one person alone read the Confession on behalf of all the communicants; and negating the idea that by these words a distinction was intended between communicants and non-communicants supposed to be likewise present.

The Absolution is followed by the "Comfortable Words," the "Sursum Corda," and "Trisagion," including the "proper prefaces," which in this Book are ordered to be used not on the feasts themselves only, as in the Book of 1549, but seven days after Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Ascension Day," and six days after Whitsunday; that for the "Feast of Trinity," alone being limited to the day itself. After the "Trisagion" comes the Prayer of Access, and after that the Consecration Prayer,—appended in the Book of 1549 to the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church,—in nearly the same terms as in that book; except that after the words "His own oblation" is added "of Himself," and that the invocation of the Holy Spirit is omitted; the clause "with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ," being exchanged for "grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

A notable change is made in the direction for the administration of the Holy Communion to the people. Whereas in the Book of 1549 that which the priest "delivereth" is described as "the Sacrament of the Body of Christ," and "the Sacrament of the Blood," the Book of 1552 (which directs it to be delivered "in their hands," varying the order of the former Book)

This is now the first of the three Exhortations.

⁶ Viz., the 1st of our Prayer Book.

calls it "the bread," and "the cup;" and a corresponding change is made in the words of administration, from "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee,—The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee,—preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,"—to the less pregnant words: "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving: Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."

For the matters to be "sung by the clerks" during and after the Communion, the Book of 1552 substitutes, after all have communicated, the Lord's Prayer, to be repeated after the priest by the people. Instead of the one post-Communion Collect of the Book of 1549, there are two in the Book of 1552, to be used alternatively, the first being the prayer of Oblation of the former Book, transposed and modified so as to suit the purpose of a thanksgiving prayer, and the other the same as that in the Book of 1549, with some slight alterations.

Some important rubrics were appended to the Office in this Book of 1552. Whereas in that of 1549 the non-celebration of the Holy Eucharist for want of communicants is not contemplated except on Wednesdays and Fridays, and other week days, and in chapels annexed and other places not being parish churches, the Book of 1552 contemplates the possibility of there being "no Communion upon the Holy-days," but not upon the Sundays, and gives similar directions as to the mode of concluding the Service after the Offertory. A second rubric provides that "there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a good number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion;" a case the occurrence of which on a Sunday it is evident from the preceding rubric that the compilers did not contemplate. The

"discretion" of the priest in regard to the number of communicants required is limited by a third rubric, which prescribes that "if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion except four, or three at the least, communicate with the priest." In cathedral and collegiate churches all priests and deacons are enjoined to communicate with the celebrant "every Sunday at the least."

Looking at the effect of the several alterations made in the Second Book of Edward VI., as affecting the points involved in the present inquiry, the following inferences appear to be not only legitimate, but indisputable:—

(1.) The Holy Eucharist was celebrated as a rule every Sunday. On Holy-days as well as common week-days it was left optional, depending on the fact of there being four, or at least three, to communicate with the priest. The possibility of the absence of even that *minimum* number on Sunday was not contemplated.

(2.) Non-communicants were in express terms bidden to depart from the church on the ground that their presence, while refusing to communicate, was an act of contempt towards the Sacrament, and of offence towards God. If any, nevertheless, remained in the Church during the Celebration, they did so, not only without the sanction of the Church, but contrary to her intention as declared in the Office, and in open disobedience to her express command.

Thus matters continued during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI. His death changed for a time the whole aspect of affairs. The leading Reformers were now called upon to seal their endeavours to restore the primitive order of the Church,—the Communion of all the faithful in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist,—with the blood of martyrdom.

NOTE—p. 488.—I mean that he has a pre-eminent claim to be regarded as the expositor of their views. My words, however, have been criticized:—"Mr. Seadamore is quite in error in speaking of Jewel as one 'who may be said to have been almost one of them.'"—The Anglican Authority, p. 10. If I had said that he *was* one of them, it would have been an error indeed; but will any unbiassed reader who knows that only ten years later Jewel's Apology was "sent forth with the consent of the Bishops" and with the approbation of the Queen, as the authorized exponent of their work, blame me for the *obiter dictum*, that he "*might be said to have been almost one of them?*"—See Collier's Eccl. Hist. Part II. B. vi. p. 479. 'Jewel's Apology,' says Mr. Lathbury, "was usually

regarded as the acknowledged confession of the Church of England."—History of Convocation, p. 168, note, 2nd Ed. He quotes Bancroft and Cooper to that effect. Parker, it appears, "intended to comprise the *Articles*, the *Catechism*, (Nowell's) and the *Apology* in one volume, to be put forth as the authorized documents of the English Church."—*Ibid.* This was not done; but Bancroft, in 1610, urged his suffragans to use all their influence with the lower clergy "that they might induce their parishioners to be willing, every parish to buy one [copy] of the works of Bishop Jewel;" they having lately been "printed together in one volume to the end that every parish in England should have one of them."—Cardwell's Docum. Annals, vol. II., pp. 160, 161.

ADDITION TO SECT. 3.—By the late Rev. W. E. Scudamore.

A FEW WORDS TO NON-COMMUNICANTS,—BEING PRESENT AT THE HOLY COMMUNION.

If habitual Communicants who are not prepared to receive on some given occasion really feel their present unfitness, and remain to bewail it before God, and by the sight of the blessing of which they are deprived to chastise themselves for their unworthiness, and so deepen their sense of it, such an act of contrition must tend to prepare them for a more fruitful Communion when the opportunity next offers itself.

The Church of England does not forbid us to take such a penance on ourselves; nor is it out of harmony with the teaching and practice of her great model, the Catholic Church of the first ages. According to the early discipline, those public penitents who had given proof of their repentance in the more severe stages of their correction, were still for a given time condemned to this restriction. It was also inflicted for a shorter period, as their sole punishment, on those who had been guilty of lighter offences. These were the only class of persons permitted to be present without receiving, when the discipline of the Church was in its early vigour. All others were required to communicate.

Many of the Clergy have been forward to claim for their people the liberty of which we have now spoken and have encouraged them to exercise it on due occasion. Unhappily, however, this liberty has too often become licence: and that which might have been for our wealth has become unto us an occasion of falling. Already too we may see at the most solemn performances of these mysteries very many present who have never been Communicants, and have

no present thought of becoming so. In a word, many things tending in the end, however unintentionally, to irreverence, to the depreciation of this Blessed Sacrament, and to the injury of souls, have resulted from the manner in which this liberty has been too often used.

In the absence of discipline, the simplest privilege is apt to be abused, and part of the result which we have to lament might have been anticipated; but the greater part of the evil is probably due to two causes for which those who claimed only an occasional liberty for the timid Communicant are not responsible. These are the notions, now widely diffused, that one end of the Celebration is to give all, whether communicating or not, the opportunity of “adoring CHRIST present under the form of bread and wine,” and that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is *imputed* to those present even though they do not partake of the *Res Sacramenti*. There is no warrant in Holy Scripture or in Primitive antiquity for either of these notions. No such “adoration” as is now too often practised was known for above a thousand years after CHRIST, and the early Church has taught us by the Fathers that it is only through partaking of the Offering that we can appropriate the Sacrifice.

We cannot lawfully or safely make any other use of this Holy Sacrament than that which alone has been revealed to us by CHRIST, recorded by Apostles and Evangelists, and handed down to us by the pure and undivided Church of the first ages. If we add of our own to the Ordinance of God, we may well fear lest it be one day said to us by Him on Whose perfect work we have attempted to improve, “Who hath required this at your hand?”

SECT. 4.—By the Rev. Dr. Biber.

A REVIEW OF THE DOCTRINE AND INTENTION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS SHOWN BY HER OFFICES, FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH IN 1558, TO THE FINAL REVISION OF THE LITURGY IN 1662.

I.—PRAYER BOOKS OF ELIZABETH, 1559, AND JAMES I., 1604. II.—THE PRAYER BOOK AS REVISED AFTER THE RESTORATION, 1662. III.—THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT INQUIRY. IV.—RETROSPECT AND PRACTICAL CONCLUSION.

AFTER an interval of five years, during which the provisions for the public worship of the Church made in the reign of Edward VI. were put aside, and the former system of the Latin Mass was resumed, the accession of Elizabeth opened the way for the restoration of the English Service. A preliminary proclamation against unauthorized changes, allowing some portions of the service to be read in English, but unaccompanied by comments of any kind,

had for its object to give time for the consideration of the question which of the two Prayer Books of King Edward's time should be adopted as the basis of the new order of worship, and what alterations it might be desirable to make in it. The result was the adoption of the Second Book of Edward VI., and its publication early in the year following the Queen's accession. This book,¹ commonly called “The First Book of Queen Elizabeth,” was, like that of 1552, preceded by an Act of Uniformity, enjoining its use from St. John the Baptist's Day, 1559. A Latin translation of it, entitled “*Liber Precum Publicarum, seu Ministerii*

¹ See Pickering's reprint of “The Book of Common Prayer, commonly called The First Book of Queen Elizabeth. Printed by Grafton, 1559.” The designation “The First Book of Queen Elizabeth” is, however, scarcely appropriate; for the book as a whole, did not undergo any further revision during her reign; few changes only, for the most part unimportant, and none affecting the present question, being made in subsequent editions of the book.

Ecclesiasticæ Administrationis Sacramentorum aliorumque rituum et cæremoniæ in Ecclesia Anglicana," was published in 1560,² in pursuance of the Queen's command, addressed to Archbishop Parker, for the use of students, and of collegiate churches licensed to have the Service in Latin.³ On a comparison of the "Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion," as it stands in the two books respectively, the following points deserve to be noted. The Exhortation rebuking those who will not communicate, and bidding them "depart" rather than "have the mysteries of Christ in derision in standing by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate," is retained word for word; and so likewise are the two longer exhortations which follow, together with the short exhortation preceding the confession.⁴ The rubric which provides for concluding the Service with the Prayer for the Church Militant, with one or more of the Collects appended to the Office, limiting this provision to Holy-days, indicates that the weekly Celebration on the Sunday was still both in use and contemplated by the Service Book. In the words accompanying the administration of the Sacrament the forms in the Books of 1549 and 1552 are fused together, as they still are in the present Prayer Book. The declaration disclaiming any "adoration" being intended to "any real and essential presence of Christ's Body and Blood" is omitted altogether. With these two exceptions the Communion Office of the Book of 1559 is an exact reprint of that of 1552; and as both these alterations, as well as the rubric restoring the vestments of the First Book of Edward VI., prefixed to the order for Morning Prayer, indicate a reaction towards a higher view of the Sacrament than that presented by the Book of 1552, the retention of the strong language in which non-communicants are bidden to depart, affords additional evidence of the fact that the exclusion of non-communicants from the Service was all along the settled purpose of both Reformers and Revisers.⁵

² Republished by the Parker Society, in the collection entitled, "Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth;" pp. 299—434.

³ See the Queen's Letter to Archbishop Parker, in "Parker's Correspondence," printed by the Parker Society, p. 132.

⁴ In rendering the words "before this congregation here gathered together," the Latin translation approaches more nearly to the book of 1549:—"Confitemini humiliter peccata vestra Deo et Ecclesie hic congregata in nomine ipsius."

⁵ See Note C, Appendix.

In further confirmation of this, the Second Book of Homilies, published early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, contains in the Homily "of the worthy receiving and reverent esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" the following passage:—"As of old time God decreed His wondrous benefits of the deliverance of His people to be kept in memory by the eating of the Passover, with his rites and ceremonies; so our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of His great Mercy expressed in His Passion, in the institution of His heavenly Supper, where *every one of us must be guests and not gazers, eaters and not lookers, feeding ourselves, and not hiring others to feed for us; that we may live by our own meat, and not perish for hunger whilst others devour all. To this His commandment forceth us, 'Do ye this; drink ye all of this.'* To this His promise enticeth, 'This is My Body which is given for you, this is My Blood which is shed for you.' So then of necessity we must be *ourselves partakers* of this Table, and *not beholders of others*; so we must address ourselves to frequent the same in reverent and comely manner."⁶

The next revision of the Book of Common Prayer took place at the beginning of the reign of James I., after the Hampton Court Conference; but none of the points debated on that occasion touched any of the questions connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; and in the revised Book⁷ "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" remains unaltered. This Book continued in force until the formal abrogation of the Prayer Book by Act of Parliament, and the enactment of the Directory in its place in 1645; and it thus appears that, with the very few exceptions above noted, (none of them affecting the question of the presence of non-communicants), for nearly ninety years this matter continued in the same position in which it had stood at the close of Edward VI.'s reign. All that time the doctrine of the Church of England, as witnessed by her Prayer Book, was that the Eucharistic Sacrament is essentially a Communion; she did not permit its celebration by the priest alone, without a specified *minimum* number of persons to communicate with him;

⁶ Homilies, Oxford Edition, 1840, pp. 395, 396.

⁷ See Pickering's reprint of "The Book of Common Prayer, King James, Anno 1604, commonly called the Hampton Court Book."

and she enjoined non-communicants in the strongest possible language⁸ to depart from the Church, lest they should aggravate the offence of which they were guilty in refusing to partake of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ.

II.—The Prayer Book as Revised after the Restoration, 1662.

It remains to be seen whether the revision of the Prayer Book which was taken in hand after the Restoration, and was preceded by the Savoy Conference, gives any countenance to the idea that the doctrine and intention of the Church as regards the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrament, and the consequent propriety or impropriety of the presence of non-communicants, has been, since the Restoration, directly the reverse of what it is clearly shown to have been (with the short interruption of Queen Mary's reign) from the commencement of the Reformation down to the Great Rebellion.

The Book as revised by Convocation in the year 1661, after the breaking up of the Savoy Conference, and formally established by the Act of Uniformity of 1662,⁹ differs from the Book of 1604, which was taken as the basis of revision, in the following particulars :—

To the rubric directing the curate to repel from the Holy Communion notorious evil livers and persons in a state of malice, a provision is appended requiring him to give an account of his having done so to the Bishop within fourteen days, with a view to the offender being proceeded against according to the Canon. The rubric before the Lord's Prayer directs the people to kneel. The direction before the Commandments is enlarged, directing the people to "ask God's mercy for the transgression thereof *for the time past, and grace to keep the same for*

the time to come." The rubric for giving notice of holy days and fasting days, now placed before the sermon (instead of after it, as before) is enlarged by the direction that, "then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion;" and banns of matrimony, briefs, &c., be published, by the minister; with a prohibition against any publication except by the minister, or by him of anything not authorized by the King, the Ordinary, or the Prayer Book. From the rubric before the Offertory the direction to "exhort them earnestly to remember the poor" is omitted; and in the rubric after the Offertory the direction to put the "devotion of the people" into "the poor man's box," is likewise changed; "the alms for the poor and other devotions of the people" being now directed to be "received in a decent basin," and "reverently brought to the priest," to be by him "humbly presented and placed upon the holy Table."

At the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant the following insertion is made,—"And we also bless Thy Holy Name, for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear; beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom."

The exhortation enjoining the duty of participation in the Holy Communion, and of due preparation for it, which in the Book of 1604 is directed to be said "sometime also, at the discretion of the curate," is now directed to be used "when the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion," being adapted to this purpose by the insertion after the words, "Dearly beloved," of the introductory clause, "On — day next I purpose," &c.; and in the clause, "My duty is to exhort you to consider the dignity," &c., of the words, "in the mean season." The Exhortation to be used when the people are "negligent to come to the Holy Communion" is placed, for alternative use, if occasion so require, after the Exhortation just referred to; and is likewise made prospective by changing the words, "We be come together at this time to feed at the Lord's Supper," into, "On — I intend by God's grace to celebrate the Lord's Supper;" and the words, "I for my part am here present," into, "I for my part shall be ready." The severe adjuration beginning with the words, "and whereas ye offend God so sore," which formed part of this Exhortation when it was first introduced in the

⁸ It may not be altogether beside the question that this strong language, pronouncing the continued presence of non-communicants during the administration of the Holy Communion an aggravation of their offence, is retained word for word likewise in the edition of the Book of Common Prayer prepared in the reign of Charles I., under the auspices of Archbishop Laud, for introduction into the realm of Scotland.—See Pickering's reprint of "The Book of Common Prayer, as printed at Edinburgh, 1637, commonly called Archbishop Laud's."

⁹ See Pickering's reprint of "The Book of Common Prayer as Revised and Settled at the Savoy Conference, Anno 1662. 14 Charles II. Reprinted from the Sealed Book in the Tower of London." It should be observed that the description of the Book in this title "as revised and settled at the Savoy Conference" is a mistake. The Savoy Conference objected to the Liturgy and settled nothing; it was neither commissioned to revise it nor authorized to settle it.

Second Book of Edward VI.,¹ is omitted ; and in its place is substituted the concluding clause, "when ye wilfully abstain," &c., as it now stands.

The rubric preceding the last of the three longer exhortations, which in all the previous Books since 1552 ran simply thus, "Then shall the priest say this exhortation," is significantly changed to the following : "*At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the priest shall say this exhortation ;*" the next following rubric before the short exhortation which precedes the Confession being left unaltered, "Then shall the priest say to those that come to receive the Holy Communion." In this short exhortation to make confession the words "before this congregation here gathered together in His Holy Name" are omitted.² In the rubric preceding it the words, "Then shall this general Confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion," are retained, but the original meaning and intention of these last words is entirely obliterated by the change in the words immediately following, which direct the Confession to be made, no longer "either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself," but "by one of the ministers," and which, instead of simply requiring "all" to be "meekly kneeling upon their knees," directs the people to join in the Confession, "both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying." The Absolution which follows the Confession is now for the first time designated by that name ; the rubric formerly directing the priest, "turning himself to the people," to "say thus ;" which is now altered to "pronounce this *Absolution*."

The rubric before the Consecration Prayer is considerably enlarged. Instead of "Then the priest standing up shall say as followeth," it now runs thus : "When the priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth." And in the margin of the Prayer at the respective points, the directions are added, "here the

Priest is to take the Paten into his hands ;"—"And here to break the Bread ;"—"And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread ;"—"Here he is to take the Cup into his hand ;"—"And here to lay his hand upon any vessel (be it Chalice or Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be consecrated."

In the rubric directing the order of administration the words "that they may help the chief minister" are omitted, and the direction is for the minister, *i.e.*, the celebrant, to "proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner (if any be present)," the precedence given to them being now grounded simply upon their official rank, without reference to their taking any part in the administration. The injunction to kneel is made more distinct ; "all *meekly* kneeling." And in the rubric for the delivery of the elements the express direction for individual administration given in the "Order of the Communion," and the Book of 1549, "to every one," which was dropped out in 1552 and all the following Books is restored, "when he delivereth . . . to any one." Another direction which is wanting in the Book of 1549, and all the following books, is now added for the consecration of additional Bread and Wine in case of need, suggested apparently by the "Order of the Communion," to which a similar rubric as regards the Wine is appended.³ The rubric directing "what remaineth of the consecrated elements to be reverently placed upon the Lord's Table," and "covered with a fair linen cloth," is likewise new.

The first of the rubrics appended to the Office, prescribing the mode of concluding the service "if there be no Communion," contains the important addition of "*Sundays and other holy days*." After the direction that "the curate shall have any bread and wine remaining unconsecrated to his own use," there is this, now for the first time introduced : "but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall call unto him, shall immediately after the Blessing reverently eat and drink the same."

Another rubric is now added, directing the disposal of the money given at the Offertory "as the ministers and churchwardens shall think fit," with an appeal to the Ordinary ; if

¹ See before, p. 502, col. 2.

² See Note D, Appendix.

³ See before, p. 503, Note.

they disagree. And now also the declaration about "kneeling," as not intending thereby any "adoration" of "Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," which was introduced in 1552, but omitted in the two revisions of 1559 and 1604, is replaced, with an important change in the definition of the "presence," the words being, not as in the Book of 1552, "real and essential presence," but "corporal presence," with the evident object of admitting the idea of a *real*, while still repudiating that of a *material*, presence.

III.—The Revised Prayer Book in relation to the present Inquiry.

Upon a review of the alterations made at the Restoration the following are the principal points to be noticed in reference to the present inquiry.

1. The abandonment of the weekly Communion at the Sunday Morning Service, by extending the rubric providing for the conclusion of the Communion Service, in the absence of a sufficient number to communicate with the priest, to Sundays, as well as Holy-days. This was doubtless not owing to any want of appreciation of the Eucharistic Sacrament on the part of those charged with the revision,⁴ but to a prudent regard for the habits of the great mass of the people, which had become so far alienated from the Church during the ascendancy of the Puritans that a sufficient number of communicants could no longer, as formerly, be calculated upon every Sunday. At the same time it is clear that there was no intention to restrict the weekly Celebration otherwise than as a matter of necessity, through the default of the required number of communicants. This departure from the order and custom existing before the Great Rebellion necessitated a corresponding change in two of the exhortations, by making them prospective, to be read as notices of a future Celebration.

2. The continued absence of non-communicants from the Eucharistic Service. The

⁴ See the answer made by the Bishops at the Savoy Conference to the requirement of the Puritans that no part of the Liturgy, except what properly belongs to the Lord's Supper, should be rehearsed at the Communion Table, and that "at such times only when the said Holy Supper is administered." "The priest," say the Bishops in their reply, "standing at the Communion Table, seemeth to give us an invitation to the Holy Sacrament, and minds us of our duty, viz., to receive the Holy Communion, some at least, *every Sunday*; and though we neglect our duty, it is fit the Church should keep her standing" (Cardwell's "History of Conferences," pp. 307 and 342).

omission of the oburgatory part of the Exhortation provided in the event of the people being negligent to come, in which non-communicants were expressly bidden to "depart" is sufficiently accounted for by the fact of this Exhortation being now changed into a notice of a future celebration, in which a direction to "depart," addressed to such as might not intend to communicate on that future occasion, would have been quite out of place.⁵ Such an injunction was, indeed, necessary and proper in an age when the custom of "hearing Mass" in the shape of non-communicant attendance upon the Eucharistic Service, under an erroneous notion of a spiritual benefit to be derived from that attendance, largely prevailed; but in an age when not only this custom and the error in which it originated had altogether died out, but the estimation of the Eucharistic Sacrament itself, and of its true use as a Communion, had become exceedingly low, a similar injunction to "depart" at the time of Celebration would have been worse than superfluous. The people were only too ready to depart; and it was thought abundantly sufficient to mark the point at which under the old Office this departure of non-communicants took place, by the terms of the rubric preceding the Exhortation addressed to those that "minded to come to the Holy Communion;" which rubric distinctly indicates this to be the commencement of "the time of the celebration of the Communion;" and in the words, "the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament," implies that some change has taken place in the aspect of the congregation, and, as is the custom in large churches, in the position of the worshippers.

IV.—Retrospect and Practical Conclusions.

The result, then of this inquiry, so far as the last point arising under it is concerned, viz., as to the doctrine and intention of the Reformed Church of England touching non-communicant attendance on the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, appears to be this:—

That from the first dawn of the Reformation the attention of those who in the order of Divine Providence were placed in positions of power and authority, and had the guidance of the necessary work of reform in this branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church committed to their hands by her Great Head, was directed to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which

⁵ See Note E, Appendix.

they rightly esteemed to be the great centre of the Christian worship, even as the doctrine that underlies it is the central point of the Christian Faith ;—

That they were thoroughly imbued with the conviction that in regard to this high Mystery of Faith and Worship the Church had in later ages departed altogether from the belief and practice of the primitive Church ;—

That under the influence of this conviction they applied themselves with great boldness and earnestness to the restoration of the primitive teaching and practice ; the reconversion of what had, by a most serious error and abuse, become the priest's solitary Mass into what it had originally been, and was designed to be by the Divine Founder of the Church—a united act of commemorative Eucharistic worship through the Sacrifice of Christ, that is, of its very essence a Communion of His most Blessed Body and Blood, to be partaken of by all the faithful, in the Sacrament and Mystery ordained to that end by Himself—being the first signal act of religious reformation, as distinguished from the mere political act of repudiating the usurped supremacy of the See of Rome, and the mere eccle-iastical reform of abuses which had crept into the government and administration of the Church ;—

That in the prosecution of this chief point of religious reformation upon the model of the primitive Church, the English Reformers from the first enjoined the personal act of Communion, by participation of the Sacred Mysteries, on the principal occasion of Christian worship on the Lord's Day, on all the faithful as a high and solemn duty, binding alike upon all, admitting of no exception therefrom, except on the ground of such want of grace as made those labouring under it fit subjects of special spiritual discipline ; while in the meantime it constituted them “unworthy receivers,” and thus rendered participation in that holy mystery on their part an act of profane presumption, full of peril to their souls.

That in consequence of the vehement resistance they encountered from a people deeply immersed in the superstitious worship of the Mass, they were induced for a very short time—not exceeding three years, as far as their overt acts were concerned, nor even one year as far as their intention went—to concede to the ignorant [and undevout] multitude while they remained in a separate place, [or part of the church], what these still esteemed their privilege of non-communi-

cant attendance upon the Eucharistic worship ; but having soon seen reason to repent of that concession to popular feeling, as both unwise and inconsistent with the true nature and intent of the Holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, they not only refused any longer to sanction by connivance non-communicant attendance, even at a distance, and in strict separation from the faithful, but in express and emphatic terms disallowed and condemned it ;—treating the refusal to communicate as a heinous offence against Christ, and the continued presence of those who so refused while remaining at the Eucharistic worship, in contravention of the order of the Church, as a most serious aggravation of that offence :—

That to this view and determination of her first Reformers, which they sealed with the blood of martyrdom, the Church of England has stedfastly adhered ever since, for the space of three hundred years ; her Eucharistic Office, upon a close and accurate examination of its structure and language—and still more when that examination is instituted under the light thrown upon it by its origin and history—bearing to this day the clear impress of the conviction under which it was framed in the first instance, that the communion of the faithful is an essential and indispensable ingredient of Eucharistic worship, and non-communicant attendance on it a negation and profanation of that worship ;—

And consequently, that the duty of faithful ministers of the Church of England is to endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to realize the doctrine and intention of the Fathers of the English Reformation, by encouraging in their people habits of frequent, if not constant, communicant attendance upon the Church's Eucharistic worship, at the least upon the Lord's Day ; while on the contrary the endeavour to bring in a system of non-communicant attendance, as an inferior kind of devotion, wholly unauthorized by the Church, and at direct variance with the true meaning as well as the history of the Eucharistic Office, is a proceeding fraught with undutifulness and unfaithfulness towards her, in which no really loving and obedient son of the English Church will permit himself to engage,—or, if he should unadvisedly have done so, to persist,—after the true nature of the Church's doctrine and intention shall have been conclusively shown.

Thus much may, upon the strength of the foregoing evidence, be unhesitatingly affirmed. There remains, indeed, the supposition, which

some have not hesitated to embrace, that the view the Fathers of the English Reformation took of the Holy Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship, and on which they acted in remodelling the Eucharistic Office of the English Church, was radically wrong; and that it is the bounden duty of English Churchmen of the present day, by virtue of the higher allegiance due from them to Christ and to the Church Catholic, to undo their work, and to correct their errors.

How far any countenance is given to this supposition by the teaching and practice of the primitive Church, to which those who embrace it appeal, has been shown under the first head of this inquiry. It may, however, without offence be suggested, that, even assuming for argument's sake that supposition to be well founded, the proper and dutiful course for those who conceive themselves to be better informed than all their brother ministers of the English Church of the present generation, and all her great divines of the last three centuries, is—not, by their private authority to introduce, and to urge upon their flocks, a system of non-communicant Eucharistic devotion—but to produce evidence of the correctness of their position; to urge that evidence, not dogmatically and in a supercilious tone and spirit, but modestly and courteously, upon their brother ministers, and first and foremost upon the Bishops, the Chief Pastors of the Church; to approach the Synods of the Church with respectful petitions praying them to take the matter into their consideration, and upon being convinced by the evidence produced that the Church of England has been labouring under a grievous and radical mistake in this matter for the last three hundred years, to take such order for the amendment of that mistake and the restoration of her Eucharistic worship to the model of the primitive Church, as they may in their wisdom see most consistent with the exigency of the times and conducive to the end in view; so that all things may be done, as they ought to be done, “decently and in order,” not with unseemly haste and in ungodly strife. For the adoption of this course it may not, it is to be hoped, be deemed improper or offensive to plead with the advocates of non-communicant attendance upon the Eucharistic worship of our Church, on the twofold ground that it is not only the course most consistent with a reverent regard for Church authority and brotherly charity, but the course best cal-

culated to attest the sincerity of their present convictions, and their faith in the great principle invoked by themselves, that, “*magna est veritas, et prevalebit.*”

SECT. 5.—*By the Rev. Dr. Biber.*

ATTEMPTED REVIVAL OF NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

I.—RECAPITULATION: GRADUAL DECLENSION OF THE TRUE EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP. II.—NECESSITY OF RESTORATION AND REVIVAL. III.—PLEAS FOR NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE. IV.—SPIRITUAL DANGERS OF NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE. V.—INADMISSIBILITY OF NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE. VI.—CONCLUDING APPEAL: THE TRUE RESTORATION.

The inquiry has reached the point at which there are sufficient data for coming to a decision as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness, the propriety or impropriety, of the revival of non-communicant attendance at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Those data will be recapitulated in the order in which they were verified in the course of the inquiry.

The true worship of the Church of Christ is the worship offered through the everlasting High Priest, the God-man Christ Jesus, presenting Himself as the everlasting Sacrifice in the heavenly Sanctuary.

In that sacrificial worship, offered by the Church expectant in heaven, the Church militant in earth is permitted and commanded to unite, in the Sacramental Mystery of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, wherein those that eat and drink the same are made partakers of the everlasting Sacrifice.

No other way but that of eating of the Sacramental Bread and drinking of the Sacramental Cup,—the Bread and Wine characteristic of His everlasting priesthood,—has been appointed by the Lord Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest over the House of God, as the way of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood.

The Eucharistic Worship—of which eating the Bread, and drinking the Wine (the appointed means of spiritually eating the Body and drinking the Blood of Christ) is the characteristic act—has for the warrant of its celebration, and the guarantee of its reality, the Word—the declaration and the command—of Christ Himself: His declaration, “This is My Body;” “This is My Blood;”—His command, “Take, eat;” “Drink ye all of it;” “Do this in remembrance of Me.”

No other mode of true Sacrificial Worship is

possible for the Church or the individual Christian; because Christ has ordained no other. This mode of true Sacrificial Worship is obligatory on the Church and on the individual Christian, because Christ has enjoined it, and enjoined it on all.

Having received this Sacramental Ordinance of the Bread—the Communion of the Body of Christ, and the Wine—the Communion of the Blood of Christ, from their Divine Lord, His Apostles established, the true Sacrificial Worship of the Holy Eucharist, in the Church founded by them in His Name.

The Primitive Church, having received this Eucharistic Worship from the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, celebrated the same daily, and specially on the Lord's Day, the memorial day of Christ's resurrection.

The Primitive Church did not tolerate any deviation from, or neglect of, this Eucharistic Worship on the part of any of her members. The worshipper in the Assembly of the Faithful was required to eat of the Bread and drink of the Cup, to partake, to communicate. Refusal to do so, or absence from the Assembly in which this worship was celebrated, for three consecutive memorial days of the Lord's resurrection, entailed as the penalty of such disobedience exclusion from the communion of the Faithful; not, however, without the prospect of restoration on repentance, confession, and amendment.

When, through the diminution of the fervour of their first love, through association with the world, and consequent worldliness of spirit and profaneuess of life, many became alike unfit and unwilling for the solemn act of sacrificial worship in the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, the fact of such degeneracy was both noted and deplored by the Bishops of the Church.

Notwithstanding their remonstrances and protests, the process of degeneracy continued; and the wilfulness of the people proving stronger than the voice of authority, the discipline handed down from the Primitive Church became more and more relaxed; until at length the Church acquiesced in the general disobedience of her members to the command of her Divine Lord, and disregard of His Institution.

This unlawful acquiescence of the Church in general disobedience to Christ's command, and disregard of his Institution, eventually assumed the form of celebration of the Eucharistic

Sacrament by the Minister⁶ alone, leaving it optional and indifferent whether any worshippers were present, or offered to communicate; and further mutilating the Institution of Christ by denying the Cup to such of the lay worshippers as were desirous of communicating.

As a substitute for the act of eating and drinking enjoined on all by the Lord Jesus Christ, the idolatrous ceremony of holding up the consecrated elements of the Eucharistic Sacrament for the adoration of the people was invented; thus making the Word of Christ "of none effect" through the traditions of men. This mutilated and perverted form of Eucharistic Worship, which had become universally prevalent in the Western Churches, went by the name of "the Sacrifice of the Mass," and the newly invented form of devotion which consisted in adoration of the consecrated elements, by the name of "Hearing Mass."

The Anglican branch of the Holy Catholic Church, being one of the Churches in which this mutilation and perversion of Christ's ordinance had superseded the true Eucharistic Worship was by the mercy of God and the grace of His Holy Spirit⁷ led to consider her ways, and to repent of her sin and disobedience to Christ. Those whom God raised up for her reformation, her Bishops and divines, made it one of the first and most prominent measures of that reformation to abrogate "the Sacrifice of the Mass," and the practice of "hearing Mass," and instead thereof to restore the Eucharistic Worship, as the sacrificial worship of all the Faithful, according to Christ's Institution, and the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church.

In their endeavour to effect this the Reformers of the Anglo-Catholic Church were only partially successful. They succeeded in abrogating "the Sacrifice of the Mass" and the practice of "hearing Mass;" but they failed to induce the general body of her baptized members to take the part assigned to them by Christ's Institution in her Eucharistic Worship. Those nominally, and by virtue of their baptism, claiming to be members of the Church, came thus to be divided into two distinct classes,—communicants and self-excommunicated non-communicants, representing, only in vastly and painfully altered proportions, the communicant members of the Primitive Church and those under disciplinary excommunication.

⁶ See Note F, Appendix.

The proportionally small number of the communicant members, and the unwillingness even of the great majority of these to take the part assigned to them by Christ's Institution in Eucharistic Worship, according to primitive custom, on every Lord's Day at the least, in combination with a secular and undevout spirit on the part of many of the clergy, eventually caused the omission of the Eucharistic Worship altogether in the public assemblies for worship on the Lord's Day, under the provision made by the Liturgy for the possible,—and, as it turned out, the too probable, the too common and frequent,—event of a deficiency of worshippers, ready and willing to take part in the celebration of the Eucharistic Worship.

The ordinary worship of the Anglo-Catholic Church, even on the Lord's Day, became thus very generally, at one time all but universally, what, according to the nature of the true worship under the New Covenant, and the Institution of Christ, the Mediator and High Priest, as well as Sacrifice of that Covenant, it never was intended to be, an un-Eucharistic, un-Sacrificial Worship,—retaining no trace, except in mere words, of the true Christian worship ordained by Christ on earth, and continually offered by Him in heaven.⁷

II.—Necessity of Restoration and Revival.

That this low estimation and common neglect of the Eucharistic, Sacrificial, and only true Christian worship lies at the root of the wretchedly cold and unreal condition of the general mass of the members of the English Church, no one that reflects on the nature of the Christian Covenant and of the worship ordained under it, can for a moment doubt. If we are ready to take to ourselves the admonition addressed to the Church in Sardis, "Strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die," it is assuredly to this point, the restoration and revival of the Church's Eucharistic Worship, that our attention and our efforts must be directed.

It is probably no more than justice to some, at least, of those whose zealous endeavours to promote the cause of non-communicant attendance on the celebration of the Holy Eucharist have given rise to the present inquiry, to assume that this restoration and revival of the Church's Eucharistic Worship is the object which they have mainly in view; and that their advocacy

of non-communicant attendance originates in a mistaken notion that it is the best and surest way to bring about what all who have the Church's welfare and the glory of Christ at heart cannot but ardently desire. That there may be others whose object is, not to restore what Christ has ordained, what the Primitive Church has observed, and what the Fathers of the English Reformation sought to restore, but to undo the work of the Reformation, and lead the English Church back into the darkness and superstition of mediæval, and into the corrupt fellowship of modern Romanism, it might, perhaps, even on their own showing, not be difficult to prove, nor easy to deny.⁸ With such, however, the present inquiry has no concern. That proceeds entirely on the supposition,—charitably extended to all who are willing to take the benefit of it,—that the restoration of Catholic principles and feelings among our people, in all faithfulness to the Church of England, is the object which the promoters and advocates of non-communicant attendance are aiming at; and that they will be found, upon sufficient evidence, such as it is believed the present inquiry has furnished, open to conviction. It may be assumed, moreover, that they are fully alive to the mischievous effect of sowing distrust and dissension in the minds of the great body of the members of our Church, in whom it is desired to induce a clearer apprehension of Catholic principles and a higher tone of Church feeling, as well as to the heavy blow which any fresh disruption in that daily increasing body of men commonly called "the Church party," but more properly the "party of the Church," could not fail to inflict upon the Church of England. And it is hoped that these considerations will gain a fair, an attentive, and a dispassionate hearing for what remains to be said on this important subject.

III.—Pleas for Non-Communicant Attendance.

(1.) *Christian Liberty and Legal Right.*—To do full justice to the question of non-communicant attendance, it must be examined under the several aspects under which it has been proposed and advocated.

By some it is looked upon as a question of "Christian liberty," and even of "legal right." In this aspect of the question it is the individual that is aggrieved by having his liberty

⁷ See Note G, Appendix.

⁸ See Note H, Appendix.

denied him, and his just rights abridged; and this view is urged by, or on behalf of, communicant lay-members of the Church. "Why," it is asked, "should one who is habitually a communicant, who possibly may already have communicated that very day at an earlier hour, or who from some other accidental cause may not wish to partake, be shut out from the Celebration?"

To this question, if asked, in any given case, and on any special ground, the answer would probably be that there is no wish to exclude him,—that although his remaining without communicating is on the face of it an irregularity, yet the Church of England is not so rigid as not to make allowance for exceptional cases; that any peculiarity of devotional feeling, so long as it presents itself as an exception, is sure to meet with the utmost tenderness and toleration.

But if this answer were not deemed satisfactory,—if the "liberty" and the "right" were insisted on, and asserted as a matter of principle, then, assuredly, the answer could only be that the "liberty" to do, in a matter of worship, that which is not only not authorised by Christ, but at variance with the nature of His Institution and with His positive command; that which by the Primitive Church was expressly prohibited, and by the English Church is distinctly discountenanced, cannot be a "liberty" which an humble and obedient follower of Christ, a Catholic Churchman, or a faithful member of the English Church, would claim or desire to exercise. The true Christian knows of no "liberty" but that which is from "the Spirit of the Lord." So far from desiring to assert any "liberty" of his own in opposition to Christ's ordinance, he strives to "bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."⁹

Touching the "right," moreover, especially when pleaded in the form of a "legal right," it would not be difficult to point out that if the

⁹ It may be taken for granted that the occasional occurrence of such exceptional cases would never have caused this question to be raised. It is the endeavour to establish non-communicant attendance as a system that has called forth censure and opposition. And as a matter of argument nothing can be more unfair than to attempt to deduce general rules from connivance at exceptional cases, or to combat the opposition to a general rule which is deemed objectionable, by the allegation of exceptional cases in which the enforcement of the rule might be deemed harsh or ungracious. Arguments of this nature are but proofs of the weakness of the cause in defence of which they are put forward.

habitual communicant claims the "legal right" to be present without communicating, it is, of course, open to the non-communicant, nay to the undevout, the sectarian, the unbeliever, the ungodly and profane, to do the same. There is no process by which these different classes can be sifted out from each other, then and there; nothing, therefore, to prevent the intrusion, as witnesses and by-standers, into the holiest mysteries of the Church's worship, of those whose presence the most zealous advocates of non-communicant attendance would assuredly deprecate. As the matter stands at present, these mysteries are guarded by the universal custom of the Church founded, as has been shown, upon her Eucharistic Office—to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, after the departure of all but the communicants, with closed doors. Any person who, in violation of that custom, should insist upon being present, might, if needful, be dealt with as an intruder and a disturber of the public worship of the Church; and the same law which protects the ordinary Service from interruption, would be available for protecting the Eucharistic Worship of the Church from such a violation of its holy privacy. But let the habitual communicant, in the indulgence of his so-called "liberty" to be present without communicating, make a stand for what he conceives to be his "legal right," and the barrier is thrown down, not for himself only, but for all, for those the least like-minded with himself. We are not living so far removed from instances of the most painful religious turbulence and profaneness as to render it impossible, or even improbable, that the most prominent advocates for non-communicant attendance might be the first to rue their inconsiderate assertion of a "legal right" which, but for the example set by them, no one would have thought of asserting.

(2.) *Non-Communicant Attendance viewed as a Special Devotion.*—But apart from all questions of "liberty" and of "legal right," non-communicant attendance is advocated as a religious privilege—as a special devotion the practice of which ought to be encouraged and commended, rather than censured and discouraged. This plea is put forward on behalf of both habitual communicants and of persons who are not communicants at any time.

In the case of the former the question naturally occurs, "Why should one who is a

habitual communicant ever wish to have, in connection with the Holy Eucharist, a special devotion, other than that which Christ has ordained and the Church is ministering—viz. participation in the holy Mysteries?" If spiritual indisposition, want of due preparation, possibly a disquieted conscience, be pleaded, the more proper course, and that which a prudent spiritual adviser would counsel, would be amendment of the things that are faulty, through devotional exercises in private, rather than in public, under the disturbing influence of a Service which does not suit the case of the individual so circumstanced, but is at direct variance with his state of mind. More commonly, however, the reason assigned will be connected with the practice of Communion at an earlier hour than the general Service, preferred as affording the opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion fasting, and with the rule against communicating more than once on the same day.¹ Such reasons may be sufficient to prevent participation in the act of Communion, but in proportion as they are so, they are, or ought to be, sufficient also to supersede attendance at a second Celebration.

In the case of persons who are not communicants at all, either because, not being confirmed, they are not qualified, according to the rule of the Church, to receive the Holy Communion, or because, though qualified to receive, they have no mind to do so,² there is a reason against their admission as non-communicant attendants of a still graver character. It will scarcely be contended, that if they be persons qualified to communicate, they are under no obligation to do so. Christ's Institution, the rule of the Primitive Church, and the very nature of the Eucharistic Worship, all concur in placing participation in that worship by every member of the Church on each occasion of worship in the public assembly of the Faithful on the footing of a sacred duty, as well as an inestimable privilege. To admit, nay to require, the presence of non-com-

municants under the idea of thereby providing for them an inferior kind of devotion, falling short of, and in fact directly infringing, Christ's appointment, is assuredly inconsistent with the duty of the Church, which is to lead her members on to perfection; whereas this practice has a direct tendency to make them acquiesce in their imperfection, by salving their consciences with the thought that they are worshipping God through Christ, albeit imperfectly, under the sanction of the Church, and that they are thence deriving a spiritual benefit, quite as large, they will be apt to think, as their spiritual state and capacity admits of.

(3.) *Supposed Special Efficacy of Prayer offered during the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist.* This notion of a special devotion connected with non-communicant attendance on the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, appears to have grown out of the idea of the special presence of Christ in that Holy Mystery. This suggests the question, "What is meant by the 'special presence' of Christ?" It is assuredly a most unworthy notion, as untheological as it is unphilosophical, of the Divine Being, or of God Incarnate, that there are degrees of His Presence; that He is or can be more present at one time or in one place, than at another time and in another place. By a special presence of God, or of Christ, is clearly meant not a special presence as far as He Himself is concerned, who is Omnipresent and " filleth all in all;" but a special manifestation or revelation of that presence, so far as man is concerned, who comes into His presence. Now, it is undoubtedly true that there is a special presence of Christ, that is to say, such a special manifestation of His presence, in the Holy Eucharist. The very meaning of that Holy Mystery is, that His unseen presence is therein revealed, made discernible to the eye, accessible to the grasp of faith, "through His Blood," "through the veil, that is to say, His Flesh," by virtue of His Almighty Word of Blessing upon the Bread "This is my Body," upon the Cup "This is My Blood." But to whom is this special manifestation vouchsafed? Evidently to those who in the way and for the purpose appointed by Him draw near to do that which He has commanded—to "eat His Flesh," and to "drink His Blood."

That a similar special manifestation of His presence will be vouchsafed to those who do not come there with the intention of doing, but on

¹ See Note I, Appendix.

² The case of unbaptised persons, of heretics and schismatics, of unbelievers, who may happen to form part of the ordinary congregation, need not be discussed here. The impropriety of their presence at the celebration of the highest Mystery of Christian worship would probably be admitted by all. How, if the general body of non-communicants are not to depart but to remain, their departure can be secured, is a difficulty which has not, perhaps, presented itself to the minds of the advocates of non-communicant attendance.

the contrary, with the settled determination to *leave undone*, that which He has commanded, there is not only no reason to believe, but every reason to believe that no such manifestation will be vouchsafed to them. It is unwarrantable, nay, highly presumptuous, to imagine, or to teach, that there will or can be anything of the kind; for in doing so we assume that in matters of His holy worship *disobedience* is equally acceptable to God as obedience; an assumption which is a *direct affront* to the Sovereign Majesty of the Godhead. Instead of any reasonable ground for expecting that a special blessing will attend such an unauthorized special devotion, there is great reason to fear that He to whom that affront is offered will punish the presumption of those who thus approach Him in disobedience, by confounding their prayers, and send them "a strong delusion that they should believe a lie."³

IV.—*Spiritual Dangers of Non-Communicant Attendance.*

This danger, of being punished by the visitation of "a strong delusion" for a presumptuous approach to God in will-worship and disobedience, is not, however, the only danger incident to the practice of non-communicant attendance on the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. There are two special dangers obviously resulting from this unauthorised, and therefore unsanctified and unblest, devotion; dangers which no man will make light of that is aware of the proclivity innate in the heart of man, to idolatry on the one hand, and to unbelief on the other hand.

The more obvious danger, that most commonly incurred through the practice of non-communicant attendance, is the transfer of the adoration due to God and His Christ in Heaven alone,—that adoration which the communicant, the obedient worshipper, pays to the presence of Christ specially manifested to him in that holy Mystery,—from God and His Christ to the

consecrated elements. In the Romish Church, in which this authorised devotion, or rather this corruption and perversion of the Eucharistic Sacrament, is carried out in the most systematic manner, the "elevation of the Host" for the purpose of "adoration," directly invites this act of idolatrous worship. And there is reason to fear that in our own Church a similar transfer of adoration from its true object, Christ's invisible presence manifested to the worshipper's faith in the mystery of His Body and Blood, to the visible elements consecrated for that mystery, takes place in the minds of many whose Eucharistic devotions, whether communicant or non-communicant, have (unconsciously it may be to themselves), become tinged with ideas borrowed from the Romish Church.⁴

Singularly enough the same departure from the truth and reality of Christ's Ordinance to which the introduction of the non-communicant element into the Eucharistic Worship of the Church is attributable, and from which the idolatrous "adoration of the Host" has taken its rise, has a tendency, likewise, to beget the very opposite extreme of unbelief. In the absence of that manifestation of Christ's special presence vouchsafed to the faithful and obedient communicant, which makes his Eucharistic devotion a living spiritual reality, a "worship in spirit and in truth," the disobedient, non-communicant devotion, if it does not sink down into a sensuous act of idolatrous adoration, assumes the character of a mental effort, stirring up religious thoughts and emotions within the mind. And these being mistaken for that which alone deserves the name of devotion, of true worship—the communing of the spirit of man with the Spirit of the Living God—there ensues a state of covert unbelief, ignorant and incredulous of the spiritual realities which underlie the doctrine of Christ, while in words that doctrine is adhered to,—the state described as "having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."

V.—*Inadmissibility of Non-Communicant Attendance.*

Upon all these considerations⁵ there seems to

³ In no other way does it seem possible to account for the incredible, the incomprehensible credulity, the readiness to accept the most palpable falsehoods, to put faith in the grossest impostures, which characterizes the Romish system. Surely the striking examples exhibited in our own time of men of the most brilliant intellectual gifts, the highest spiritual attainments, laying their minds prostrate before the most grovelling superstitions of modern Rome, ought to act as a warning to all, how in matters affecting God's worship they venture to depart from the only sure foundation—God's Word, His command and promise—and to indulge in fanciful devices of human invention.

⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 5. Has it never occurred to the advocates of what they term "spiritual communion" that this very notion of theirs is the Quaker's warrant for discarding the Sacrament altogether as a "carnal ordinance"? Between that and the idolatry of "the Host" lies in fact the only logical alternative of non-communicant attendance.

⁵ See Note J, Appendix.

be no room for any other conclusion but this, that non-communicant attendance on the Holy Eucharist, so far from being countenanced or encouraged, or attempts being made to enforce it, ought, on the contrary, to be discountenanced and disallowed. That which is at variance with the Institution of Christ and with the teaching of His holy Apostles; that which was prohibited under severe spiritual penalties by the Primitive Church; that which has been reprobated in the strongest language by the English Church; that which in times past has contributed largely to the decay of true religion, and the all but extinction of the true Eucharistic Worship; that which is of necessity *void of spiritual reality*, and calculated to bring the mind into a state of *spiritual delusion* that which is fraught with the twofold peril of *idolatry* and *unbelief*.—it can surely never be right to *admit into our worship*, much less to recommend, to *encourage*, or to *enforce*.

VI.—Concluding Appeal: the true Restoration.

May we not cherish the hope that a careful and prayerful reconsideration of the question in all its bearings will lead those who, with the best intentions it may be, have committed themselves to a course so clearly incompatible with their duty to Christ, to the Church Catholic, and to the Anglican Branch of it, to desist from the further prosecution of their attempt to restore the pre-Reformation practice of non-communicant attendance, and of solitary Celebration by the priest? May not an appeal be permitted and successfully be made to them, asking them to bring their energies, their talents, their burning zeal for the cause of the Church, to bear in hearty co-operation with such of their brethren of the clergy and laity as are like-minded with them in the desire for spiritual Church restoration, by making a united effort to effect that restoration which alone can satisfy the heart of a true Churchman, revive in our Church a Catholic spirit, and rekindle in her the flame of true devotion,—the restoration of the Eucharistic Worship in its fullest and truest sense, as the participation of the members of the Church militant in earth in the true Worship of the everlasting High Priest in heaven, in the mystery of His most Blessed Body and Blood, that “new and living way which He has consecrated for us?” On such an effort, the effort to realize, as far as human infirmity may permit, Christ’s own ideal of His

Church,—all one with Him, in Him with one another, and through Him with the Father,—delineated by Him in His fervent prayer for His Church, and embodied in the institution of the Eucharistic Mystery, on the very eve of His offering himself as the great and everlasting Sacrifice,—we may rest assured that the blessing of Christ will descend in fulness of power, and that it will bear fruit in rich abundance,—to the increase of true religion, to the salvation of many souls, to the edification of the Church, and to the praise and honour of Him to whom “be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.”

SECT. 6.—*By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.**

REMARKS ON THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE ATTEMPT TO REVIVE THE PRACTICE OF NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE.

ENOUGH, perhaps, has now been said to show both the intention of the Church herself and the conviction of her most eminent divines. There is, however, one more than probable result of the practice now struggling to regain a footing in our country, to which it is desirable that we should advert briefly before we conclude.

In the Church of Rome, where attendance at mass without communicating has been for centuries regarded as the chief ordinary duty of religion, a habit necessarily grew up of viewing the host, as exhibited in the hands of the priest and on the altar, with feelings of intense reverence, which led at length to its becoming the avowed object of a direct adoration. That Church, with her usual policy, instead of labouring to recal her children to the more healthy simplicity of the first ages, cherished the mistaken devotion by every means at her command, and in the end, at the Thirteenth Session of Trent, declared the worship of *latría*, that is, the same worship that is paid to God Himself, to be due to the Sacrament.⁶ This result was of course facilitated by that unprimitive view of the Real Presence, which she has so long adopted; but it is evident that there is danger of a tendency to the same practice from every extravagance of language upon this sacred subject. And the danger is especially great when the people are taught that by “assisting” merely, without communicating, at the “action

* This Section, in continuation of Sect. 2 page 490, forms the conclusion of the treatise by the above author, contained in this Part.

⁶ Sess. xlii. De Euch. c. v. and can. vi.

wherein Christ's very Presence is exhibited on earth," they may receive an earnest of "that privilege which is perpetually afforded to the saints in bliss, a foretaste of the beatific vision."⁷

This superstitious tendency has betrayed itself already among the English advocates of attendance without participation. Thus one of them argues in its behalf, that "Anglo-Zuinglians, Anglo-Calvinists, at any rate, who regard 'the sacred elements as bare signs of a thing absent,' may not on their own principles refuse permission to the devout soul to gaze thereby at Christ, whom the sacred elements represent." The writer of an anonymous tract on "Spiritual Communion" seems to be somewhat in advance of this. After supposing this objection:—"Is there no danger of unduly paying worship to the creatures of bread and wine?" he thus endeavours to obviate it:—"No more than there was danger of Moses unduly worshipping the Burning Bush, when he worshipped our Blessed Lord Really Present in it;—or rather, since the Bread and Wine become in Reality his own Body and Blood, no more than when those who worshipped Him, as did the Wise Men, in His Visible Body on earth, were in danger of worshipping His natural creatures of human flesh and blood which composed It."⁸

Without desiring to enter fully upon the subject of adoration, which has been much discussed since the first appearance of the work, (of which this is a republication), I feel it right to renew my protest against the sentiments expressed in the foregoing extracts, as contrary to the doctrine both of our own Church and of its primitive model. In the Twenty-fifth Article of Religion it is declared that the Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be *gazed upon*. . . . but that we should duly use them." The Article does not simply say that they were "not ordained to be gazed on";—that this was not their great end. This was never imagined by any, and it would have been superstition to deny it; but it opposes *gazing* to the "due use" of the ordinance, and so teaches us that it is no part of that use. By the Twenty-eighth Article we are further taught that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not, by Christ's ordinance, reserved, carried about, lifted up, or *worshipped*;" while in the declaration appended to the Communion Office the Church not only asserts

her own freedom from this abuse of His institution, but affirms it to be idolatry:—"No adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine, then bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians). And the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."

The teaching of the Church of England upon this point is too clear to be questioned, and her authority will determine the conduct of all her dutiful children. It is a satisfaction, however, to know that her decision is in accordance with the religious wisdom of the first ages, her avowed model in doctrine, and, where it has been possible, in discipline likewise.

By excluding those who did not receive, the primitive Church saved *them* at least from the temptation to gaze and adore. One reason of that exclusion was, as we have seen it stated by S. Chrysostom, that those who are not in a meet state to communicate must be equally unmeet to join in the Eucharistic Office; but occasionally this objection is expressed in a manner yet more to the point of our inquiry;—as when the same Father says:—"Many laden with numberless sins, when they see the festival come, as if they were driven to it by the day itself, touch the sacred mysteries, which it is not lawful for them, while so disposed, even to see."⁹ The author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, describing the celebration of the Sacrament, says:—"They remain, who are worthy of the *sight* and communion of the Divine things."¹⁰

But how was it with those who did receive? It must be confessed that after the second century there was much in the language used by divines with respect to Christ's presence in the Sacrament which, unless explained and corrected by their other teaching, would naturally lead in time to an undue reverence for the material symbols of His death. They never thought of worshipping them, and seldom directed the eyes of the people towards them;²

⁷ V. Ilberforce, pp. 413, 414.

⁸ Tracts on Catholic Unity, No. 8 p. 7.

⁹ Hom. de Bapt. Christi. Opp. tom. ii. p. 441.

¹⁰ C. ii. sec. 2. Opp. tom. i. p. 315.

² The strongest instance that occurs to me is in S. Chrysos-

but when they spoke (for example) of "seeing the Lord crucified and lying"³ on the altar, or told their hearers that "He had passed into the earthly element and made it heavenly,"⁴ or warned them not to judge of it by taste or sight,⁵ they were certainly, when understood to the letter, laying a foundation on which a less instructed age might build a formal practice of creature worship. We may well doubt whether they were alive to the danger which might result from such expressions. Their own disciples understood them, and we have no right to blame them because they did not foresee the clouds of ignorance and barbarism which were destined, before the lapse of many centuries, to overspread the Church. It has, moreover, been so ordered, that in their writings are found many passages in which they labour to raise men's thoughts above the outward sign, and fix them in faith on the unseen reality which it denotes. We are thus furnished with an incidental protest on their part against the very evil to which the extreme language that they at times employed was calculated to conduce, and with a proof that such language was not prompted by the habit of "gazing" or "adoring," or by any sentiment which would have led them to approve of it. Thus Origen:—"Not that visible bread which He held in His hands did God the Word declare to be His Body, but the word in the mystery of which that bread was to be broken. Nor did He say that that visible drink was His Blood, but the word in the mystery of which that drink was to be poured forth."⁶ The Fathers at Nicæa:—"Let us not fix our thoughts unworthily on the bread and the cup set before us,

but lifting up our mind, let us by faith deem that on that holy table is lying the Lamb of God." S. Athanasius:—"Speaking of the eating of His Body, and seeing many scandalized thereby, the Lord said, 'Does this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.' . . . For, for how many would His Body suffice for food, that this should be the food of the whole world? But He made mention of the ascension into heaven of the Son of man with a view to withdraw them from the corporeal notion, and that they might also understand that the flesh, of which He spake, is heavenly food, from above, and a spiritual nourishment given by Him."⁷ S. Augustine:—"We receive visible food, but the Sacrament is one thing, the virtue of the Sacrament another." "'This,' then, 'is the bread which cometh down from heaven that a man may eat thereof and not die;' but it is that which belongs to the virtue of the Sacrament, not that which belongs to the visible Sacrament: it is he who eats inwardly, not outwardly, he who eats in his heart, not he who presses with his tooth."⁸ S. Nilus:—"Not as of common bread and wine to the satisfying of the belly do we partake of that awful and desirable table in the Church; but a share is given to us of a small portion by those who minister to God, and we partake *gazing intently aloft with the eyes of the soul*, that we may be cleansed from our sins, and attain to holiness and salvation."¹

Thus thought and spoke the pious teachers of the early Church. With the most reverent belief in Christ present, and "verily and indeed received by the faithful" in this holy ordinance, and though perpetually, as was most natural, and as He Himself had taught them, giving the Name of the Divine Reality to that which signified It, they yet remembered that the symbol is but the instrument that conveys Christ, and not Christ, in absolute identity, Himself. Him therefore they adored, not it. The earthly sign did not detain them upon earth. They looked beyond, they looked above. Through that which

tom, in Ep. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. sub fin. (Opp. tom. x. p. 256):—"This mystery makes earth heaven. Only throw open then the gates of heaven and look through; or rather, not of heaven, but of the heaven of heavens, and then thou wilt see that which has been said. For the most precious of all things there will I show thee lying upon the earth. For as in kings' houses, the most honourable thing of all is not walls, or golden roof, but the person of the king seated on the throne; so also in heaven is the Body of the King. But this it is now permitted thee to see upon the earth." Yet this passage and its context are so worded that they are quoted by Jewel as an instance in which S. Chrysostom "withdraw the minds of the people from the sensible elements of the bread and the wine, and lifteth them up by spiritual cogitations into heaven." Reply to Harding, art. viii. div. 21; p. 298.

³ Chrysost. de Sacerd. Serm. iii. c. iv.; p. 42. Oxon. 1844.

⁴ Gaudentius, Tr. ii. de Pasch. Biblioth. PP. tom. v. p. 946. Lugd. 1677.

⁵ Cyrill. Hier. Catech. Myst. iv. sec. iii. Opp. p. 294. Oxon.

⁶ In S. Matt. Ev. Comm. § 85. Opp. tom. iii. p. 893.

⁷ Hist. Conc. Nic. Gelasio Cyclic. ascr. c. xxx. Mausi. tom. ii. col. 833.

⁸ Ep. ad Serap. iv. § 19. Opp. tom. i. P. ii. pp. 567, 568. Patav. 1777. The Eucharist is not expressly named in this passage; but the allusion cannot be doubted.

⁹ Tract. in Joh. Ev. xxvi. § § 11, 12; tom. iii. P. ii. col. 1983

¹ Epp. l. ii. Ep. cxliv.; p. 186. Rom. 1668.

lay before them, their faith could see, as through a veil, Jesus once offered. The eye might rest on the material sign; but the soul beheld "the

heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God."

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—See p. 491.

Alleged compulsory attendance.

Cartwright suggested as a remedy that those which would withdraw themselves, should be, by ecclesiastical discipline at all times, and how also, under a godly prince, by civil punishment, brought to communicate with their brethren," p. 117, sect. 3; in Whitgift, u. s., c. v. div. xi., p. 552. On the other hand, in the Admonition, in defence of which Cartwright came forward in his reply, the Church was vilified for too great strictness in this respect, and accused of thrusting men in their sin to the Lord's Table." Whitg. u. s., p. 553. The latter became the general view of the Puritans, and at the Restoration their wish was to have no rule whatever for the communion of the laity. See Cardwell's Conferences, ch. vii., p. 321. The Bishops in their reply to this demand remarked:—"Formerly our Church was quarrelled at for not compelling men to the Communion; now for urging men. How should she please?"—Ibid 354.

NOTE B.—See p. 505.

** Permission given to Non-Communicants to remain in a remote part of the Church.*

It is to the permissive presence of non-communicants in a remote part of the church that these passages in Ridley's and Hooper's Visitation Articles and Injunctions must be referred. They were issued in the interval between the promulgation of the First and Second Books when under Royal injunctions, and in anticipation of the change made in the Second Book in this respect, "tables" were substituted for the ancient altars. The order so to place the "tables" that "the minister and communicants may be seen, heard, and understood of all the people there being present," was the best and wisest arrangement that could be devised, after the concession to the popular feeling in favour of a Mass-like Service had been made, which allowed non-communicants to be present in a remote part of the church; since it was evidently better that they should see and hear what was going on, and a check would thus be put upon the tendency to irreverent conduct, which, from one of the rubrics appended to the Office in the First Book, appears to have been by no means

uncommon. That these Injunctions were not meant to give a sanction to non-communicant attendance may be inferred, both from the general views of the two Bishops who issued them,—which were anything but inclining towards the Romish Mass,—and also from the fact that in the Second Book the presence of non-communicants was so far from being even permissively sanctioned, that on the contrary they were in the most peremptory terms bidden to depart from the church. That this change in the Second Book was not owing to any change in the views of the compilers touching the nature of the Holy Eucharist, and the proper mode of its celebration, under the influence of foreign divines, as has been erroneously supposed, is evident from the fact that the direction to "depart" given in the Second Book is in perfect keeping with the views that underlie the first "Order of the Communion," which commanded all to communicate, and made a pause for those to "withdraw themselves" who could not communicate with a safe conscience, and were noted in the Office as standing in need of special spiritual counsel and admonition with a view to "bring them to grace." It was with this view of the Eucharistic Office, as essentially a Communion Service, that the Reformers of King Edward VI.'s time set out; and upon this they fell back, evidently ill-satisfied with the practical result of the concession they had made to popular feeling.

NOTE C.—See p. 510.

The Testimony of the Lower House of Convocation, Bishop Jewell, Bishop Cosins, &c., against Non-Communicants being present.

As a collateral proof of the fact that the deliberate intention of the Church was to exclude non-communicants, and was understood to be so at the time, it deserves to be mentioned that a paper of "Requests and Petitions of the Lower House of Convocation," presented to the Upper House in 1562, contains among other articles having for their object the better enforcement of discipline and of the ecclesiastical laws, the following: "That no person abide within the Church during the time of the Communion, unless he do communicate; that is, they shall depart immediately after the exhortation be ended,

and before the confession of the communicants" (Styrye's Annals, Vol. I., P. i., p. 508.) It is difficult to understand by what process of reasoning this fact is claimed as a proof that the attendance of non-communicants had the sanction of the Church at this period. Even supposing that the Bishops had "refused," as is alleged, to entertain this suggestion, it would only prove that the Lower House of Convocation was more anxious than the Bishops for the observance of the rule laid down by the Church in her public Office, which even their refusal to enforce it could not abrogate. But the fact is that the Bishops gave no such "refusal," as is alleged. Many abuses and irregularities had at this period crept into the Church, which it was attempted at this time to correct, suggestions being made with that view, not only by the Lower House of Convocation, but by several of the Bishops, and by the Archbishop himself. And they all shared one common fate; they fell through; and the reason why they did so is thus stated by the historian. "Many of these things would not go down with the looseness of that age; and it was feared to give the Church too much power; and vice cared not for restraint" (Styrye's Annals, Vol. I., P. i., p. 507). To give any weight to the argument deduced from this circumstance by the advocates of non-communicant attendance, they must be prepared to assert that the whole of the violations of Church order pointed out in that paper of "Requests and Petitions" from the Lower House had the sanction of the Bishops, and thereby the sanction of the Church. They will scarcely feel disposed to go that length.

Equally futile is the attempt to press Bishop Jewel into the service as a witness for non-communicant attendance. In the course of the controversy between the Bishop and Harding on Private Mass the latter had made an observation to this effect: "I judge that Mr. Jewel, who harpeth so many jarring arguments against private mass upon the very word 'communion,' will not allow that for a good and lawful communion, where there is but one only to receive with the priest. Verily it appeareth by his sermon that all the people ought to receive, or to be driven out of the Church" (Jewel's Works: Parker Society Vol. I., p. 183). To this the Bishop replies: "O Mr. Harding, how long will you thus wilfully pervert the ways of the Lord? You know, this is neither the doctrine nor the practice of our Church. Howbeit the ancient doctors have both taught so, and also practised the same. Anacletus saith: 'After the consecration is ended, let all receive, unless they will be thrust from the Church.' And Calixtus saith further: 'For so is it appointed by the Apostles, and so is it observed in the Church of Rome'" (Jewel's Works: Parker Society, Vol. I., p. 186). On looking at the context, and likewise at the sermon on which Harding's charge is founded (see Jewel's Works: Parker Society, Vol. I., p. 19), it is at once evident

that the question here is not whether non-communicants shall be bidden to depart, or allowed to remain, during Celebration, but whether they shall be *excommunicated*. This was what both Harding and the Bishop meant by the words, "driven out of the Church." Bishop Jewel, taking Harding's words, as they were intended, in this sense, most truly replied that it was neither the doctrine nor the practice of the English Church to excommunicate persons for the offence of not communicating. Had he asserted that it was not the doctrine or the practice of the English Church that non-communicants should quit the Church at the time of the Celebration, he would have asserted a point-blank untruth, of which moreover his adversary Harding could have on the instant convicted him out of the English Prayer Book.

So again Bishop Cosin is cited as a witness for non-communicant attendance on the Holy Communion, on the strength of a passage in which, commenting on the words *ut nobis videatur*, which occur in a Canon of the Council of Mentz against the priest's solitary Mass, he says that the Fathers who made that Canon "knew not well whether they should forbid it absolutely and simply if there were no company; as, indeed, better were it to endure the absence of the people than for the minister to neglect the usual and daily Sacrifice of the Church, by which all people, whether they be there or no, reap so much benefit." "And this," he adds, "was the opinion of my lord and master, Dr. Overall" (Cosin's Works: Anglo-Cath. Library, Vol. V., p. 127). All that Bishop Cosin here affirms is that Dr. Overall was of the same opinion with himself, that the Fathers who made the Canon of Mentz were in doubt which was preferable, to have no Celebration at all, or Celebration by the priest alone. The question of non-communicant attendance is not so much as touched upon in the whole passage, which turns entirely on what Cosin calls "an abuse springing up about Charlemagne's time to have the priest communicate and say Mass, though there were none to celebrate with him" (Ibid. p. 126); and has for its object to justify the Rubric in the English Prayer Book which forbids such solitary Celebrations. To ascertain what Bishop Cosin's mind was on the subject of non-communicant attendance, we have only to turn to his Note on the Exhortation, "If ye stand by as gazers and lookers on, &c., *usque ad* give place to them that be godly disposed." On this the Bishop remarks:—"A religious invective added here, against the *lewd and irreligious custom of the people then nursed up in Popery*, to be present at the Communion, and to let the priest communicate for them all; from whence arose the abuse of private Masses; a practice so repugnant to the Scripture, and to the use of the ancient Church, that at this day not any but the Romish Church throughout all the Christian world are known to use it, as the Greek, Syrian, Armenian, and Ethiopian liturgies do testify; nay, the Roman liturgy itself

is herein *full against* the Roman practice." And then, having quoted the 9th Apostolic Canon, excommunicating non-communicants, and the celebrated passage in the 3rd Homily of St. Chrysostom on Ephes. i., Bishop Cosin adds:—"So that this preface and exhortation seem to be taken out of St. Chrysostom's words, they are in all points so like one to the other" (Cosin's Works: Anglo-Cath. Library, Vol. V., pp. 98, 99). Yet the advocates of non-communicant attendance would have us believe that Bishop Cosin is all on their side.

Charity requires that such glaring misrepresentations of historical facts, and perversions of the sense of authors quoted, in which the various defences of non-communicant attendance abound, should be attributed rather to haste and ignorance, to an absence of careful research, and to an utter want of critical discernment, than to wilful deception. The instances of a false colouring given to both the facts and the statements alleged are, indeed, so numerous that it is difficult to resist the suspicion of conscious obliquity. It is hard to say, however, how far persons looking, with a strong bias in favour of a preconceived opinion, for proofs in support of it, are capable of weighing evidence with calmness and impartiality; and the benefit of the doubt may therefore cheerfully be given to the advocates of non-communicant attendance, provided they will learn to be more careful and more critical in their investigations, and less positive and contemptuous in their manner of asserting their erroneous conclusions.

NOTE D.—See p. 512.

Maskell—on Omission of Sentence respecting the General Confession.

The reason for this omission has been well pointed out by Mr. Maskell (Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, 2nd Ed., Lond., 1846, Pref. pp. lxxv., lxxvi.), who thus accounts for the original introduction of the clause now omitted. "There is," he observes, "a very satisfactory explanation to be given why some such words should have been inserted. Because the form of Confession ran, according to the old missals, 'Confiteor' Deo, beatæ Mariæ, omnibus sanctis,' as well as 'et vobis fratres;' and without entering into the question of the presence of holy spirits with us and among us, when we are engaged in the duties of public worship, I think that the revisers of the Liturgy acted wisely in removing all reference to them on such an occasion; for it was not in any way required, and they had had lamentable proofs of the practical evils which had followed an unscriptural excess of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and of a continual offering up of prayers which we have no authority to assure us will be either heard or answered. But in 1662 the same reasons existed no

longer; men's minds had become fixed in a more pure belief, and a better judgment as to whom prayer should address; namely, the Only Three Persons of the Undivided Trinity. Hence, without specifying before whom the confession to Almighty God should be made, or appearing any longer to limit it to things visible—viz., the congregation gathered in His holy Name—this passage, as altogether uncalled for, was wisely omitted." The same author, in answer to the supposition that by "this congregation" the communicants, supposed to remain in the church, are meant, has these pertinent remarks: "It would be a most strange thing, unheard of elsewhere during the whole history of the Church of Christ, that those who with earnest and contrite hearts, in full assurance of faith, are prepared to receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and to show their entire communion with Him and with His Church, should first be called upon to make their confession to Almighty God, general though it be, in the presence, not accidental but desired, of the profane, the careless, the despisers, it may be of the unbaptized. . . . Nor can I omit to add, that it was not always 'this congregation,' but in the Order of 1548, and the First Book of 1549, 'His holy Church.' And could this apply to those of whom I have just spoken? The congregation means therefore the communicants themselves." This argument is yet further strengthened by the fact that the confession was, in the earlier "Orders," directed to be made, not "*before*," but "*to*," His holy Church.

NOTE E.—See p. 513.

The Question of the Legal Right of Non-Communicants to Remain, considered.

It has, indeed, been argued from the absence of an express injunction to depart, since the last revision, that there is no longer any authority in the Prayer Book for the withdrawal of the non-communicants; and a *dictum* of Mr. A. J. Stephens is quoted from his Notes on the Prayer Book, to the effect that "non-communicants, if they think proper, have a *legal* right to remain during the entire administration of the Holy Sacrament" (Stephen's "Book of Common Prayer, from the Sealed Books, with Notes," Vol. II., p. 1173 compare also p. 1185). If this means that there is no power of expulsion provided, and no penalty attached to the act of remaining, it is entitled to all the respect which is due to the legal opinion of so distinguished a member of the profession. But when Mr. A. J. Stephens adds that the non-communicants remaining during the entire administration "is a practice which should be encouraged, and not, as it unfortunately is, discouraged by the clergy," it becomes necessary to bear in mind the wide distinction between the *legal* opinion of so distinguished a lawyer and his *private* theological opinion. While the former cannot but

have great weight, the latter may have—as happens to be the case in the present instance—no weight whatever. Mr. A. J. Stephens would hardly contend that it is the duty of the clergy to encourage the laity in doing that which the Church evidently intends that they should not do, whenever it so happens that no power to enforce her intention and no penalty is provided; which the clergy would be doing in this case if they were to act on his suggestion. The question is not what a contentious person may have a “legal right” to do, because the law has made no provision against it, but what, in appointing the Order of Divine Service, the Church really intended. This, and not what may be done in opposition to it, by a strict, or rather a captious, construction of the letter of the law, is what it is the duty of the clergy to encourage among the laity.

NOTE F.—See p. 516.

Meaning of the term “Minister.”

The word “Minister” is here used, not, as it is often taken, in contradiction to the word “Priest,” but as including both Bishop and Priest, and so designating the λειτουργός. And here it may not be out of place to call to mind the fact that, according to primitive and Catholic rule, the proper minister of the Eucharistic Worship is the Bishop. “Let that Eucharist be accounted valid which is under the Bishop, or him to whom the Bishop may have committed it (S. Ignat. ad Smyrn., c. 8). Even the Bishop himself is in the Eucharistic Worship not in the proper sense a sacrificer, but merely the representative of Christ, the only true Sacrificer, even as he is the only true Sacrifice; offering on behalf of his flock the creaturely elements to which the Word of Christ Himself, being an everlasting, ever-living, ever-efficacious Word, imparts their mystical character as the Body and Blood of the true Sacrifice. The Eucharistic Worship is not a *fresh* sacrifice, a *fresh* propitiation, made by the minister, over and above, in addition to, or in repetition of, the Sacrifice of Christ. It is the laying hold, the appropriation, the partaking, of the One True Sacrifice, “the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all” (Heb. x. 10). So far as there is any offering on the part of the Minister and the Congregation of the Faithful, it is the offering of the elements (the Oblation), for sanctification by Christ Himself, through His Word, to the great sacramental Mystery; the essence of the Worship consisting in the participation of the Faithful, both Minister and people, in the Sacrifice offered by Christ in heaven, through those elements so sanctified; and the Minister’s part therein consisting in “ministering” the mystic elements—made the Body and Blood of the true Sacrifice, not by the earthly Minister, but by the High Priest in heaven, in answer to the prayers of the earthly Minister and Congregation. This con-

sideration alone is sufficient to show how essential to Eucharistic Worship is the Communion of the Faithful.

NOTE G.—See p. 517.

The true Christian Sacrificial Worship.

It is a startling, a painful, and assuredly a fearful fact, that the ordinary worship of the English Church on the Lord’s Day has thus come—not in intention, it is true, nor consciously, but in fact—to bear a closer analogy to the sacrifice of Cain than to the sacrifice of Abel. Even the sacrifice of Cain was in one respect superior; for it offered to God something—the fruits of the ground—not a mere lip-service. The “excellency” of Abel’s sacrifice, however, and that wherein Cain’s was deficient, was that Abel’s sacrifice was the sacrifice appointed by God,—the offering of a *propitiatory sacrifice through the shedding of blood*, without which “there is no remission” (Heb. ix. 22), typical of the true Propitiatory Sacrifice, prepared of old, the Body of the God-man, the Lamb slain upon the Cross. Cain ignored the necessity of such a sacrifice and God’s appointment of it; his was such a sacrifice as he himself thought most fit to offer. And does not our worship labour under the same reproach, while the sacrificial Eucharistic Worship ordained by Christ forms no part of it, while the great bulk of our worshippers not only have no desire for, and habitually absent themselves from, that worship, but many of them cannot so much as endure the sound of the word “sacrifice” as associated with that worship; while the very doctrine of the atonement has, in the case of many avowedly, and in the case of many more virtually, ceased to be a part of their creed? And would that reproach be taken away by the attendance on that worship of contumacious worshippers, refusing to join in it according to Christ’s command and institution, and substituting for such dutiful and faithful participation a devotion of their own devising, not free from suspicion and danger of idolatry, clearly chargeable with the sin of wilfulness; and, as the Reformers of the English Church rightly judged, incurring the additional guilt of open defiance and “derision” of Christ’s ordinance? So long as there is no “obedience of faith” (Rom. xvi. 26) to Christ, it matters little what form the disobedience takes; one form of disobedience may be more aggravated, more heinous than another; but no form of disobedience in His worship can be acceptable to God; disobedience is disobedience still, and “obedience is better than sacrifice” (1 Sam. xv. 22). Nay more, it is obedience that made, and still makes, the one true Sacrifice, embodied in the Holy Eucharist, all-sufficient and all-availing. Who, in fact, it may be asked—for it is this that the question resolves itself into—are the “Saints” of God, but “those that have made a covenant with Him by Sacrifice,” that is, the Sacrifice

appointed by Him, in the way appointed by Him as a covenant performance? (Ps. l. 5).

NOTE H.—See p. 517.

Unauthorized and Superstitious Ceremonies:—"Triple Ablution," &c.

Among the symptoms which would seem not only to justify such a suspicion, but to render it almost unavoidable, is the affectation of distinctively Romish modes of expression, and imitation of small peculiarities (all the more significant in their imitation, the more intrinsically frivolous they are) of the Romish ceremonial. Judging from these indiscretions—to call them by no harsher name—into which even faithful and otherwise sound clergymen of the English Church are sometimes betrayed, it would seem that to give offence to their brother Churchmen is with them a very small matter indeed. But is it so light a matter to give offence, either in itself, or in respect of the consequences? Not only are individual souls offended, and by a natural process of re-action driven further away from the truth of Christ's Ordinance; but in the Church generally the progress of Church principles is lamentably impeded by the employment of terms, and the adoption of practices, upon which it is morally impossible that the great body of the members of our Church should put any other construction than this, that there is a deliberate design to re-introduce the leaven of Romanism into our Church. More especially deserving of notice and condemnation—as tending to inculcate the notion that the unconsumed elements remaining after the act of communion are *per se* the very "Body and Blood" of Christ,—is the growing practice of "triple ablution" of the Cup. What can be the impression produced upon the mind of the looker-on,—for, remember, it is all done in the Church for the express purpose of being *looked at*,—in seeing the celebrant wash out the cup, raised high above his head, turning it round and round while at his mouth, and repeating the operation three several times? Whatever doctrinal meaning this may be supposed to have for the initiated, to the uninitiated it can hardly appear otherwise than ridiculous,—unless, indeed, the sense of ridicule be overborne by the indignant sense of the profanation of the high and holy mystery by making it subservient to ceremonial puerility. Why should the seemly act of rinsing out the cup, instead of being quietly done in the Vestry, which is the proper place for it, be ostentatiously performed in the sight of wondering, and, we fear, in some instances, scoffing by-standers, as if it formed part of the holy rite itself? Is it done to advertise all men: "Behold, how superstitious I am!" For of *superstition*, not of *reverence*, is that performance an unmistakable indication. With true reverence for the Sacred

Presence in which he stands, for the Heavenly Substance of which he has been made a partaker, such elaborate trifling with holy things, under pretence of a religious ceremony, is utterly incompatible. The same may be said of another new practice, that of moving the Cup from side to side by way of making a sign of the Cross, in giving it to each communicant. Should not the very craving after these ever fresh additions to their ceremonial alarm the performers as to the *unreality* of what they are about? The *reality* of true spiritual communion with Christ in the highest mystery of His Faith and the deepest wonder of His Grace, leaves no void behind, to be filled up by such vain devices. But the mind, once set in motion in the direction of the *fanciful*, and, therefore, the *unreal*, never is, never can be, satisfied, and, accordingly, is driven for ever to seek out "many inventions." What, we may well ask, would our Blessed Lord Himself have said to this elaborate ceremonial of "triple ablution"? What, indeed, did *He* say, in Whose pretended honour it is performed? Is it not on record? "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside"—in non-communicant attendance, to wit—"the commandment of God,"—as in this case:—"Take, eat, drink ye all of this;"—"ye hold the traditions of men, as the *washing of pots and cups*, and many other such like things ye do. Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own traditions!"¹

NOTE I.—See p. 519.

*Early and Fasting Communion.*²

It is no part of the object of the present inquiry to enter upon the questions arising out of the two rules alluded to. Whatever may be their obligation, or their value, it is certain at all events that they are not anywhere referred to in Holy Scripture, nor enjoined by our Blessed Lord. The highest importance that might attach to them can never, therefore, be validly pleaded in support of a direct infringement of a positive command of Christ. And it may well be doubted whether the additional separation of the congregation, not only into communicants and non-communicants, but of the communicants themselves into early and fasting, and late and non-fasting communicants, would be conducive to edification, and to that sense of fellowship of all the members with one another, which ever has formed, and ever ought to form, a prominent feature in the character of the Christian Church, and of her common worship. The splitting up of the Church into sections, some of which think themselves holier than others, was a danger and a mischief which early manifested itself, and which cannot be too carefully guarded against.

¹ St. Mark, vii 7-9.

² This subject is now fully treated in the 1st Division of this Part.

NOTE J.—See p. 520.

Danger of the Practice from other Considerations.

Other collateral and subordinate considerations might be urged against the attempt to reintroduce the practice of non-communicant attendance; such as for example, the danger of engendering irreverence, especially in the minds of the young, by habitual presence at the most solemn act or worship as mere spectators;—the disturbance occasioned to the minds of the communicants, to the inevitable detriment of their devotion, by the presence of a mixed multitude of non-communicants, instead of the solemn stillness that reigns in a congregation of none but communicants.

I. SUPPLEMENTARY TESTIMONY, AGAINST NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE.

From the Bishop of Lincoln's 5th Address to his Diocese, 1873.*

The actual reception of the Holy Communion appears to be endangered by a practice which is now recommended by many, and even enforced by some, namely, what is commonly called "*non-communicating attendance*," or "*spiritual communion*," and which in Continental Churches has assumed the form of what is called "*perpetual adoration*" of the corporeal presence of Christ upon the altar.

Our Blessed Lord, when He instituted that Holy Sacrament, said to His disciples, "Drink ye all of this," and it is expressly stated in the Gospel that "they all drank of it."⁸ The custom of the Primitive Church is thus described by Justin Martyr:⁹ "After the consecration, the bread and wine that have been blessed are *given to everyone*¹ of those that are present." In the words of a celebrated Roman Catholic liturgical writer, Cardinal Bona, "It is certain that in the first ages of the Church, all the faithful, having one heart and one mind, continued steadfastly in breaking of bread, as the Acts of the Apostles testify,² nor was anyone permitted to be present at the sacred mysteries who could not offer and partake of the mysteries, except those who were *under penance*; and therefore 'non-communicating attendance' was in fact like a stigma of shame and a ban of excommunication." The law and custom of the Primitive Church to this effect are stated with clearness and fulness by our own learned writer on "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," Joseph Bingham.³

* Twelve Addresses delivered at his Visitation of the Diocese, by Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln, London: Rivington, 1873 (*by permission*).

⁸ Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 23.

⁹ S. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 65 and 67.

¹ ἑκάστω (c. 65). This word is repeated by him in c. 67, and there he expressly says that the consecrated elements are distributed to all present, and that all partake of them: ἡ διὰδοσις καὶ ἡ μετὰληψις ἐκάστω γίνεται.

² Acts ii. 42.

³ See Bingham, Book XV., ch. iv., and cp. the Rev. W. E. Seidmore's learned volume, "Notitia Eucharistica," ch. xiji.

It is remarkable that some persons who would impose upon us what is called "fasting Communion" as a matter of necessity, on a plea of reverential obedience to the *ancient Church*, are also found to recommend, and even to require, "non-communicating attendance," in *opposition* to the law and practice of the *ancient Church*, and to the command of Christ Himself. And this is done even on a pretext of reverence for the Holy Sacrament, and for Christ Himself, Who instituted it, not in order to be looked at, but to be received, according to His express command. But all such pleas of reverence are rebuked and rejected with holy indignation by Him who said, "Why call ye Me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"⁴

That the Church of England desires and intends that all her members who have been baptized and confirmed should come to the Holy Communion, and that all who are present at the administration of the Communion should communicate, appears to be certain. In papal times in England, as in Roman Catholic countries now, many were present at the Mass who did not receive, except once a year—at Easter. And the Church of England at the Reformation did not, and could not, at once change that state of things; but she showed clearly what her mind was in this matter. She abandoned the word *Mass*, which is not older than the fourth century, and she restored the terms used by St. Paul, the "*Lord's Supper*,"⁵ and "*Communion*,"⁶ the "*Lord's Table*,"⁷ which are meaningless to those who are not partakers of the spiritual food set before them in the Holy Eucharist. She began with inviting the communicants to approach the Holy Table and to take their places in the choir,⁸ and by commanding the rest to depart from it. In the twenty-fifth Article she declares her judgment that "the Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, but that we should duly use them." And in the Prayer Books of 1552 and of 1559 and 1604 and 1637,⁹ in the exhortation after the Prayer for the Church militant, the minister, if he saw the people negligent in coming to the Communion, was enjoined to say, "Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that to this unkindness ye will not add any more; which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. . . Besides, the whole of her Service after the Prayer

⁴ Luke vi. 46. ⁵ 1 Cor. xi. 20. ⁶ 1 Cor. x. 16. ⁷ 1 Cor. x. 21.

⁸ Rubric after the Offertory in King Edw. VI. first Pr. Book.

⁹ It seems that these strong sentences produced their desired effect, so far as to deter persons from remaining in church during the time of the administration, without communicating; for, though repeated in the editions of the Prayer Book from 1552 to 1637, they do not appear in the Prayer Book of the next and final revision, that of 1662. And this agrees with the statement of Bishop Cosin, 1652, quoted below.

for the Church militant is so framed as to be applicable only to actual communicants. It cannot reasonably be used by others. And in her rubrics in the Office, she contemplates that all present will communicate. Thus she says, "This general Confession shall be made in the name of all that are minded to receive the Communion by one of the ministers; all the people kneeling, and saying,"—where it is evident that they who communicate are synonymous with "all the people," and that therefore there are none present who do not communicate. And again she says, "The minister shall first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests, and deacons, in like manner (if any be present), and after that to the people also in order." And again, "if the consecrated bread and wine be all spent before all have communicated, then he is to consecrate more;" and again, "*when all have communicated*, the minister shall return to the Lord's Table."

It is said, indeed, that some portion of the Communion Service is ordered "to be said or sung," and that the singing of that portion implies the presence of a choir, consisting of some who are not communicants. But if persons are fit to sing God's praises at these holy mysteries, they ought to be fit to partake of them. This rubric affords a very good test, whether the persons in question are duly qualified to lead the people in the worship of the sanctuary. Can we imagine that in the Old Dispensation any would be allowed to minister as Levites if they were not fit to partake of the peace-offerings of the altar? Can we suppose that any one could be permitted to be a guest at the Hebrew Passover who did not comply with the Divine command to eat of it? As to the presence of children at the Holy Communion, surely it would reflect discredit on the training of our Church choirs if no Samuels could be found in them, qualified to bless God with their hearts and souls, for His love to them in giving them that heavenly food, as well as to sing His praise with their voices for vouchsafing it to others.

If now it be necessary to appeal to a credible witness of the mind of the Church of England in this question of "Non-communicating attendance," we may cite the words of one whose authority in the liturgical matters of our own and other Churches stands deservedly high, Bishop Cosin, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who, in his treatise on the religion, discipline, and ritual of the Church of England, written in 1652, describes the Order of the administration of the Holy Eucharist, in the Church of England, and says, "After the Prayer for the Church militant, those persons who are not about to communicate with us, are dismissed out of the Church."¹

¹ Bishop Cosin's word's are "*postea, qui nobis cum communicaturi non sunt, emittuntur foras*" (Bishop Cosin, "*Works*," iv., 359, ed. Oxford, 1851.)

The condition of other Churches appears to show the wisdom of the Church of England in this respect.

No one who observes the present condition of some foreign Churches, can doubt that the encouragement of what is called "spiritual communion," and "perpetual adoration," has tended to supplant and supersede the reception of the Holy Communion, and to confirm the erroneous dogma of transubstantiation; and may therefore be not uncharitably called a device of the Evil One acting with insidious subtlety by means of persons having holy intentions in their minds, and holy words in their mouths, and endeavouring, by their agency, to alter and impair the Divine character of the Holy Eucharist, and to deprive the Church of the heavenly nourishment which Christ bestows in that Holy Sacrament.²

But anything that is a breach of Christ's law cannot be otherwise than offensive to Him. And this growing practice of "non-communicating attendance" calls also for strong reprobation, as tending to immoral results. It is a compromise between God and the World; and seeks to reconcile the two. Actual reception of the Holy Communion has this practical benefit among others, that it demands previous, strict self-examination, and godly repentance, and the forsaking of sin, and holy resolutions of amendment, as indispensable pre-requisites for that reception. But "spiritual communion" and "adoration" require no such moral preparation. They exact no turning away from the world, the flesh, and the devil, with remorse and shame, and turning to God with the whole heart; and yet he who *spiritually* communicates and adores, is flattered by others and himself, with the fond imagination that he is performing a religious exercise of high and holy devotion. Verily, as the wise man has said, "There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death."³

. . . And while we are bound to utter a protest against "non-communicating attendance," let us not forget to humble and condemn ourselves for our own heartlessness and unthankfulness, and for the lamentable spectacle which is presented in our churches by crowds of adult professing Christians on the Lord's Day, turning their backs with indifference and self-complacency on the Lord's Table, at the very time when the bread and wine, with which He feeds our souls, are placed upon it. Let us not flatter them that they are safe. Let us not speed them forth from the Church with joyous music, and words of peace. No; they are excommunicating themselves, and they ought to hear a solemn warning and wholesome reproof from us.

"WHY CALL YE ME LORD, LORD, AND DO NOT THE THINGS WHICH I SAY?"

² The warning words in the Apocalypse to the Evil One, "Hurt not the oil and wine," may be applied here. May I here be allowed to refer to my notes on Rev. vi. 6?

³ Prov. xiv. 12,

Christopher Lincoln.

II. SUPPLEMENTARY TESTIMONY.

From Dr. Moberly's Bampton Lectures, 1868.

[The following observations on Non-Communicant attendance, by the late Bishop of Salisbury, are also a strong condemnation of the revived practice.]

The observations which I have made upon the primitive doctrine of Holy Communion, as excluding the Roman practice of private Masses, appear to me to tell with not less force against the recently introduced usage in some churches of the Anglican communion, of persons of adult age, and confirmed, who are therefore capable of communicating, remaining in the Church during the time of the celebration, and witnessing without partaking of the sacrament. Is it supposed that this is a primitive practice? Is it not certain that St. Chrysostom speaks of it in the severest terms when adopted, apparently as a new thing, among the careless and imperfectly instructed Churchmen of Constantinople in his own days? And if other denunciations of it are seldom found in the writings of other ancient fathers, is not the true explanation of the absence of such denunciations to be found in the fact that such an usage was absolutely unknown and unthought of in the early Church? And does it not militate directly against the very fundamental idea of the commemorative sacrifice as the great and solemn offering on the part of the whole Church that men should thus, not refrain only, but exhibit, in a sort of presumption of will-worship, the fact of their determination to refrain from communion? Is it not in fact a part of the natural result,—of the logical consequence of the Romish doctrine, which regards the entire sacrifice as completed by the sacrificing priest singly and alone, and ignores the necessary though subordinate part which the Church in her faithful people contributes to the joint act? The only possible place which a faithful lay Christian, or, I would add, a priest not celebrating, can rightly have when the Holy Eucharist is celebrated, is the place of a communicant. If there be reasons and causes personal to himself why he should not on the particular occasion communicate, the same reasonable causes require his absence from the celebration. 'I say not these things,' says St. Chrysostom, 'in order that ye should partake anyhow (*ἀπλῶς*), but that ye should make yourselves worthy. Art thou not worthy of the sacrifice, nor of the participation? Then neither art thou worthy of the prayers. Thou hearest the crier, who standeth and saith, Depart all ye who are in penance. All that do not partake are in penance. If thou art one of those who are in penance, thou must not partake; for whosoever doth not partake is one of those who are in penance. 'Consider,' he goes on to say, 'consider I beseech you. The King's table is spread, angels are ministering at the table, the King Himself is present; and dost thou stand

gaping by? He speaketh these words to all who shamelessly and boldly stand by. For every one who refuseth to partake of the mysteries doth stand shamelessly and boldly by. Tell me, if any man invited to a feast should wash his hands, and sit down, and be ready for the board, and then refuse to partake, does he not insult the giver of the invitation? Were it not better that such an one should not be present at all? In such a way thou didst present thyself. Thou didst sing the hymn; amidst all the rest thou didst acknowledge thyself to be one of the worthy, by not having withdrawn along with the unworthy. How is it then that thou didst remain, and yet partakest not of the table?' It is indeed very possible that there is a great difference between the conduct of those whom St. Chrysostom refers to, and of those who do the like in the present day, that while in the former case it may have been merely a fashion of carelessness and neglect, it is in the latter the effect of theory, and intended as reverence. But I do not see that the argument is the less applicable to the one case than to the other, even if this be so, while the theory exemplified in the modern practice is precisely that against which it is my particular purpose to object.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY TESTIMONY,

From the last Charge of the late Bishop of Oxford.

[We conclude these Testimonies with a strong condemnation against the revived Practice and its consequences, in an extract taken (with his concurrence for the 1st Edition) from his parting Charge to the Diocese of Oxford, by the late Bishop Wilberforce.—who bore such an influential part in the Revival of Anglican Church Principles during the latter half-century.]

A reasonable growth in the decency and beauty of the externals of worship naturally accompanies and often helps forward increasing devotion, a growing sense of God's presence with His Church, and of the greatness of the service which we ought to render to the Heavenly King. The restoration of our churches, the comely and often beautiful adorning of our chancels, the vast improvement in our church music, the greater order, efficiency, and heartiness of our services, all instance this, and call for our deepest gratitude to God. . . . But whilst I rejoice in this altered tone of our services, I must not fail to remind you that there may be changes, in what look at first sight to be mere outward matters, which do involve great doctrinal questions; and, as by the mere substitution of one flag for another, there may be indicated in a very small alteration changes which reach very far indeed. As to all such changes, it is of course impossible to be too watchful. They may, if they are allowed to establish themselves without question, lead, almost before we are aware, into an alteration of our position as to great and fundamental truths. Thus,

for example, our Church and nation did deliberately, at the Reformation in the sixteenth century, reject at once the tyrannous usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, and a whole system of superstitious accretions which, under the shadow of the Papacy, had, moss-like, overgrown the fair proportions of primitive truth. . . But there is also a set of changes which men may aim at introducing, changes which do not tend to the perfecting of our own system, but to the introduction instead of it of that which is in whole or in part really another. Such changes as these, whether their advocates do or do not see the conclusion to which they are naturally leading, do really symbolize a body different from our own, and tend, so far as they are allowed, to transform our own into it. Suffer me to name to you, as an instance of what I mean, one practice, the growth of which amongst us I view with great apprehension. I mean a tendency unquestionably manifested in certain quarters to change the idea of the Holy Eucharist from a Communion of the Faithful into a function of the celebrating priest. Such a change is in my most mature judgment no lawful progress in increased reverence for that great Sacrament upon the lines of our own Church. I cannot but regard it as the adoption of the view, and therefore of the practice of another Church, to whose doctrine as to the Holy Eucharist it naturally belongs, whereas it is absolutely subversive of that which has been received amongst ourselves. For in strict agreement as we believe with the words of Holy Writ, and with the teaching of the Primitive Church, we do not regard the Communion of the Faithful as an accident of the Holy Eucharist, which may be added to it, or separated from it, at will, leaving the great function of intercession untouched by the omission, but as of the very essence of the Sacrament. So it was at the institution 'Take, eat, this is My Body.' The mysterious Presence and the actual Communion are bound indissolubly together. So they are in St. Paul's address to the Corinthian Church. 'The bread that we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?' Such was the custom of those first Christians who came together on the first day of the week, not to see even an apostle celebrate, but to break bread, to partake, that is, plainly, themselves, of the consecrated elements. From this, the solitary Mass of Rome is so absolutely unwarranted a deviation, that we can have no assurance that it does not altogether overthrow the very nature of the Sacrament. It is certain that this practice is most intimately connected, both as to cause and consequence, with the greatest practical corruptions of the Papal Communion. Whatever, then, tends to its introduction amongst ourselves appears to me to threaten the existence of our whole religious system. Such tendencies I see in the attempt to make the celebrations of the Holy Eucharist at our principal Sunday morning service impressive, if not gorgeous,

as a display, whilst the congregation are urged to remain through the service as spectators, but not to partake of the Sacrament as communicants. Such a tendency I detect in the multiplication of choral Communion, where few members of the choir communicate. The very purpose for which these practices are recommended seems to me at variance with the true idea of the Eucharist, for, effectual with God, as we doubt not, through Christ our Lord, this great appointed act of the Church's intercession is, I know no ground for supposing that prayer offered up by those who are present at the celebration, but do not partake in it, is one whit more prevailing than prayer at any other time or in any other place. Nor does it seem to me that a surrounding crowd of non-communicants adds any honour to the Sacrament. On the contrary, to remain and not to communicate seems to me to dishonour Christ's institution, and to injure the soul of the worshipper. Far truer, far more reverend, far safer for the unprepared spirit, was the old warning, which before the sacred mysteries, proclaimed to the unbaptised, to the catechumen and to the unreconciled penitent, that he should depart. Against these changes, then, and such as these, I venture, with a parting voice, to warn you.

Resistance to Rome's Corruptions.

"Never so far as I can read the signs of the times, was there a period when re-union with the corrupt Communion which has ever persecuted with a thoroughly Donatist hatred our Reformed Church, was more impossible than now. More and more, by an arrogance which increases with her weakness, by a growing intolerance for truth which she once endured, by a new fruitfulness in error, and by a blind infatuation which looks to me most like to a judicial sentence, which makes her able to forget truth alone and to learn nothing but falsehood, the Papal See is alienating from itself its own Italy, its favourite Spain, its old adherents in Germany, and its most enlightened children in France. At such a moment, we are told, its hopes are concentrated on England. It has always been, it still remains, the special charge of the English Church to resist these insidious assaults. Nor, God helping her, will that Church resist in vain. The sects, like the undisciplined mass whose burning zeal cannot compensate in the terrible time of an invasion for their lack of disciplined movements and compact organization, would soon fall before her: but the Catholic Church of England, whilst she is true to herself and to her God, can, and in Christ's strength I venture to say will, ward off this nation so tremendous an evil as its subjugation to the yoke of the Papacy."

Would that the present Spiritual Rulers in our Church took heed to the solemn warnings of the Bishops recorded above, and in the exercise of the Divine authority committed to them—arrest the revival of this corrupt practice of Rome, before it has perverted the vital principle of the Holy Communion in its Primitive purity,—restored to us by the English Reformation!

CONCLUDING TREATISE.—THE TRUE BOND OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

By the late Rev. Dr. Biber,—written expressly for this work.

O, Holy Christ! when will it be
That we, lost sinners, born of earth,
Recover'd by a second birth,
Shall perfect Union have in Thee?
When will Thy Church, from error free
And graceless strife, in conscious worth,
To an ungodly world set forth
Of Godliness the Mystery?

Come, Holy Christ, with Spirit's might
Thy severed members all unite
In Oneness of Thy Flesh and Blood;
That they may shine as stars of light,
And never-ceasing hymns indite
Of glory to the Triune God.

"That they all may be one!"

St. John xvii. 21.

SUBJECT.—OUR SPIRITUAL LIFE AND COMMUNION IN CHRIST, BY THE POWER OF HIS RESURRECTION, IN THE SACRAMENT OF HIS LAST SUPPER,—THE TRUE BOND OF CHRISTIAN UNITY—THE TRUE "EIRENICON."

ON all sides the cry for Unity resounds: East and West, North and South, wherever the Name of Christ is named, the cry for Unity is raised. It is re-echoed by thousands of voices; it reverberates in thousands of hearts. That it is so raised and responded to is a hopeful sign, full of good omen for the future of the Church and of the world at large. Meanwhile, it must not be forgotten that the craving for Unity so universally expressed is an evidence of the want of Unity, just as the craving of hunger is an evidence of the want of food. It is indeed the deep conviction of the great loss to the Church from the want of Unity, that is now so generally felt throughout Christendom.

Neither must it be forgotten that this cry for Unity, rising from so many voices, is by no means a concordant, that, on the contrary, it is a most discordant cry. Too generally it means no more on the part of those who utter it than that they desire every one else to conform to themselves in their modes of thought and speech and action. And as this sort of desire for Unity is reciprocated by those to whom it is addressed, it follows, as a natural consequence, that the more eagerly Unity is sought, the more remote becomes the prospect of its being achieved. Take, by way of exemplification, the two chief Patriarchates. Rome clamours for Unity more loudly than any Church in Christendom: it has used, and continues to use, the most violent and unscrupulous efforts to bring about what it calls Unity, meaning thereby absolute submission to the "See of St. Peter." Constantinople, though for lack of power less violent in putting forth its pretensions, nevertheless regards conformity with, and submission to, what it terms the "Holy Ortho-

dox Church" as the *sine qua non* of Unity, and the only method of obtaining it. Nor is it the two great Patriarchates only, and other Churches of kindred origin and position,¹ that contend for this one-sided Unity. The smallest, the most isolated sect intrudes upon others its claims for Unity—that is, for conformity with itself—not unfrequently in a spirit of arrogance and intolerance proportionate to its own insignificance; a fact of which Quakerism and Irvingism may serve as notable illustrations.

Unpromising as all this sounds for the cause of Unity, the fact remains that the desire for Unity is a *true instinct* of the Church, which has its roots deep in her foundations; and the widely increased expression of it, however incongruous and inconsistent, is a hopeful symptom, a sign that its accomplishment cannot be far distant. The mutual acknowledgment that Unity is desirable, is itself a rallying point, and cannot fail to beget a wish, and to lead to an endeavour, for the removal of the obstacles which stand in the way of its realization. Upon a dispassionate examination of these obstacles it will soon be discovered—indeed great progress has already been made towards the discovery among the most sincere and ardent aspirants after Unity—that the difficulty of arriving at Unity lies mainly on the surface of the Church's outward developments of form and doctrine, while the principle of Unity lies hidden, and in a manner buried, deep in the heart of the Church, in her inner life.

To search for it there is the business of those who are in earnest in their desire for Unity, who aim at a real, not an *unreal*, or *mock* Unity.²

¹ The Anglican Church, strong in her Apostolic Descent, and having been more successful than other Churches in her Reformation on primitive principles, is not altogether free from the charge of endeavouring to assimilate other Churches to herself. Happily that tendency has received a salutary check by the judicious abstinence from proselytism, of which the Anglo-Continental Society has set the example.

² A formal, and a most hopeful step towards the attainment of this Unity was made at the Congress at Cologne (18

The latter, indeed, is more easy of attainment. The short method for bringing it about is compromise, the "agreement to differ;" which is the panacea of shallow minds, devoid of an inner foundation of truth. Those who advocate it fail to perceive that although mutual concessions between error and error are possible, such concessions can have no place between Truth and error. Error, changeable and ever-changing, is of its very nature susceptible of, and under certain conditions, among which expediency holds the first place, ready for, compromise. Truth, by virtue of its unchanging and unchangeable nature, is always and of necessity uncompromising.

From these considerations it is evident that all those schemes of comprehension which are set on foot by indifferentists, latitudinarians—*anglice*, "Broad" Churchmen—may be at once dismissed as delusive and unreal. They are intrinsically unsatisfactory, and their results are infallibly disappointing.

Turning from them, let those who long for Unity betake themselves to search for the root of it among the foundations of the Church. From that alone, by an inward growth, can the noble tree of Unity be reared, and by careful culture be brought to bear its precious fruit. Seeking in that direction, they will not be long in discovering that, while Unity is conformable to the declared intention of Christ, to the revealed purpose of God in Christ, the Holy Ghost teaches us to anticipate, and to look for, its fruits. The Apostolic Epistles leave no room for doubt on the subject: "I beseech (exhort—*παρακαλῶ*) you, brethren," St. Paul writes, "by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all *speake the same thing*, and that there be *no divisions* (schisms—*σχίσματα*) among you, but that ye be perfected in the same mind and in the same judgment."³ Again: "Let us walk by the same rule, mind the same thing."⁴ Again: "Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace

shall be with you."⁵ Again: "The God of patience and consolation grant you to be *like-minded* one toward another, according to Christ Jesus, that ye may *with one mind and one mouth* glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁶

Undeniably, those to whom these injunctions were addressed were expected to be at Unity among themselves; they were to exhibit Unity in thought, word, and action. It is through such Unity that God was to be glorified by them. And that this Unity would be "according to Christ Jesus," that it was the mind of Christ that such Unity should reign among them, is attested by that most solemn, and assuredly not vain or fruitless, prayer which, on the eve of His passion, the Lord Jesus addressed to His Father for His disciples and for "those which should believe on Him through their Word" "that they all might be One."⁷

That the Unity so prayed for was to be, not an unreal or apparent Unity, but a Unity *most real*, is equally manifest from the fact that it should be the counterpart of the Unity between the Father and Himself: "that they may be One even as We are One;" "that they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us."⁸ Lastly, the fruit of that Unity is declared to be the fulfilment of the Church's high mission in the conversion of the world: "That the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

We may then, without fear of contradiction, lay down the following propositions:—

Unity is, according to the mind of Christ, the normal condition of the Church, and her indispensable qualification for the performance of her high mission, which is to carry on the work of Christ, even unto the end of the world.

Not only, therefore, is the Unity of the Church attainable, but, until it is attained, the work of Christ must remain incomplete; its glorious consummation cannot be realized.

Clearly, therefore, the endeavour to attain unity is the *common duty* of the Church as a body, and of all her branches and members in particular; until it is attained, the state of the Church, and consequently of her members, is necessarily unsatisfactory and unfruitful.

This being granted, the question arises, how can this unity be attained? in what way, by what means, is it to be sought? That question

1872), where representatives of the Greek, the Latin, and the Anglican Churches—not indeed in an official capacity, for which the time is not yet ripe, but as individuals pledging themselves to exercise their influence towards its attainment in their respective Communion—agreed to the following Basis of Reunion:—"We believe that Jesus Christ is God, and our Saviour. We believe that Jesus Christ has founded a Church. We accept 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.' The external basis of our Union is—Holy Scripture, the ancient Fathers, the indubitably Ecumenical Councils."

³ 1 Cor. i. 10.

⁴ Phil. iii. 16.

⁵ 2 Cor. xiii. 11. ⁶ Rom. xv. 5, 6. ⁷ St. John xvii. 20, 21
⁸ St. John xvii. 21, 22.

answers itself when we consider the nature of Unity and its source. Both are Divine. Its nature, being analagous to the Unity between the Father and Son, must be Divine. And so must be its source. It is the inner Life of Godhead—that which constitutes the Unity of the Father with the Son. The same Life, communicated to His Church and her members from the Father through the Son, is the source of their Unity with the Father, in and through the Son. “That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us.”⁹ “As the Father hath Life in Himself, so hath he given to the Son to have Life in Himself.”¹¹ “As the Living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me.”² “The words that I speak unto you they are spirit, and they are life.”³

Thus, by a closely-linked chain of spiritual verities, we arrive at the root of the whole matter—at a plain, direct, and irrefragable answer to the question: “How is Unity to be attained?”—even by *spiritually* “eating” Christ. Nothing can be plainer, nothing more conclusive.

The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, that Divine Mystery, in which by spiritually eating the Body and Blood of Christ, we are made partakers of Him, is the secret power, the hidden source, from which Unity in the Church springs—from which alone it can spring. Hence the paramount importance of a true *spiritual* perception of the nature of this Divine Ordinance of Holy Communion; hence the imperative duty, incumbent on every member of the Church, to be a constant and faithful partaker of Christ in the Holy Mystery of His Body and Blood. Hence also it is clearly apparent that the neglect of that Holy Sacrament, so lamentably prevalent at the present day among the professed members of the Church, must be fatal to her Unity, and that every perversion of it cannot fail to entail upon the Church contentions, divisions, and inextricable confusion.⁴

And by parity of reasoning, it is no less clearly apparent that all attempts to restore the Church to a state of Unity must be futile, and prove

abortive, which do not proceed upon the basis of Unity with Christ, and, as a consequence thereof, Unity with one another, in and through that Holy Sacrament;—that “Eucharistic Restoration”⁵ is the true and the only effectual means for the restoration of the Church’s Unity.

If confirmatory evidence of what is here, not merely asserted, but demonstrated were wanting, we should easily find it in the fact that Christendom, in its present state of distraction, presents on all sides deviations, both of doctrine and of practice, from the happy condition which the primitive Church exhibited, while the command of Christ—“Do this in commemoration⁶ of Me,”⁷ and the promise of Christ—“He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in Him”⁸—was fresh in men’s minds and hearts, and the idea of being One with Christ, was cherished as a living reality, the *summum bonum* and the main purpose of life of the new, the regenerated man.⁹ “They continued,”¹¹ so runs the description of the primitive Church, “stedfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship and in *breaking of bread*² and in the prayers.”³ Continuing daily⁴ with one accord⁵ in the temple, and *breaking bread* from house to house (at home),⁶ they did eat their meat (partook of food)⁷ in gladness (joyousness)⁸ and singleness⁹ of heart.”

When, afterwards, the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem threw out her shoots and runners

⁵ See Part III. by the same author in the 2nd Edition.

⁶ As a matter of critical accuracy, the term “commemoration” is preferable to the term “remembrance,” as conveying the idea of an active exertion of the mind, having for its object continued remembrance. Both, of course, answer to “ἀνάμνησις,” but the former expresses the idea more fully, more energetically.

⁷ St. Luke, xxii. 19.—1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. ⁸ St. John vi. 55.

⁹ 2 Cor. v. 17.—Eph. iv. 24. ¹ Acts ii. 42, 46.

² τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου—the breaking of the bread—a certain definite act special to the occasion, done upon a certain definite substance, the act being done in imitation of, and according to the command of Christ—“Do this;” the substance being consecrated by the Word of Christ—“This is My Body”—as the representation of the Body of Christ.

³ ταῖς προσευχαῖς—the prayers. The definite article and the plural number alike point to the use of stated forms of prayer associated with the “breaking of Bread,” and indicate the germ of those Liturgies which, notwithstanding certain variations introduced in the course of time and in different Churches, still bear evidence of a common origin and fundamental similarity of structure. The Liturgies of the Churches are an Apostolic inheritance.

⁴ See Appendix, Note B.

⁵ ὁμοθυμαδὸν, unanimously, as being of one mind.

⁶ See Appendix, Note C. ⁷ Ditto, Note D.

⁸ Ditto, Note E. ⁹ Ditto, Note A.

⁹ St. John xvii. 21. ¹ St. John v. 26. ² St. John vi. 57.

³ St. John vi. 63.

⁴ See the masterly analysis of the rise and progress of the most recent phase of such confusion wrought in the English Church, from the pen of the Bishop of Western New York in the third Part of this Series.

in every direction ; when Churches were founded among the Gentiles, unconnected with the temple service and its traditions, the Ordinance of Bread and Wine, instituted by the King of Righteousness and Peace¹ long before the giving of the law, and re-enacted in a fuller and deeper sense by Him Who had "come to fulfil the law,"² became the universal act of worship of those who by Holy Baptism had been initiated in the Faith and incorporated in the Church ; the only act of worship appointed by Him to Whom alone it belongs to determine *how* He will be worshipped ; in what act, to be performed by man, He will permit man to approach Him, and give to man the pledge of His coming to meet him.⁴ The promise, "My Father will love him, and We will come unto him, and make Our abode with him,"⁵ is to him who *loves*, not to him who only *professes* to love the Lord Jesus, while setting His work at naught, treating it as if it had not been spoken ; it is to him who testifies his love for Him by "keeping His sayings."⁶

To all the "sayings" of our Blessed Lord, no doubt, this statement applies ; they are to be kept, *i.e.*, obeyed, conformed to, by those who truly love Him. Yet if among those sayings there be any to which it pre-eminently applies, are they not evidently those wherein He declares the relation in which they who believe in Him and love Him stand to Him, and through Him to the Father : the sayings in which He points out the way of coming to the Father through Him, of obtaining through Him eternal life from the Father ; and among those sayings, again, more especially that which furnishes the key to the mystery involved in all the others—even that last and farewell saying addressed to His disciples on the eve of His giving His Body to be broken and His Blood to be shed for them upon the cross, on the eve of His agonizing anticipation of that His fearful suffering and death—the saying : "*Do this in commemoration of Me.*"

That saying, that command, stands out in all the majesty of Divine simplicity, high above every other word of instruction or command

contained in God's Holy Word touching the purpose of God towards man, and the accomplishment of that purpose in man. It presents a rallying point for all who profess the faith of Christ, however much they may have become divergent and even estranged from each other, through the traditions of past ages of the Church, and the extent of their reception of Christian truth. To maintain it in its sublime simplicity, as it fell from the Saviour's lips, to guard it from perversion or adulteration of any kind, and to promote universal, cheerful, and faithful obedience to it, is the way, and the only way, to restore Unity, and so to bring about the fulfilment of our Lord's most fervent prayer, the consummation of God's glorious purpose.

To the Christ-loving, the humble and child-like, the truly and simply believing soul, the fact of the command having been so given is all-sufficient. Even if no special promise were attached to it, no clue afforded to the nature of that secret inward operation by which the blessed effects resulting from the act so enjoined are brought about, the command alone, as coming from a loving Saviour, Who laid down His life for us, must be felt as an irresistible call for compliance with it. Has Christ given His Body to be broken, His Blood to be shed for us, and shall we—knowing it is His pleasure that we should do so—refuse to perform so simple, so easy an act, as that of eating bread and drinking wine, which in some mysterious way He connects with the purpose for which He sacrificed His life, and our performance of which He will graciously accept as an evidence of our love for Him, in grateful response to His love for us,⁷ attested by so great a sacrifice ?

If Christ had made the performance of that act by us the *condition* of His self-sacrifice for us ; if He had said, "I am ready to lay down My life in order to procure for you a benefit the nature of which you are not able to understand, though you may estimate its value by the greatness of the sacrifice, provided you will undertake to perform this simple act, the nature and effects of which you are, likewise, unable to understand and to appreciate ;"—if this had been the proposal made by Christ—who is there that would have refused, or even hesitated, to enter into the required promise ? And when He has, *unconditionally*, as an act of *free grace*, made the sacrifice, shall we hold back from the

¹ Gen. xiv. 18 ; and Heb. vii. 1—3. Compare as to the Person of Melchisedec, and the Ordinance instituted by Him in prophetic anticipation of the Holy Eucharist, Part VII., pp. 227, 3, and Note T, p. 235.

² St. Matt. v. 17.

⁴ Exod. xxv. 22 ; xxix. 42, 43. Heb. vii. 1, 10.

⁵ St. John xiv. 23.

⁶ St. John xiv. 24.

⁷ 1 John iv. 10, 19

performance of the act, the easy and simple act, which He requires us to perform in return? It is simply incredible, inconceivable!

And yet it is a fact—a deplorable, a disgraceful fact—that many do hold back, that they have recourse to numberless arguments for nullifying, and endless pleas for evading, the command of His dying love. It is hard to say which is most to be wondered at and condemned—the exceeding folly or the black ingratitude of such conduct.

But more than this. He who has so freely laid down His life for us—whose every command, whatever it might be, and above all His dying injunction, has thus a sacred claim to our willing, our unquestioning, obedience—has been graciously pleased to attach to His command a promise which should operate as an additional inducement to yield to it that obedience which, independently of any promise on His part, He may so justly claim. And what is that promise? It is no less than the gift of eternal life! And forasmuch as the mortal part of our nature is not, in its natural condition, susceptible of that gift, the promise is twofold—to the soul, which is capable of receiving it, at this time present; to the body, which is now incapable of receiving it, at a future time; and thus eventually, to the whole man. “Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath”⁸—not *shall have*, but *hath*—the precious gift; the high reward being actually concurrent with the act of obedience to which the promise is attached. And to the body the same promise is given at a future time, in the day of the resurrection, when the body, separated for a season from the soul, shall be re-united to it,⁹ not as a body subject to death, but as a body endued, like the soul, with eternal life: “I will raise him up at the last day.”¹

The nature of this gift of eternal life so far surpasses all our capacities, and its effect upon the condition of those who seek, and seeking, obtain it, all our conceptions, that if it were imparted to us suddenly and in all its fulness, we should be completely overpowered by it. The weakness of our nature would be utterly unable to sustain it; in our consciousness the sense of our identity would be lost; we should in a manner be annihilated.

It is in mercy and graciousness, therefore,

that the conveyance of this precious gift is effected by degrees, and under a veil, in such wise as to enlarge our capacity, and at the same time to quicken our desire for it.

The first step towards the accomplishment of that great and gracious purpose, coeval in God's counsel with the creation of man—was the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Ever-Blessed Trinity; the taking, in the Person of the Man Jesus, the manhood into God. From this the transition was effected to the fellowship of man with God, through the manhood of the God-man Christ Jesus. He having become “in fashion as a man,”² a partaker of man's nature,³ and having in that nature, pure and sinless in His own person,⁴ taken upon Himself the responsibility, paid the penalty of, and thereby made a propitiation for,⁵ the sins of all that partake of the same nature by their common descent from Adam, wrought out a humanity reconciled by His atoning sacrifice,⁶ a humanity to which, in all who should claim the privilege of their brotherhood⁷ with Him, the gift of eternal life might be imparted according to the measure of their growing capacity and desire for it.⁸ The individual soul, inwardly quickened by the Spirit⁹ in the initiatory Sacrament of Baptism,¹ might, as soon as, with its faculties expanded, it became conscious of the germ of a new life implanted in it, seek to imbibe ever fresh and ever increasing supplies of that eternal life² which, in the person of Jesus Christ, had become the birthright³ of the new humanity⁴ that takes its rise, not from the first, but from the second Adam.⁵ Fellowship of nature being established between Christ and the regenerated man,⁶ eternal life might be communicated from the former to the latter. And with a view to this communication, this transfusion of eternal life from the person of Christ to every soul willing to receive, desirous of obtaining, that gift—the body being, in its present condition of mortality, incapable of receiving it,⁷—the Lord Jesus Christ appointed the Sacrament of His body and Blood as the channel through

² Phil. ii. 8. ³ St. John i. 14. Heb. ii. 16.

⁴ Heb. iv. 15. ¹ Pet. ii. 22. ¹ John iii. 5.

⁵ ¹ Pet. ii. 24. ¹ John ii. 2. ⁶ ² Cor. v. 13. Col. i. 20.

⁷ Rom. viii. 29. Heb. ii. 11, 12. ⁸ St. John i. 12, 16.

⁹ Eph. ii. 1, 5. Col. ii. 13. ¹ Cor. xv. 45.

¹ St. John iii. 5, 6. Tit. iii. 5.

² St. John. x. 10. Col. ii. 19. ³ Gal. iv. 5-7.

⁴ Eph. iv. 24. Col. iii. 10. ² Cor. v. 17.

⁵ ¹ Cor. xv. 47. Eph. ii. 10. ⁶ ¹ Cor. i. 9. ⁹ John i. 3.

⁷ ¹ Cor. xv. 50. Rom. viii. 7. Gal. v. 17.

⁸ St. John vi. 54 ⁹ ² Cor. v. 1-4.—¹ Thes. iv. 16.

¹ St. John, vi. 54.—¹ Cor. xv. 35, 36, 42-44.

which the transfusion, the communication, should take place.

Meanwhile the human nature of Jesus, identified with Godhead by the Incarnation, has itself undergone a mighty change. Having by His death upon the cross, by the burial of His Body in the tomb, by the descent of His Soul into Hades, become in every respect—sin only, but not its penalty, excepted—conformable to that humanity which, that He might redeem it, He had assumed;—having thus satisfied all the claims which sin, and through sin Satan, the author of sin, had upon it, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity re-assumed that Soul and Body re-united, in which, from the moment of the Incarnation, He had dwelt bodily in all the fulness of Godhead. Christ the God-man rose from the dead, in the completeness of His human nature; but with this difference, that the Body so raised was no longer a natural, it was a *spiritual* Body. As such it had no longer affinity with man's natural body, but as an integral portion of Christ, it retained affinity with the soul of man. The substance and power of life indwelling in Christ's spiritual body was communicable to the soul of man; and the soul of man made capable of receiving it into itself, and of being, by assimilation,⁸ converted into the likeness of Christ's nature, and thereby made a partaker of the Divine nature.⁹ The body, indeed, of the natural man, being incapable of receiving the things of the Spirit¹ remains in its former condition; it is not affected by the gift of spiritual life, except in so far as the soul, growing stronger and stronger in the life of God, acquires more and more power over the body, regaining over it that control which it had lost by the inversion, through sin, of the divinely appointed relation between soul and body.²

The command of the Lord Jesus to His disciples, therefore, unintelligible when understood in a carnal sense, unintelligible with regard to His natural Flesh and Blood, though given by anticipation while He was as yet with His disciples in His natural Body, had a prophetic reference to His spiritual Body. The elements of Bread and Wine which He bade them eat and drink as His Flesh and Blood had a twofold mystical reference; retrospectively to His natural Body about to be sacrificed on the

cross, to the natural Blood about to be shed from His wounded side; and prospectively to the Flesh and Blood of His spiritual Body, when He should have risen from the dead. In that He said, "Take, eat, this is My Body"—"Drink ye all of this, this is My Blood"³—He signified both the natural Body about to be sacrificed, and the spiritual Body to be raised from the dead, as the fountain of the gift of life to a new humanity, of which he is the Author and the Head.

The effect of this, as stated by Himself, was to be Oneness, personal union with Him. The obedient, the faithful, the devout partaker of Himself, in the way by Himself appointed, through the veils and vehicles ordained by Himself, necessarily dwells in Him, as being one of the members of His Body Mystical, of which He is the Head; and he has Christ indwelling in him by virtue of the life of His glorified, his spiritual Body, infused into Him. This fellowship of nature with Christ makes the devout participator of His Flesh and Blood One with Christ, and Christ One with him. And, as a necessary result thereof, those who are severally One with him must, in Him, be One with one another.⁴ Nor is this result confined to His members here on earth; it extends to those of His members who, having finished their pilgrimage on earth, have been received into the everlasting habitations prepared for them by Christ in heaven,⁵ and are there awaiting⁶ their final consummation and bliss in body and soul; when their mortal bodies shall come to be quickened and raised up by the same power by which Christ Himself was raised.⁷

By the action of the same power the soul is, even while yet dwelling in its earthly tabernacle, rendered capable of apprehending and realizing that spiritual world to which Christ Himself has ascended, and to which countless souls, delivered from the toils and turmoils of the bodily life, have already followed Him.⁸ The ability to penetrate into that blessed world, the habitation of the perfected spirits of Departed Saints—not indeed with the eye of the flesh or by an imaginative effort of the natural intellect,

³ St. Matt. xxvi. 26-28.

⁴ St. John xvii. 21. 1 Cor. x. 17.

⁵ St. John xiv. 2, 3; xii. 26.

⁶ Rom. viii. 23. 1 Cor. i. 7. Heb. xi. 40. Rev. vi. 9-11.

⁷ Rom. viii. 11.

⁸ 1 Feb. xii. 23, 24. St. John xii. 26; xiv. 3. Phil. i. 23.

² C.A. v. 8.

⁸ See Appendix.

⁹ 2 Peter i. 4. 11 Cor. ii. 14. 2 Rom. vii. 22-23.

but by the spiritual vision of faith—is one of the precious privileges attached to the partaking of Christ in His Holy Sacrament. By it, as by a new and living way, which He has consecrated for us, we are enabled to enter into the Holiest of Holies, into Heaven itself,⁹ into the glorious Presence of Him Who, there enthroned at the right hand of the Father,¹ ceaseth not to make intercession for us,² while feeding us here below with the Bread of Life, the substance of His own spiritual Body, His glorified Humanity, until He shall have perfected us likewise; to the end that they who are now dwelling in his glorious Presence should not be made perfect without us.³ Then cometh the end, when He shall have accomplished the number of His elect,⁴ who shall in that day rise in His likeness,⁵ seeing Him as He is, and sharing His eternal glory.⁶

All this, so full of mystery, because involving the deep things of God, so full of glory to God, so full of blessedness to man, is—by a process, so far as anything so mysterious can be, perfectly *intelligible*—by means of a regular chain of inward spiritual operations, evolved, if the expression may be permitted, out of “the power of Christ’s Resurrection,”⁷ which is the power of “God manifest in the flesh, and raised up into glory.”⁸ That power has by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself been embodied in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, as a power of spiritual Life, to work in His Church, until His purpose, the purpose of His Father in Him, should be accomplished.

But the power being there is one thing; the recognition, the apprehension of it, the laying hold on it by faith, quite another thing. To do this is to man’s nature, to the human mind, constituted as it is by nature, an impossibility. To enable man’s mind to discern and to apprehend it, to dispose man’s will to embrace it, to lay hold on it, is the work not of the human mind, nor of the human will. It is the Father that draws men unto Christ and brings them under the power of His Resurrection,⁹ it is the

Holy Ghost that “taketh the things of Christ and sheweth them unto us.”¹ Without the aid of the Holy Ghost, given unto us that He might guide us into all Truth,² and sanctify³ us by the Truth as an inner Life, the mystery of Christ’s Resurrection and of its operation in effecting the purpose of God’s love in the souls of men, would be for ever unintelligible to the human mind; without the Father’s love, Who sent His Son into the world to the “end that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life,”⁴ that purpose would have no existence.

To expect that the time will ever come when all men, or even all those to whom that purpose is revealed, shall embrace the offer of God’s love, would indeed be a vain expectation, contrary to the facts of history and the declarations of prophecy, which is the history of the future written aforetime. We are taught by Holy Scripture that the working of the mystery of iniquity is coeval⁵ with the working of the mystery of godliness; that no sooner had the latter begun to work than the former was also set in motion; that while this present world lasts the conflict between Christ and Satan will continue; that as in the Person of Christ Himself, so in His Body mystical, the Church, it must be fought out⁶ to the bitter end; the victory remaining for a short season apparently with Satan,⁷ but ultimately, by the final and utter overthrow of Satan, with Christ and His Church.⁸ We are forewarned of a great apostasy⁹ from the faith among those to whom the Truth of God, the Gospel of His salvation, has been made known, as it will be to all mankind before the end comes; an apostasy so extensive that when the Son of Man cometh He will hardly find faith on the earth;¹ and that, unless the time during which the mystery of iniquity shall be permitted to prevail were “shortened,”² even His elect should be unable to “endure unto the end.”³

How the prediction of this prospective defection from the Faith, this temporary obscuration,

⁹ Heb. x. 19, 20. St. John, xiv. 6.

¹ Ephes. i. 20. Heb. i. 3.

² Heb. vii. 25.

³ Heb. xi. 40. Rev. vi. 11.

⁴ Mal. iii. 17. Ps. i. 5. St. Matt. xxiv. 31.

⁵ 1 John iii. 2. 1 Cor. xv. 49. Phil. iii. 20, 21. 2 Cor. iii. 18.

⁶ St. John, xvii. 22. Col. iii. 4. 1 Pet. v. 10. Compare also the Prayer before the Collect in the Office for the Burial of the Dead.

⁷ Phil. iii. 10.

⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

⁹ St. John vi. 44.

¹ St. John xvi. 14. ² St. John xvi. 13.

³ St. John xvii. 17, 19. 2 Thess. ii. 13. Tit. iii. 5. 1 Pet. i. 2.

⁴ St. John iii. 15. 1 John iv. 9, 10.

⁵ 2 Thess. ii. 7. 1 John ii. 18.

⁶ Ephes. vi. 12. 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.

⁷ Rev. xx. 3, 7-9. St. Luke xviii. 8. St. Matt. xxiv. 24.

⁸ Rev. xx. 9, 10; xxi. 1-10.

⁹ 2 Thess. ii. 3-12. 1 St. Luke xviii. 8.

² St. Matt. xxiv. 22. St. Mark xiii. 20.

³ St. Matt. xxiv. 13. St. Mark xiii. 13.

so great as to amount to an almost total eclipse, of the light of God's Truth, is to be reconciled with the equally distinct and positive prediction of the final triumph of Christ and His Church—the partial and transient success of the mystery of iniquity with the complete and permanent success of the mystery of godliness—time alone, the legitimate interpreter of prophecy, can show. The study of the prophetic Scriptures can do no more than indicate certain landmarks in the future history of the Church and the world: the details cannot and will not be understood until the events by which prophecy will be fulfilled shall take place. The answer of the Lord Jesus to His Apostles, when they sought to obtain from Him a clearer declaration of God's purpose, may well satisfy all inquiries into the order in which that purpose is to be developed:—"It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power."⁴ Our business is, not curiously to scrutinize God's work, but to ascertain and to execute the work which He has given us to do. As to that we can have no doubt. So long as there is any part of the world to which the knowledge of the Gospel has not penetrated, it is the duty of the Church to evangelize it. And so long as the Church is divided, her efforts to evangelize the world cannot be successful. The Unity of the Church is a precedent condition of her doing the work assigned to her by her Divine Head. To labour for that Unity, therefore, is, not less than to labour for the spread of the Gospel, the Church's duty.⁵ Heresies and schisms, indeed, there must be, and will be to the end of time; and, in regard to these, the duty of the Church is, not by compromises to minimize the differences between truth and error, till at last they shall cease to be distinguishable from each other, but on the contrary, by setting those differences in a clear light, to "contend earnestly for" the Truth, "the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints."⁶ In order to be successful in that conflict, no less than in the conflict against ignorance, of the Gospel, the Church must be united within herself. Unity within herself can only be the result of the Unity of her members, individually and collectively, with Christ, and in Christ with one another. And Unity with Christ can be attained only in the way ordained by Christ Himself, in the Mystery of His Most Blessed Body and Blood. Thus we are brought back to

the point from which we started. "Eucharistic Restoration"—that is, the restoration within the Church of the power of Christ's resurrection, as a living power operating and manifesting itself in all her members—is the one and only remedy for the Church's comparative inefficiency, for her manifold failings and shortcomings in every direction. To this point, then, let all our efforts be directed. Difficulties, obstructions, arising from the incrustations which have accumulated around that Holy Mystery, no doubt there will be. But these, it becomes our special duty, as members of a Reformed Branch of the Church Catholic, to search out, with a view to their removal. In working to this end, we shall have the encouragement of knowing that our efforts are tending towards the fulfilment of that Divine purpose, for which our Blessed Saviour, at His last Supper with His disciples, prayed so earnestly to His Heavenly Father—the Unity and Purity of His Church.

May that Divine Grace which was bestowed by Our Lord Jesus Christ on His own Church on the day of Pentecost—the Gift of the Holy Ghost to guide her into all Truth—be ever with us, and still preserve us from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from contempt of His Holy Word and Commandments, and all departure from the pure faith of His Apostolic Church. And may we more and more realize the great blessing of mystical union with our Divine Lord in His own Ordinance, as members of His Body, the Church:—that in partaking of the Sacrament of His Body given, and His Blood shed for us, we may draw nearer one to another in spiritual communion and fellowship, "endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,"—"having nourishment ministered," and being "knit together," so may we "increase with the INCREASE OF GOD."

How lamentable it is that the adoption of the true and only remedy for the decay of Spiritual Life in the Church should be evaded by a mimicry of that life giving Ordinance which our Saviour Christ has appointed, that in Him we might have Life, and have it more abundantly! To substitute for living communion with Christ the God-man, in the spiritual partaking of His Body and Blood, an outward and idolatrous adoration directed to the creaturely elements, the vehicles and symbols under which He has promised to impart Himself unto us—to be *gazers* where He has bidden us to be *partakers*—is not only an act of disobedience, it is a fearful profanation—a presumptuous trifling with the Holy Things of God!

⁴ Acts i. 7⁵ Jude 3.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—P. 535.

"AND SINGLENES OF HEART."

ἀφελότης—plainness, guileless simplicity of obedience and faith; free from questionings and speculations. He has commanded, I obey—He has promised, I believe. What a contrast does this *ἀφελότης* present in partaking of Christ to the subtle mysticism and presumptuous speculation by which the Sacrament of Oneness with Christ, and in Christ with one another, has been made the bone of endless theological contention!

NOTE B.—P. 535.

"CONTINUING DAILY."

προσκαρτεροῦντες, the same word as that rendered in v. 24—"continuing steadfastly." In its connection with *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* it conveys more than a mere "steadfast continuance" in the same practice; it calls attention to the fact that while "continuing steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship," they continued no less steadfastly in their attendance upon the temple worship, to which, as a Divine Institution, they paid the same reverence as before, even though they had learned that it was a mere type and figure of that truer and more spiritual worship which they offered in their own Assembly-room. As the temple worship was a daily—*καθ' ἡμέραν*—worship, it was meet that the true spiritual worship it prefigured should likewise be offered daily. Attendance in the temple daily was an act of homage to Him Who had placed His Name there, and ordained its worship. The Breaking of the Bread daily "at home" was a realization of that spiritual worship of God through Christ, which the other prefigured. The type and the anti-type were thus concurrent in the daily observance.

NOTE C.—P. 535.

"FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE" (AT HOME.)

κατ' οἶκον, at home, in contradistinction to the temple, which was the *οἶκος* common to all worshippers—*ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται*—St. Matt. xxi. 13; St. John ii. 16. Those that believed in Christ, worshipped God through Christ, had an *οἶκος* of their own, consecrated to the new, the spiritual worship. It was in this *οἶκος* that they were assembled on the Lord's Day when the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them. Observe the analogous consecration of the "house" built by Solomon, at the dedication of which "the Cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister, because of the Cloud; for the Glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord"—1 Kings viii. 10, 11. Even so, in visible manifestation of the Divine Presence, the "sound as of a rushing mighty wind," which "suddenly descended from Heaven, filled all the 'house' where

they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire." There was, however, this difference, that whereas at that former consecration the Divine Presence precluded the presence of the ministering priests, at this Pentecostal consecration the Divine Presence rested upon each of the Apostles, the ministers of the new, the spiritual covenant. "It sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues"—the ministration of the Spirit—"as the Spirit gave them utterance"—Acts ii. 2-4. The building thus consecrated continued to be, equally with the temple, the scene of the Apostles' teaching—see Acts v. 42. Note also the difference between *κατ' οἶκον* in both these places, and *κατ' οἶκους* in Acts xx. 20, which is rightly rendered from "house to house"—i.e., in the different houses in which assemblies for Christian worship were wont to be held in Gentile cities. Compare Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Col. iv. 15; Philen. 2. Tradition has, with great probability, identified the *οἶκος* at Jerusalem with the building in one apartment—*κατάλυμα, ἀνώγειον*—of which the institution of the Holy Eucharist took place—St. Mark xiv. 14, 15; St. Luke xxii. 11, 12—in which the Lord Jesus appeared to the Apostles after His resurrection—St. John xx. 19, 26—and to which they resorted after His ascension—Acts i. 13, where it is termed *τὸ ὑπερώον*. Compare on this subject the Bishop of Lincoln's Annotations on Acts i. 13; and ii. 2, 46.

NOTE D.—P. 535.

"DID EAT THEIR MEAT."

Although the term "*τροφή*" denotes food in general, and undoubtedly includes, in this case also, common food—the *ἀγάπη* being closely connected with the Eucharist feeding upon Christ—yet it is to the latter more especially that the statement of the Evangelist seems to point, as the addition—*ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας*—can hardly be referred to the enjoyment of ordinary food. The term *μετελάβανον* points in the same direction.

NOTE E.—P. 535.

"WITH GLADNESS."

ἀγαλλίασις is but feebly and inadequately rendered by "gladness." Its proper sense is "exultation," "exceeding joyousness," such as would hardly be the result of a meal taken in common. Not only do the words *ἀγαλλιάω, ἀγαλλιάσις*, convey the idea of a more than ordinary, an exceeding degree of joy, but they point to a religious element in the occasion and the character of the joy. Compare St. Luke i. 14, 44, 47; x. 21; St. John viii. 56; Acts ii. 26; Heb. i. 9; St. Jude 24; Rev. xix. 7. The high privilege of being permitted to feed on Christ spiritually, and thereby to become united to Him, One with Him, was, indeed, what no common meal could have been, a subject of exultation.

RETROSPECTIVE AND CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

Hast thou 'midst life's ceaseless noises
 Heard the solemn steps of time,
 And the low mysterious voices
 Of another Chime?

Early has life's mighty question
 Thrilled within thy heart of youth,
 With a deep and earnest searching,—
 What and where is truth?

Not to ease and aimless pleasures
 Doth the inward answer tend,
 But to works of love and duty,
 Till our beings end.

And till then with tireless vigour,
 Firm in heart, and purpose strong,
 In the power of TRUTH assailing
 Every form of wrong!

JANUARY 25, 1900.

With the words of wise counsel and solemn warning from many of our eminent Bishops and leading Clergy during the latter years of this Century, recorded in this Volume, we bring the last Part of the third edition of this work to a close. That our task, at length completed, was not undertaken before there was need, is evident from the grievous state of distraction and division into which, as a Church, we have drifted,—as the testimony herein bears witness; and which is mainly to be attributed to the teaching and practices of a factious and well organized party in the Church, who, while arrogating to themselves the exclusive right to the honoured title of "Catholic"—and, like Rome, recognizing true Catholicity in none but themselves,—are at the same time labouring to corrupt the purity of our English Church, by subverting those distinctive principles of the One, Catholic, Apostolic Church which were recovered by her at the Reformation.

It is under the assumption of forming a recognized part of the historic, "High Church" school of English theology, from the distinctive principles of which they have widely diverged, that the Romanizing element in the teaching of this modern school, against which we have contended, has found a place in our religious literature, and has been enabled to gain an influence over the minds of many of our younger brethren in the Church. The extent to which erroneous doctrines in reference to the Holy Communion have been subtly inculcated by means of the numerous manuals of devotion, especially for the young, with which the press has teemed of late years—beguiling unstable souls—is indeed a cause for serious alarm; and justly called forth words of earnest warning from the well-nigh unanimous voice of the English Episcopate¹ a quarter of a century since, and has subsequently been condemned in Diocesan Charges.

Another powerful agency which is being used for the propagation of Romanizing doctrines is the establishment of Guilds or "Confraternities,"² chiefly composed of young persons, whose members are bound by strict rules of discipline, and in certain cases directed by secret instructions from the "Priests-Associate" under whose control they are placed. And it cannot be denied that the forbearance and toleration which have so long been shown towards these factious "Unions" by the Spiritual Rulers of our Church, have only resulted in more extravagant pretensions, and in more open defiance of all lawful authority!

It is a humiliating fact, too obvious to be disputed, that there is now a disloyal party among the Clergy occupying positions of influence in the Church, who are in a state of rebellion against their appointed Rulers, whose legitimate authority they have promised to obey, and even oppose them on questions of non-essential and trifling ceremonial! In defiance of the plain order of our Prayer-book, this Party persistently teach both by word and act,—“The Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass for the Living and the Dead,” according to the Trentine decrees of the Church of Rome,—in substitution of the Sacrament of Holy Communion for the spiritual sustenance of the Living in faithful reception, as maintained and taught by the Church of England. Thus, in violation of their Ordination Vows, rejecting the distinctive principles of our Church—in the vain boast of teaching more “Catholic doctrine”—they are striving to frustrate the blessed work and Settlement of the English Reformation!

These elements of danger to the peace and integrity of our Church are ample justification for such a combined effort as is contained in the present volume—prompted by a full sense of the great danger now threatening her from foes

¹ See their united Pastoral letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Church, Part III. P. 186.

² For example, the “Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,” “The Society of the Holy Cross,” “The Guild of All Souls,” etc.

within her bosom—for the re-assertion and vindication of her principles; and surely constitute a strong claim upon all her loyal members who value the inestimable blessing of Scriptural Truth, which we have inherited through her, to rally round her Standard, and take their part in the contest for the Faith against Superstition and Infidelity.

May we hope that the forcible arguments, contained in these last two Parts, both against the superstitious tendency of the Mediæval practices which have been revived of late years, and the doctrinal errors resulting from them, will prove a salutary warning to those who have been taught to regard them either as rules of discipline needful for a strict religious life, or as superior acts of devotion. And assuredly there rests a heavy responsibility on those clergymen who misuse their influence, especially over the female and younger members of their flocks, by enforcing these obsolete rules and customs of the Middle Ages as sacred duties of Divine authority, thereby causing a grievous snare to the conscience, in the presumptuous attempt to impose “a yoke of bondage,” in place of that “liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.”

Whether it will be found in the next generation that the Church of England, in this her day of Grace, has proved faithful to her high Vocation and sacred Trust,¹ committed to her by God for the defence of His revealed Truth, in this realm of England, and the maintenance and propagation of it in its purity throughout her world-wide dominions,—is a question that mainly rests on the faithfulness of our present Governors in the Church, in full reliance on Divine support.

It thus becomes a primary call on all her true sons among the Laity to aid them in their arduous duty, in contending for the Primitive Truth against a return to Mediæval and Rome-ward corruptions of it,—though opposed as they will doubtless continue to be by a declamatory, irresponsible organisation, misguided by fanatical Leaders—reckless of all consequences, even should it end in a disruption of the National Church!² To repeat the solemn warning of

Bishop Barry in the closing words of his comprehensive review of the crisis existing in our Church,—recorded in Part III. (page 183);—“On the Bishops rests, by common consent, the main responsibility of action, and never, perhaps, was a heavier responsibility laid upon them!”

And now,—albeit under a deep sense of the unworthiness of the hands which have been stretched out—not unsanctioned, not unblessed by some, foremost among the late responsible Rulers of our Church—to stay the Ark of Truth,—which, owing to the discordant action of those who should have borne it in safety, is in danger of falling,—we commit our labours to our brethren in the Church, and commend them unto God. To our loyal brethren in the Church we commit them in the hope that, having as it were the mind of many of the best-proved divines of the Anglican Communion thus laid before them at one view, they may be assisted, not only in deciding where to take their stand in the conflict for the purity of the primitive Faith, now in “earnest contention,” but also what weapons—whether for offence or for defence, for pulling down falsehood or for supporting the truth—to employ, and where in time of need they may most readily be found. To the Supreme Head of the Church we commend these sincere though imperfect efforts, in deep humility and with many prayers, that, albeit He needs no human instruments for the carrying out of His Divine Will, and yet vouchsafes most commonly to employ them, He may so bless this present work that it may not have been wrought in vain:—but that by its means, however inadequate to the task, the purity of the Faith in this our branch of the Church Catholic may be maintained, and the unity strengthened. Above all, it is our earnest prayer that the Truth, after her long and manifold conflict with error, may prevail, and come forth as a conqueror, with every enemy silenced and subdued under her feet; and that thus the long-desired return of Him who is the Truth, no less than the Way and the Life, and the final setting up of His Kingdom—the Kingdom of love, of peace, and of truth—may be hastened. —FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM, THE POWER, AND THE GLORY FOR EVER AND EVER. AMEN.

¹ See Bishop Harold Browne on “Our Sacred Trust.” Part III. P. 173.

² See “Halifax Manifesto.” Part VI. P. 431.

“*Magna est Veritas et prævalebit.*”

SACERDOTALISM.

[The following extract, taken from an Article on "Sacerdotalism" in the Quarterly Review for June 1874, is here added in conclusion, as an evidence of the extent to which the introduction of Roman ceremonial and false doctrine then prevailed among a section of the Clergy, as to call forth the stern condemnation and protest against them from this leading Conservative Journal. And thus it may be regarded as a proof of the need there was of this combined work, (a first Edition of which appeared in the year 1877), in defence of the Primitive doctrine of the Church of England, and in Vindication of her scriptural Principles. The increasing necessity of such strong protest and warning in this last year of the Century, urges the serious question, "QUOUSQUE—Whither are we drifting?"]

"A few years ago we expressed in this Journal our conviction that the system of private confession was not only uncongenial to the spirit of the Church of England, but was in direct opposition to the tenour of her services, when fairly and comprehensively interpreted. Since that time nothing has occurred to change or even modify the opinions then stated. On the contrary, the extravagances of the party that goes by the name of Ritualist have been multiplied rather than diminished, and their distinctly Romanizing tone has become so clear that it is impossible to mistake its true significance. Their method has developed into a simple system of imitation. In their services, their books, and their practices, everything is a mere copy of what they see in the Roman chapels, and read in Roman Catholic books. For no possible reason except the desire to imitate the ways of a Church which captivates their fancy, even when they are indisposed to submit to its demands, they have made the English Communion Service a sort of High Mass, and even call it by that very name; while in the ordinary prayers of the Church they adopt gestures and wear personal decorations which are borrowed as closely as possible from the ways of Rome. They glory in disobeying the decisions of our courts of law, and defy the injunctions of bishops as wholly undeserving of respect. . . .

Far more serious is the advance which has been made in the practice of private confession, and its accompanying absolution, during the last few years. Spiritual tyranny is a reality in all ages, and among the adherents of all religious creeds. It makes its appeal to something that lies far deeper down in the human heart than a taste for birettas, red and green stoles, and candles burning upon the Communion-table in the bright daylight. A Protestant High Mass, with all the oddities of a borrowed ritual, may be comparatively a mere result of the fashion of the hour—mischievous and absurd, but yet unreal. It is a far different thing when several hundreds of clergymen are working upon the most sensitive consciences to which they have access, and telling them that they

are excommunicated, if they do not go to confession and receive absolution from some episcopally ordained Minister. Here they are exercising a spiritual terrorism, which requires to be met by every species of serious argument, because it is a thing which cannot be touched by laws and by decisions of courts of justice. And it is this special aspect of the Ritualist movement which has now become more serious than ever. It is more and more openly taught that confession is something very different from a relieving of the conscience for the sake of the wise advice that may be thus secured. We are taught that the direct aim of confession is the obtaining pardon of the sins thus detailed, at the hands of a priest, who has received the Holy Ghost for the special purpose of enabling him thus to forgive them. This confession and absolution, it is asserted far and wide, are absolutely necessary to the forgiveness of post-baptismal guilt. In other words, those who are not thus absolved are excommunicated. Their sins are not forgiven. By their own acts they have shut themselves out from the Communion of Saints, and are dead in their sins, though remaining apparently living members of the one visible Church. . . .

The most unlikely people in the world have already been occasionally seduced into the practice, and it is impossible to say what man, and still more what woman, may be the next who will be taken in the snare. And it is therefore more important than ever that the existing practice should be studied both in its historical origin and in its relation to those morbid desires of the mind, which are found especially eager at all times of religious excitement.

As to any reasoning with the promoters of the system, grounded solely on the recognized laws of the English Church, and the example of her divines of various schools, it has long been obvious that it is totally useless. They go on their way, heedless of any such arguments, and when they appeal in their books to any phrases in the Prayer Book supposed to justify what they are doing, it is evident that they use these as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, and to make out as respectable a case for themselves as may be. For the Book of Common Prayer, and for Anglicanism, as such, they care nothing. By their own avowals, they have quite a different teacher, to which they go for instruction, and to which they appeal as being *in foro conscientia* immeasurably superior to the English Church, in its claims to their obedience. This teacher is a certain phantom, which they call "The Catholic Church." Not that the true Catholic Church is a phantom. It is only the Catholic Church as venerated by the Ritualists, which is a phantom. With an audacious eclecticism they pick out from the practices of modern Rome just those portions which fall in with their personal wishes, treating Rome itself as a living institution, that is, as

a reality, with the same contemptuous indifference with which they treat the English Church herself. They care as little for the actual laws of one Church as for those of the other. It is the law of Rome that they should submit themselves to her rule, absolutely and unreservedly. But this they decline to do. The Roman Church, as they treat her, is a phantom, and nothing more. They merely see that with Rome sacerdotalism is a reality. It is the very essence of her life. She is a society of priests, whose special office is twofold, to offer sacrifice and to forgive sins. And as it is their aim to popularise this sacerdotalism, without the unpleasant necessity of submitting to Roman jurisdiction, they imitate the customs of Rome in every external of divine worship, so far as they dare; and they borrow the instructions of Roman teachers, and introduce their dangerous and most un-English notions on the spiritual life into every household to which they can gain access. . . .

With writers and preachers of this school there is no arguing at all. The Catholic Church, as they imagine her, can be made to prove anything or nothing, according to their inclinations. In fact, their pretensions would be laughed at, were it not for that deep-seated disease of the mind, which is natural to certain characters in all ages of the world, and which peopled the Pagan mythology

with every variety of idol gods. It is spiritual terror which now leads many Englishwomen, and a few Englishmen, to the feet of the *soi-disant* priest, in hope, that in return for their confession, they may be forgiven, through his absolution, for all their sins. . . .

The domination of those old priesthoods of heathenism was, indeed, a coarse and vulgar tyranny, compared with that subtle, but more terrible, despotism which the modern Confessor exercises over the trembling Christian soul. We have here the most striking of all possible examples of the truth of the maxim, "*Corruptio optimi est pessima*." Christianity having entered into the world, and taught explicitly that the very essence of religion consists in the inner life of communion with the ever-present Father of all souls, the old spirit of priestcraft intrudes itself into the most sacred acts of this communion itself. Ancient priestcraft seized, corrupted, and blighted the body; modern priestcraft seizes upon the soul, and crushes it with a far more irresistible despotism. In each case the priest professes to stand between man and his Maker; but it is Christian priestcraft alone which presumes to stand between the love and penitence of the soul and the infinite love and justice of God!

FINAL APPEAL TO THE LAITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *By the Rt. Rev. Dr. Magee,—late ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.*

I would ask these men who are so industriously Romanizing our Church whether the Reformation was a mere juggle, in which the people of England were played with—a mere concession to the people, in which nothing was given except that which could not by possibility be kept back? If it were not—if the Reformation were a great reality; a victory won by brave, and great, and good men, which restored our faith to its purity, and our ritual to its simplicity, our laity to their rights, and our clergy to their duties, then what have they so valuable to offer in exchange, that we should give up those blessings for which our martyred fathers died? In an old book called "*Foxe's Book of Martyrs*," there may be read of one who, as the flames were curling up the stake to which he was bound, cheered his brother martyr with the assurance that "They would that day light a candle in England which, by God's grace, would never be put out." Will you allow that glorious light to be put out for any candles on the altar? Laity of England's Church, rise up as one man to defend the inheritance won for you by the noblest and the holiest of England's noble army of martyrs! Contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to those saints, and *by them bequeathed*

to us. None can accuse you of being too hasty in thus coming forward to defend your Church. Is there not a cause? Have you not endured even to the last limits of endurance the doings of these Romanizers? You have allowed them to deform your ancient parish churches, to travestie your beautiful service into a sort of something between singing and saying, which you can scarcely understand—you have endured this because you have at least the Prayer-Book at home. These men have gone into their pulpits and preached these doctrines, which we felt to be evil and dangerous, and this, too, has been endured, for those who hear it say, when they go home they can teach God's Word in its purity to their children and families. But when these men have now, with unhallowed footsteps invaded your households, and have dared to bring the worst atrocities of Rome into the last sanctuary of an Englishman, his home—it is time to resist. As Englishmen loudly and clearly—as Christians, temperately and firmly—declare that you will resist these innovations, by raising throughout the length and breadth of the land the old cry which your forefathers have raised—the cry of "*No Popery*"—no Popery in the Church—no Popery in the Prayer-Book—no Popery by your hearths and in your homes! *Say that, and God will speed you!*

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Since the Editor undertook in the early part of the year to publish a third edition of the "Vindication of Anglo-Catholic Principles," there has arisen throughout the country an outburst of deep feeling and indignant protest against the persistent attempts of a section of the Clergy to introduce unauthorized acts and ritual into the Services of our Church on their own responsibility, subversive of her distinctive principles as set forth in the Articles and Prayer-book.

It has found wide expression, not only through

the leading organs of public opinion in the press, and in various popular meetings, but has been referred to in many recent Episcopal Charges and Diocesan addresses in terms of earnest remonstrance, and generally in strong condemnation. And this *consensus* of renewed Protests, the Editor is justified in regarding as a strong proof of the need of the re-publication of this work in vindication of the principles of the English Reformation, and as showing in a collected form the unanimous condemnation of the revolutionary spirit and Romeward reaction that has arisen in the Church—by "Eminent Prelates and leading Divines," during this last half-century.

(Christmas, 1898.)



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A VINDICATION OF
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